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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION




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See the article in this issue by Kevin M. Doak, "What Is a Nation and Who Belongs?"

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431, 443, 446, 451, 457, 458, 463, 466, 469, 480, 493, 503, 507, 520, 521, 522, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 540, 583

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# In This Issue

This issue contains an article on nationalism in Japan, an *AHR Forum* on race relations, and a review essay on imperialism. In addition, as in the February issue, there are significantly more book reviews in this issue than usually appear in the *AHR*. Once again, we are doing this to overcome a growing backlog of reviews and thus make our reviews as timely as possible. And as part of an ongoing reevaluation of the book review section, we have also made a change in our classification system. Beginning in this issue, the heading "Middle East" will replace "Near East."

## Articles

**Kevin M. Doak** challenges standard accounts of Japanese nationalism that emphasize the rise of the modern state and the institution of the emperor. He does so by shifting the focus to the role that ethnic nationalism has played in historical narratives that are critical of the modern Japanese state. Doak uncovers a broad discourse on ethnic nationalism in twentieth-century Japan and, along with it, a disillusionment with the modern state that was shared both by those on the political right and by some of the most influential historians in Japan who had leftist political sympathies. His analysis of this discourse leads Doak to call for more awareness of how national identity in modern Japan was often a struggle between those who supported the constitutional state and those who rejected its westernized appearance and instead turned toward an ethnicized vision of the Japanese people. This internally contested sense of the Japanese nation enabled historians of differing political ideologies to imagine the Japanese people as victims of "internal colonization," a people oppressed by their own state. Doak's compelling reconstruction of this widespread disenchantment with the modern state in Japan and the powerful allure of ethnic nationalism raises important questions for other historians about the meaning and functions of historical narratives, ethnic identity, nationalism, the state, and liberal values in Japan and other modern societies.

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## *AHR Forum*

**Elizabeth Dale** begins the Forum on race and civil rights in Chicago with an intriguing examination of an 1888 civil rights case filed against a theater owner in a state court. Specifically, a middle-class African-American woman sued a white male theater owner after being denied entry even though she had purchased a ticket. Dale creatively uses a combination of legal and non-legal sources to recover, contextualize, and demonstrate the significance of what was in many ways a rather routine case. Most important, Dale's intricate reconstruction of the case enables her to explore the differing ideas of equality that the parties, their lawyers, and the trial judges brought to the case. And it supports her argument that unpacking this particular case in this manner helps us to understand the period in which the case arose and the meaning of the limited impact the case had at the time. In particular, her analysis persuasively demonstrates that ideas about racial equality and their expression in legal rules were intricately connected to attitudes about class and caste and to conflicting notions of individual economic rights. And it suggests how principles that supported integration could result in the legally enforced racial caste system that characterized American society through most of the twentieth century. Dale's engaging narrative of this civil rights case not only brings it back to life but provides compelling evidence about the larger significance of the intersection of law, the everyday, and the roles that choice and ideas play in the development of law in various places and times.

**Beth Tompkins Bates** continues the Forum by examining another civil rights experience in Chicago. She chronicles and assesses the disputes that broke out in the early 1930s within the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) over civil rights tactics. Bates explains that, during the first years of the Depression, while many urban black Americans made demands using collective protest tactics, the black elite in the NAACP pursued a moderate, reform-oriented agenda that sought expansion of civil rights through the courts and other instruments sanctioned by the dominant culture. By 1941, however, the old guard in the organization had altered its tactics to support collective action and had expanded its agenda to address workplace issues, including unionization. Bates asks why the NAACP embraced protest politics. Contending that previous studies have concentrated largely on the impact of New Deal labor legislation and industrial unions on expanding opportunities for black Americans, she shifts the focus to political activism that originated within the black community. Bates makes challenges by Chicago blacks to the NAACP's traditional tactics serve as a vehicle for exploring the rise of mass protest politics within African-American communities. She argues that protest activities by this new-crowd network of civil rights actors much more directly addressed the interests of black workers and consequently contributed to changes in the agenda and tactics of the old guard in the NAACP. And she convincingly demonstrates that the shift in tactics signaled the extent to

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which African Americans during the 1930s lost faith in the use of conciliation to voice grievances, even as they gained faith in their ability to seek rights through collective action. Bates's analysis of the power of local activists to affect a national organization is as well a compelling example of the importance of studying the full context of all social movements.

**Kevin Gaines** concludes the Forum with a commentary that places the two essays in a larger context. He asks scholars of the origins and history of African-American civil rights to be alert to the ambiguous role of black elites. Gaines contrasts the staunchly middle-class identities and strategies employed by African-American elites to secure their civil rights in the late nineteenth century with more fluid, cross-class identities and strategies that challenged conservative black leadership in the 1930s. In order to understand the distinction between accommodationist and democratic elite strategies, Gaines points out, scholars of civil rights struggles must historicize race, particularly as it is constituted by cultural narratives about class, gender, and sexuality. The political significance of the black middle class is grasped through a sense of its unique historical character and location within an American society structured in racial dominance. In addition, Gaines steps back from the subject of the two essays to suggest that the insights to be gained from the study of black elites' struggles for equality in the United States can be applied by students of colonialism and ethnic studies in various parts of the world, because the disenfranchisement of racialized colonial subjects and immigrant minorities is analogous in many ways to the plight of African Americans in their struggle against legal segregation.

## *Review Essay*

**Patrick Wolfe** contributes a wide-ranging review essay on imperialism to this issue of the journal. In a thoughtful and clearly presented chronological analysis, Wolfe carefully assesses all of the major theories on imperialism from classical Marxist doctrines and dependency theory to subaltern studies and postcolonialism. At the heart of Wolfe's analysis are two thematic oppositions that he argues unite the various theories: domestic versus peripheral and discursive versus practical. He uses these oppositions to chart a consistent pathway through this otherwise very diverse set of perspectives. The result is an insightful account of the historical conditions that underlie the theoretical shifts in the literature on imperialism. At the same time, Wolfe illuminates the interplay between these shifting theories. Demonstrating an impressive command of a large body of theoretical and comparative literature, Wolfe has written a very useful and compelling analysis of the changing meanings of imperialism that should be of great interest to a wide variety of historians.

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A cover page from the *Warera* journal. Founded in 1919 by Ōyama Ikuo, Hasegawa Nyozekan, and others as the leading journal of Japanese populist and democratic thought. In 1930, the title changed to *Hihyō* (Criticism), and it became more Marxist in tone. From Kodama Kōta, ed., *Zusetsu nihon bunkashi taikei 12: Taishō Shōwa jidai* (Tokyo, 1958), p. 150, no. 325. Courtesy of the publisher, Shogakukan, Inc.

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# What Is a Nation and Who Belongs? National Narratives and the Ethnic Imagination in Twentieth-Century Japan

KEVIN M. DOAK

WHERE, IF NOT JAPAN, are the nation and the state more identical? Often touted as a homogeneous people, the Japanese are frequently heralded as a "common-sense" example of the natural bond between an ethnic people and their political state. Such an impression is, of course, not merely a reflection of an ethnic or political reality in Japan but the result of impressions created by national narratives and political imaginations. What is striking in the case of Japanese national discourse, however, is the considerable gap between the richness of political imagination in modern Japan and the ways in which that imagination has been understood outside of Japan. The English-language literature on nationalism in Japan has largely overlooked the appeal of ethnic nationalism as a populist attack on the state, especially among Japanese historians and other intellectuals who have had the most influence in shaping national narratives in modern Japan.[1]

The reasons for this state of affairs are many and complex. They derive not only from the specific experience of modern Japanese social life but also from the strategies of conceptualization and representation that historians and others have adopted to make sense out of modern Japanese national life. This interweaving of social fact and historical representation encompasses the historical origins of the modern Japanese state, influence from general theories of nationalism, and even the power of nationalist myths, which have been quite successful in convincing many observers that Japanese society is marked by a high degree of cohesiveness and

An earlier version of this article was presented at the panel "Nation and Citizen in Modern Japan" at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association in Atlanta, Georgia. Subsequent versions were presented at the East Asian Studies Center, Indiana University, February 1996, and the Center for East Asian Studies, the University of Chicago, February 1996. Some of the concepts employed were sketched out in an earlier presentation at the Center for East Asian Studies, Princeton University, October 1995. I am grateful to James Bartholomew, Prasenjit Duara, Norma Field, Peter Fritzsche, Sheldon Garon, David Howell, Harry Liebersohn, Tetsuo Najita, Mark Ravina, Michael Robinson, William F. Sibley, Stefan Tanaka, Sandra Ward, George M. Wilson, and especially Ronald P. Toby, for their comments, suggestions, criticism, and support. I also want to thank my research assistants Jason Karlin, Ian Miller, and Jinhee Lee for their help.

[1] Germaine A. Hoston attributes the failure of the English-language literature to grasp the ethnic dimensions of Japanese nationalism to "the anglophone conflation of the notions of nation/state and nation/people within the single term *nation*." Hoston, *The State, Identity, and the National Question in China and Japan* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 4. In Japanese, the contrast between the state (*kokka*) and the ethnic nation (*minzoku*) is much sharper. Somewhat in between lies the concept of the political (constitutionally defined) sense of nation, or *kokumin*. See the discussion by Oyama Ikuo of these terms for the nation below.



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harmony. Clearly, a more differentiated approach to the field of nationalism in modern Japan is necessary, if we are to capture the full range of social and political dynamics that shaped life in Japan over the course of the last hundred years.

One approach in contemporary theory on nationalism has focused on nations as "invented" or "imagined" identities in order to emphasize nations as recently constructed and historically contingent forms of collective identity that never quite measure up to their claims of common purpose or ancient foundations.[2] The impact of this approach on the study of nationalism in East Asia has been both enriching and frustrating. As with other non-Western, developing, or "postcolonial" contexts, the study of nationalism in East Asia often remains caught in the familiar dilemma that Stefan Tanaka notes in his discussion of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Japanese nationalist historians: "how to become modern . . . and yet not lose an identity."[3] Consequently, this renewed excitement over national identities as "imagined" has led many historians of East Asia to turn from the nation (often, they mean the state) to equally problematic concepts of local identity, ethnic minority identity, or simply a non-Western, enduring tradition in opposition to the modern state, which is seen as merely the product of the imagination of westernized, male political elites who imposed their statist view of national culture on these other competing social and cultural traditions.[4]

What remains largely absent in discussions on nationalism in East Asia, especially Japanese nationalism, is this history of imagining the nation itself as an ethnic body and the tension between this ethnic nation and the political state that Anthony D. Smith, John Breuilly, and others have identified as a key aspect of modern nationalism.[5] Smith has been especially persistent in pursuing the question of "what

[2] See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983); Homi K. Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (London, 1990). Of course, this focus on the recent, contingent nature of nations is not entirely new. Developmental political theorists involved in modernization theory in the late 1950s and 1960s studied "nation building" and whether the state could form a stable nation or whether nations were prerequisites to legitimate states. See Karl Deutsch and William J. Foltz, eds., *Nation-Building* (New York, 1963). The main difference in later theories is a critical view of modernization and capitalism as key ingredients within the modern state, as well as an attempt to divorce culture from the state, rather than to explore ways of building a national culture that would support a stable political state. Homi Bhabha, for example, finds the constructed, or "narrated," nature of the nation as grounds for theorizing about locations for culture other than the nation or the state; Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994).

[3] Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (1993; rpt., Berkeley, Calif., 1995), 3.

[4] Recent studies on China have often expressed this problem in the context of competing loyalties to the state and to provincial locale: Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago, 1995); or to native place: Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853–1937* (Berkeley, 1995); or to minority ethnic groups: Dru C. Gladney, *Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991). Korean nationalism more closely approximates the division in Japan between an ethnic national identity and the modern political state, with certain distinctive features derived from a different historical experience of Japanese colonization during the first half of the twentieth century and foreign influence by the USSR in the north and the United States in the south during the latter half of the century. See Michael Edson Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920–1925* (Seattle, Wash., 1988); and Carter J. Eckert, *et al.*, *Korea Old and New: A History* (Seoul, 1990).

[5] See Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno, Nev., 1991); and John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 2d edn. (Chicago, 1994). For example, in Homi Bhabha's recent exploration of "the location of culture," he highlights the conflicting ambivalence in nations between modern political forms and cultural identities: "the disjunctive time of the nation's modernity—as a knowledge caught between . . . the shreds and patches of cultural signification and the certainties of a nationalist pedagogy"; *Location*



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is a nation?" and in pointing to the ethnic basis of national identity, even while recognizing that "in fact every nationalism contains civic and ethnic elements in varying degrees."[6] Breuilly has emphasized the political implications of nationalist practice by suggesting how nationalism often turns against the state and its "governmental nationalism."[7] These theoretical insights remind us that nationalism is both more and less than an exercise in monolithic hegemony: the imposition of an "imagined community" on a diverse and varied, or even unresisting, social base. But, as a consequence of the neglect of the ethnic imagination, analyses of "national narratives" in Japan generally have centered on narratives of the (bourgeois, westernized) state, especially in state-sponsored history textbooks. The problem of alternative and competing narratives of the ethnic nation, and the more naturalized vision of community they often propose for Japan, has been left largely unexamined.

And yet nowhere is this general problem of nationalism and ethnicity more compelling than in Japanese national narratives. An emphasis on the role of the state in historical accounts of national identity in modern Japan has been a time-honored means of explaining both Japan's economic successes and political crimes over the course of the twentieth century. Whether they have styled themselves modernist, Marxist, progressive, or capitalist, historians and other social scientists have often turned to the state as the key actor in modern Japanese political discourse, tracing its origins to the Meiji Constitution of 1889, if not the restoration of the Meiji emperor in 1868.[8] A closer analysis of these events does not so much reveal the solid foundations of the Japanese "nation-state" as the historical conditions for a specific contestation over ethnic-national identity and state citizenship that would have significant implications for political action during the turbulent twentieth century. Somewhat surprisingly, these tensions in national identity were not resolved by the postwar 1947 constitution but have reemerged in recent years in Japan, just as the issues of national identity, civil society, and citizenship have regained some of their former allure in the newly emergent nations

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*of Culture*, 142. Yet the inevitable ambivalence that Bhabha discovers in "national" time arises from the inability of a single national narrative to capture the tensions between two national representations in modern states: the narrative of the nation and the narrative of the state. In Bhabha's searching study of national structures of time, the distinction between nation and state is collapsed into one homogeneous, spatial-temporal construct, leaving culture floating around, looking for a "location." Anderson, Bhabha, Duara, and Tanaka all share this concern with legitimizing (non-Western) cultural identities, while distancing them from modern (westernized) states. The implicit problem of how to distance that "culture" from ethnic national identity accounts for much of the ambivalence in their work, as it does in Uehara Senroku's, which I discuss below.

[6] Smith, *National Identity*, 13.

[7] Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 8–15.

[8] Recent examples of this "return to the state" include Sally Ann Hastings, *Neighborhood and Nation in Tokyo, 1905–1937* (Pittsburgh, 1995); Sheldon M. Garon, *The State and Labor in Modern Japan* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987); Andrew Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley, 1991). Hastings attempts to demonstrate that the state was successful at incorporating "the people" into a civil society in early twentieth-century Japan; Garon shows how labor and the state interacted in ways characteristic of civil societies; and Gordon locates populism in an emerging working-class movement, until it was defeated by "imperial fascism." None of these studies sees nationalism as a contested field between the people ("the ethnic nation") and the state, and therefore, for Hastings and Gordon in particular, the emergence of fascism in the late 1930s is seen more as displacing previous social developments than as building on them.



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in Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, as people there reconsider the best means of resisting totalitarian forms of government.

THE PROBLEM OF A MODERN JAPANESE NATIONAL IDENTITY began with the series of political events that culminated in the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Although termed a "restoration" because the young emperor Meiji was formally restored to political authority, the Meiji Restoration is best understood as a modern revolution that, like the French Revolution, set into play forces that would shape and contest the modern nation in Japan.[9] The *ancien régime*—250 or so semi-autonomous domains—was replaced by a centralized state, headed in name by the Meiji emperor, but real power was in fact exercised informally by a handful of men from a few of the old domains. The dominance of these former domains (especially Satsuma and Chōshū) led to a widespread sense that the new government was not representative of the entire nation but merely a tool of what historians have called the "Satchō" (from Satsuma-Chōshū) clique.[10] These men held the reins of government; to succeed, however, they needed to redirect the Japanese people's loyalties from their old domains to the new state. As Fukuzawa Yukichi, an important progressive intellectual and the founder of Keiō University, remarked in 1875, "in Japan there is a government but no nation."[11] Further complicating this objective was an early and deep disillusionment on the part of many in the new society with their new leaders for not truly implementing the imperial rule that many nationalist participants in the "Restoration" had felt was promised them. From the very beginning, tensions between perceptions of the partisan character of the Meiji state and the possibility of a new sense of national unity marked nationalist discourse in modern Japan.

Rather than a stable, homogeneous Japanese nation-state, the Meiji Restoration provided the contours for modern Japan's ongoing debate on national identity and state structures.[12] As George Wilson has demonstrated, the restoration accentuated a tension in the nation between "patriots," who looked to political solutions in the modern state, and "redeemers," activists who had sought deeper solutions to the

[9] Nishikawa Nagao, "Nihon-gata kokumin kokka no keisei: Hikaku shiteki kanten kara," *Bakumatsu meijiki no kokumin kokka keisei to bunka hen'yō*, Nishikawa Nagao and Matsumiya Hideharu, eds. (Tokyo, 1995), 4, 19–24. Nishikawa makes explicit that these modern revolutions involved shaping not only the political state but also (distinctly and simultaneously) the cultural nation.

[10] Edwin O. Reischauer, *Japan: The Story of a Nation*, 4th edn. (New York, 1990), 124. See the chart listing twenty-seven of the Meiji leaders (thirteen from Satsuma or Chōshū, the remainder mostly from two other domains and the court) in John Whitney Hall, *Japan: From Prehistory to Modern Times* (Tokyo, 1971), 268. For a political analysis of the Meiji state that emphasizes the tensions between the Satchō influence and the movement toward an impartial state, see Michio Umegaki, *After the Restoration: The Beginning of Japan's Modern State* (New York, 1988).

[11] Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Bummeiron no gairyaku* (1875; rpt. edn., Tokyo, 1931), 192. The word Fukuzawa used for "nation" is *kokumin*, which can mean "the people," specifically the national people, but not the state. The word he chose for the "government," *seifu*, is much closer to the "state" than the "nation." For an English translation, see *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*, David A. Dilworth and G. Cameron Hurst, trans. (Tokyo, 1973). On the origins of the concept of "nation" in the people, and thus the distinction between "nation" and "state" in political theory, see Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding* (Princeton, N.J., 1994).

[12] See, for example, Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton, N.J., 1985).



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problem of spiritual and human dignity in the social transformations that were unfolding.[13] Instead of national solidarity, the Meiji Restoration inaugurated a destabilizing disjuncture that, while not unique to Japan—many, if not all, modern societies have been marked by a tension between the state and the people—remains a critical force in modern Japanese political discourse. Did the modern Japanese state truly represent the Japanese nation, and if so, how? Could those people who had lived through the revolution accept the radical new form of a modern state as the embodiment of their traditions and culture? The dilemma of how to build a truly modern nation, a politicized Japanese identity for the new state, was a constant thorn in the side of the revolutionaries who had brought the young Emperor Meiji to the apex of the Meiji state but who could not bring all the people to identify with a modern, imperial Japanese one.

An early attempt to establish a modern Japanese national identity was made by the *kokumin* ideologues, who, active in the 1890s, sought a solution by accentuating the newly discovered sense of national identity at the popular level while also looking for ways of better integrating this popular nationalism into the state.[14] Carol Gluck has demonstrated how widespread and profound this attempt at integration of the people into the state was but also how limited its success.[15] As Irokawa Daikichi wrote, the Meiji state sought to coopt populist national identities through the "emperor-system" ideology. But the imperial solution never fully addressed the fundamental problem of whether "the realm belonged to the realm or to the people"—a political failure that invited military activism in the name of the emperor during the 1930s and 1940s.[16]

This problem of national legitimacy gained a renewed sense of focus and urgency in Japan early in the twentieth century, just as a new form of nationalism was spreading in China. Sun Yat-sen's principle of "ethnic nationalism" (*minzuzhuyi*) promised a popular basis for a common social identity of the masses of "Han" Chinese against the ethnic minority Manchu, who were still clinging to power. In Korea, the concept of the ethnic nation provided one source of cohesiveness to Korean social identity, as their state was being dismantled and taken over by the Japanese empire.[17] Of course, ethnic nationalism was not limited to East Asia: as the twentieth century opened, much of the world was growing intoxicated by ethnic

[13] George M. Wilson, *Patriots and Redeemers in Japan: Motives in the Meiji Restoration* (Chicago, 1992), esp. 1–11.

[14] The term *kokumin* ("nation") was itself a new usage that sought to integrate the Japanese people culturally, politically, and socially into the new state. It is best understood in contrast to the term *minzoku* (ethnic nationality), which gained currency in the early twentieth century. The classic study of these *kokumin* nationalists is Kenneth B. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885–1895* (Stanford, Calif., 1969). In the Japanese-language literature, Maruyama Masao's work on the problem of these nationalists has been influential, and can be discerned in the approach taken by his student, Matsumoto Sannosuke, in his recent English-language article, "Society and the State in the Thought of Kuga Katsunan," *Journal of Pacific Asia* 1 (1994): 126–41.

[15] Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths*, esp. 21–41.

[16] One formulation of the critique of the elite state in nineteenth-century Japan was, "the realm belongs to the realm [and not solely to the emperor]" ("tenka wa tenka no tenka nari"). As Daikichi has noted, "from the beginning of the Meiji period the concept of *kokutai* [the body politic] included contradictory theories of imperial legitimacy." See Irokawa Daikichi, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, Marius B. Jansen, trans. and ed. (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 252–53.

[17] Chizuko T. Allen, "Northeast Asia Centered around Korea: Ch'oe Namson's View of History," *Journal of Asian Studies* 49 (November 1990): 787–806.



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claims of national identity, a development that helps explain the unprecedented bloodshed in World War I.

This broad, international context of ethnic nationalism in the early twentieth century is an essential starting point to understanding how ethnic nationalism came to play an important role in destabilizing political society in Japan, a society that is often described as ethnically homogeneous.[18] Without sufficient attention to the relationship between ethnic identity and nationalism, we risk losing the political dimensions of ethnic nationalism as a challenge to the legitimacy of the modern Japanese state. This problem is especially evident in the approach recently taken by many social scientists that attempts to separate ethnicity from political communities, while at the same time insisting on the importance of real ethnic minorities (however marginal) in Japan.[19] Such an approach, of course, can simply reinscribe an uncritical view of ethnic identity within a critique of the state, even as it attempts to discover some transcendent or material basis to ethnic identities. When confronted with these claims of real ethnic nationality, it is useful to recall Hans Kohn's remark that "nationalism is first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness" and his important reminder that "group consciousness is never exclusive."[20] We need not conclude that the ethnic nation is no more than an idea, or that there are no limitations on how specific nations can be imagined, in order to recognize the central role that intellectuals have played in shaping how broader groups in a specific society situate themselves with respect to their state, their ethnic national identity, and the thought and practice of citizenship in specific political contexts. Just as there is no objective reality behind racial categories,[21] neither did ethnic nationalism require any underlying "real" ethnicity to have a political usefulness for Japanese intellectuals on both ends of the political spectrum in the 1920s and 1930s. These ethnic national visionaries were rarely concerned with the actual existence of minority ethnic groups in Japanese society, nor did the fact of the multi-ethnic origins of the Japanese people give them any pause in raising claims of ethnic national identity in Japan.

The problem of national identity and citizenship in modern Japan was shaped to a considerable degree by the historical formation of populist attitudes in the early twentieth century that were quite hostile to the new Meiji state. The main events narrating this resistance to state-sponsored destruction of the nation, or what some have described elsewhere as "internal colonialism,"[22] can be quickly summarized:

[18] Perhaps the most influential spokesman for Japan's ethnic homogeneity was Edwin O. Reischauer, who wrote that, by the eighth century A.D., early racial mixing in Japan was "almost complete, and the Japanese had already become the homogeneous people we know today." *Japan*, 10. Reischauer was merely expressing a view that was widespread among many Japanese ethnographers and historians and common sense to many ordinary Japanese people at the time. On the influence of "the myth of homogeneity" among influential Japanese politicians today, see Karel van Wolferen, *The Enigma of Japanese Power: People and Politics in a Stateless Nation* (New York, 1989), 267–69.

[19] See Okabe Kazuaki, *Taminzoku shakai no tōrai* (Tokyo, 1991); Yazawa Kōsuke, "Taminzoku shakai to shite no nihon," *Kōza nihon rekishi*, 13 vols. (Tokyo, 1985), 13: 25–47.

[20] Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Background* (New York, 1944), 10–11.

[21] For a particularly thought-provoking survey of the debates over the pertinence of biological race to social science and the enduring social relevance of race, see Pierre L. van den Berghe, "Does Race Matter?" *Nations and Nationalism* 1, pt. 3 (1995).

[22] See Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development,*



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the Ashio copper-mine poisoning incident that became a rallying cry for opposition movements during the 1890s; the Hibiya riots that followed the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 and brought down populist and patriotic anger on the state for not securing greater social benefits from the war; and even the rice riots of 1918 led by housewives across the country who were angry about the unaccountable inflation in rice prices during the war.[23] Conceiving of these social and historical forces within the framework of "internal colonialism" helps establish surprising lines of continuity between early twentieth-century anti-state populism and later forms of ethnic nationalism that would embrace the state. It also helps shed light on how not only radical rightists but also those on the political left in imperial Japan could play key roles in supporting ethnic nationalism.

Consider, for example, the political career of Shirayanagi Shūko. Shirayanagi joined socialists Kōtoku Shūsui and Sakai Toshihiko in the movement of the Commoners' Society (*heiminsha no undō*) in 1903 before forming his own organization, called the Direct Action Band of the Organization for Reforming Society (*shakai kairyō dantai chokkōdan*) and editing the group's newsletter, *Plain Speaking* (*Chokugen*). Shirayanagi was well known as a leading socialist and proletarian activist during the early twentieth century. But rather than seeing his later career as a nationalist and apologist for Japan during the war as a radical break from his earlier socialist period, a more consistent view of Shirayanagi's thought might offer some key insights into how the discourse on national and social identity evolved in modern Japan.

In ways remarkably similar to social theorists from Adam Smith to G. W. F. Hegel and even Karl Marx, Shirayanagi imagined society as autonomous from the state. But his concept of society was not that of a civil society, since memory of the Meiji Restoration was still fresh and encouraged a view of Japanese society as a

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*1536–1966* (London, 1975). Hechter's concept builds on the tradition of early twentieth-century scholars such as John A. Hobson and Rudolf Hilferding, who argued that finance capital was holding nations hostage to international elites. Even though Hobson's and Hilferding's works were influential among the liberals and Marxists I discuss in this essay, no one to my knowledge has applied the concept of internal colonialism to Japan. In *The Political Economy of Growth* (New York, 1962), Paul A. Baran mentions in passing that the village "in the course of its entire modern history played for Japanese capitalism the role of an internal colony" (155; my thanks to an anonymous reader for the *AHR* for pointing this out). But colonialism is best understood as the oppression of *national*, not village or local, aspirations, by a supra-national political-economic structure (empire), and it is in this more precise sense that the ethnic nation appealed to both rightist and leftist historians in modern Japan as they contested the modern state. Most studies on Japanese colonialism have focused on the development of modern Japan under the threat of Western imperialism and its subsequent rise as a junior imperialist partner in its own right, especially in its relations with other countries in Asia. For example, see Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895–1910* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); Ramon H. Meyers and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945* (Princeton, N.J., 1984). Works on Japanese nationalism have shown more sensitivity to the issue. George Wilson's classic *Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki, 1883–1937* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969) and Tetsuo Najita and H. D. Harootunian's chapter "Japanese Revolt against the West: Political and Cultural Criticism in the Twentieth Century," *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 6: *The Twentieth Century*, Peter Duus, ed. (Cambridge, 1988), illustrate the tensions many Japanese nationalists felt toward the Meiji state, although none of these authors explicitly develops an argument on internal colonialism.

[23] See F. G. Notefelfer, "Japan's First Pollution Incident," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 1 (Spring 1975); Shumpei Okamoto, "The Emperor and the Crowd: The Historical Significance of the Hibiya Riot," in Tetsuo Najita and J. Victor Koschmann, eds., *Conflict in Modern Japanese History: The Neglected Tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1982); Peter Duus and Irwin Scheiner, "Socialism, Liberalism, and Marxism, 1901–1931," *Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 6.



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Historian and journalist Shirayanagi Shūko (1884–1950), n.d. From *Kokushi Daijiten* (Tokyo), vol. 7: 750.

natural group set upon by the upstart (and artificial) Meiji state and its constructed sense of national identity around recently contrived political criteria (*kokumin*). Marx's critique of civil society (as Antonio Gramsci would later make explicit) as a bourgeois ideological construct was particularly appealing in this context, and the cause of civil society in Japan was not helped by its accurate if unappealing translation as *shimin shakai*, a precise translation of Immanuel Kant's *bürgerliche Gesellschaft*.[24] That is to say, civil society in Japanese explicitly signified "city-people society" (or "bourgeois society"), underscoring an urban bias in the concept

[24] The precision in the Japanese translation of the concept of civil society from the German contradicts Lutz Niethammer's argument that "it is one of the specificities of the German notion of history that the concepts of 'civil society' and 'bourgeois society' are denoted by the same term: *bürgerliche Gesellschaft*." Niethammer, *Posthistoire: Has History Come to an End?* Patrick Camiller, trans. (New York, 1992), 20, n. 3. There seems little that is specific to the German case, since the Japanese concept of civil society as *shimin shakai* reflects the very same ambivalence.



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of civil society and citizen.[25] In the context of early twentieth-century Japanese economic and social structures, such a concept of urban society was an unlikely source for a progressive, broad-based sense of national identity. Instead, "civil society" in Japan would encourage a further separation between city and country, limiting the appeal of urban ("bourgeois") liberals and enhancing the case of rural popular nationalists and the Imperial Army as they frequently turned against the constitutional Meiji state.[26]

One of the first sustained attempts by an influential liberal intellectual to reconcile the claims of society and the state was made by Ōyama Ikuo, a journalist and professor at the elite and private Waseda University. In his 1923 book *The Social Foundations of Politics*, Ōyama criticized the structure of the state for not representing the interests of society, and he employed the strategies of the Austrian social democrats, especially Otto Bauer. The latter attracted Ōyama's interest for both his definition of the nation as "the totality of men bound together through a common destiny into a community of character" and his theoretical distinction between the socialist nation and the capitalist state, which he criticized as narrowly sectarian and bourgeois.[27] Like Bauer, Ōyama maintained that nations were products of history rather than of nature, arguing that the modern "nation-state" (his translation of *minzoku kokka*) was a product of war and conquest, just as is the (ethnic) nationality (*minzoku*) that forms the core of the nation-state. Neither the nation nor the state was a natural body, according to Ōyama; rather, both were artificial constructs peculiar to the modern period. But his partiality to the concept of nation as a popular or ethnic body stemmed from his awareness of the difficulties and yet importance of distinguishing different concepts of nationalism and the nation.

Ōyama provided one of the clearest descriptions of how the problem of ethnic nationalism was seen by members of the political Left during the pre-war years. It is worth quoting at length, since the terms and definitions Ōyama used were shared broadly among the leftist supporters of ethnic nationalism who are discussed below:

> What I would like to add here is a reflection on how such terms as ethnic nationalism (*minzokushugi*) and nationalism (*kokuminshugi*) are generally understood in their actual usage. The insistence on liberating one or more nationalities from the statist domination of another nationality usually is expressed through the term *minzokushugi*—"principle of nationality." In contrast, when a nationality [*minzoku*] that occupies a dominant position within a state attempts to fulfill its desires to express its existence in the form of an

[25] Because of this urban reference, Mitani Hiroshi questions the appropriateness of the term *shimin* as the standard Japanese translation for *citoyen* in his *Meiji ishin to nashonarizumu* (Tokyo, 1997), 27, n. 10.

[26] Richard J. Smethurst, *A Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism: The Army and the Rural Community* (Berkeley, Calif., 1974), is the standard work on the close relationship between rural society and militarism in pre-war Japan. Yet Smethurst shares Barrington Moore's approach to dictatorship as coming from "top down"; Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, 1966). In *Kusa no ne no fuashizumu* (Tokyo, 1987), Yoshimi Yoshiaki has provided a compelling account of what he calls "grass-roots fascism" that emphasizes the voluntary nature of local support for the Japanese wartime state. While Yoshimi stresses the active role of rural society, neither he nor Smethurst uncovers any significant sentiment for civil society in their study of rural Japan.

[27] Otto Bauer, "The Nationalities Question and Social Democracy" (1907), rpt. in Omar Dahbour and Micheline R. Ishay, eds., *The Nationalism Reader* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1995), 183.



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independent nation-state by carrying out assimilation policies or oppressing weaker nationalities at home, while manifesting its hostility in various ways toward other nationalities or foreign states, we usually call the guiding principle behind such efforts *kokuminshugi*—"nationalism." This is because a nationality that is under the dominance of another nationality is usually simply called a *minzoku*—"a nationality," but a nationality that either has already formed its own state, or that occupies the center of superior dominance and power within a state—a nationality that has made a state—is therefore called a *kokumin*—"nation." We must pay careful attention to the fact that in Japanese common usage, the original word "nation" is frequently used in a highly indiscriminate way, and its direct Japanese translation as *kokumin* is also used in a very thoughtless manner. In Japan, there are many cases where the word *kokumin* is used as a direct translation of the German *Staatvolk* to express collectively the general members of the object of sovereign power. When we use such terms as *minzoku* and *kokumin*, we should first be prepared to distinguish these points.[28]

Alternatives in conceptualizing the nation were not mere academic exercises. Since national identity is largely an imagined one, the precise forms of imagination that Japanese leftists like Ōyama chose to emphasize carried specific political implications for their society and time and testified to the importance of intellectuals in shaping the conditions of public discourse.

Ōyama generally followed Joseph Stalin's position on the problem of nationalism, accepting the categories of good nationalisms (embodied in ethnic liberation movements against capitalist states) and bad nationalisms (embodied in the capitalist, bourgeois states, anchored by supposedly bourgeois ideologies of civil society).[29] But Bauer's sanguine assessment of the possibilities of reconciling nationalism and social democracy appealed even more to Ōyama, for whom society was largely interchangeable with an ethnically determined sense of nationality.[30] Bauer's influence is evident in Ōyama's conclusion that a good nationalism might sprout from under the weeds of capitalism and class warfare in the dawn of a new, international age, a possibility that rested on a vision of what Ōyama called "a non-political form of ethnic national consciousness."[31] By "political," Ōyama made it clear that he meant the capitalist state in a pejorative sense, and this narrow definition of political action increasingly led him to a form of national identity not premised on the state. But this attempt to repossess the nation from the state went far beyond merely criticizing militarism and capitalism, since it also repossessed Japanese society from bourgeois notions of civil society and refashioned it into an

[28] Ōyama Ikuo, *Seiji no shakai-teki kiso* (1923), rpt. in *Ōyama Ikuo zenshū* (Tokyo, 1947), 1: 232–33.

[29] See Ōyama's discussion of "class relations and nationality consciousness in contemporary politics," in *Seiji no shakai-teki kiso*, 218–37. Ōyama drew heavily from Heinrich Cunow's 1921 *Die Marxsche Geschichts-, Gesellschafts- und Staatstheorie* for his understanding of the compatibility of Marxism and nationalism. On Lenin and Stalin's theories on nationalism, see Yuri Slezkine, "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism," *Slavic Review* 53 (Summer 1994): 414–52.

[30] Ōyama discusses Bauer at length in the appendix to *Minzoku tōsō to kaikyū ishiki*, 269–86. It is not clear whether Ōyama understood that Stalin wrote his "Marxism and the National-Colonial Question" to refute Bauer and the Social Democrats' position that the (ethnic) nation was an enduring historical reality. Rather, given his own analysis of modern Japanese social conditions, Ōyama was more concerned to demonstrate how ethnic nationalism was completely compatible with Marxism, social democracy, and the political Left.

[31] *Ōyama Ikuo zenshū*, 1: 237.



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Portrait of Ōyama Ikuo, *ca.* 1920. From Kodama Kōta, ed., *Zusetsu nihon bunkashi taikei 12: Taishō Shōwa jidai* (Tokyo, 1958), p. 150, no. 323. Courtesy of the publisher, Shogakukan, Inc.

ethnic national sense of collective identity. Because civil society was too narrowly constructed around urban bourgeois identity, Ōyama found a broader—if more disturbing—foundation for society in ethnic national identity. This proposal of a broader national identity that incorporated more of everyday Japanese social reality than civil society possibly could found fertile ground in Japan, since the Meiji Restoration's tension between elite "patriotism" and popular "redemption" had yet to be resolved.[32] Ōyama hoped that social redemption could be found in the ethnic

[32] On Ōyama's belief in the role of intellectuals as "social engineers" and his attempt to reconceive "the people" in ways that nonetheless still ignored the rural population, see Peter Duus, "Liberal Intellectuals and Social Conflict in Taishō Japan," in Najita and Koschmann, *Conflict in Modern Japanese History*, 412–40. Duus has also written a general overview of Ōyama's liberalism, "Ōyama Ikuo and the Search for Democracy," James William Morley, ed., *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan* (Princeton, N.J., 1971), 423–58. See also the chapter by Duus and Scheiner, "Socialism, Liberalism, and Marxism, 1901–1931," in *Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 6: 654–710. None of the essays cited above explicitly treats the role that the ethnic nation (*minzoku*) played in Ōyama's thought, although the problem is implicit in discussions of Ōyama's attitude toward democracy, the nation, and the people.



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Ōyama Ikuo on the lecture circuit as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Labor-Farmer Party, *ca.* 1926. (Ōyama is in the center wearing overcoat.) From Naramoto Shinya, ed., *Zusetsu nihon shomin seikatsu shi 8: Taishō-Shōwa* (Tokyo, 1962), p. 104, no. 190.

or cultural nation, which he upheld against the capitalist and militarist modern state.

Ethnic nationalism may adopt a variety of ideological vehicles in its attempt to capture the state, and Ōyama's suggestion that ethnic nationalism might be compatible with liberalism attracted the attention of Hasegawa Nyozekan, writer, journalist, and doyen of liberals in interwar Japan.[33] Hasegawa wrote several essays in the mid-1920s that attempted to build on Ōyama's belief that nationalism could be reconfigured in ways more reflective of broader social interests and experience. The problem, as Hasegawa saw it, was how to avoid the primitive, instinctive ethnic nationalism cynically promoted by the elite state while still representing the everyday lives of the ordinary people who constituted the Japanese ethnic nation. "As a fact of collective life," Hasegawa proposed, "ethnic national life cannot yet be denied."[34] Like Ōyama, Hasegawa employed the concept of the ethnic nation as a substitute for civil society, accepting its modern origins and yet suggesting its broader, and more relevant, grasp of how most Japanese perceived themselves.

[33] On Hasegawa Nyozekan's role as a key liberal in twentieth-century Japan, see Andrew E. Barshay, *State and Intellectual in Imperial Japan: The Public Man in Crisis* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988).

[34] Hasegawa Manjirō [Nyozekan], "Iwayuru minzoku-teki kyōyō no hōkai," *Warera* 6 (January 1924): 31. See also Hasegawa, "Minzoku kanjō no shinri to sono shakai-teki igi," *Warera* 5 (November 1923): 9–26; and see n. 36 below.



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Hasegawa emphasized the role of education in shaping ethnic identity in ways that would support populism and social democracy, without falling victim to the elitist state's cynical use of ethnic nationalism to shore up its own crisis in legitimacy. Thus Hasegawa could write that "humanistic education in the future must be more life-oriented and more ethnic nationalistic."[35] Hasegawa's enthusiasm for ethnic national identity, however, had tempered considerably by the end of the 1920s, when he concluded it was difficult to imagine an ethnic nationalism that the state could not use to its own profit, given his belief that ethnic nationalism was not constrained by any essential nature. If, at the opening of the 1920s, the plasticity of ethnic nationalism seemed to support a leftist critique of the state, by the end of the decade it was becoming increasingly clear that the state, too, could participate in the shaping of ethnic nationalism to fit its own interests.[36]

THE 1930s WAS A CRITICAL PERIOD in the discourse and practice of politics in Japan, a time when the Japanese state increasingly came under attack from those brandishing the concept of ethnic nationalism. And yet, often overlooked in historical accounts of the rise of the *volk*-ish sentiment among conservatives that marks this decade is the significant degree to which Japanese liberals and even Marxists embraced ethnic nationalism. One of Japan's leading novelists, Shimazaki Tōson, returned to the troubles of the Meiji Restoration in his monumental 1935 novel *Before the Dawn* as a means of recovering those peripheral voices (often in the countryside) who had sought a deeper redemption in revolutionary, populist Shintō, only to grow increasingly disillusioned with the Meiji state's political coopting of Shintōism for decidedly non-populist purposes after the initial revolution had given way to attempts at consolidation and state-building.[37]

But it would be too simplistic to suggest that nationalist discourse during the 1930s could be reduced to a crude polarization between culture and politics, or between the ethnic people and the bureaucratic state. Anthony D. Smith's insight that most nationalisms interweave *patria* (a community of laws) and *ethnie* (common culture and ancestry) is no less true of Japanese nationalism during the critical 1930s.[38] The tensions between ethnic and political concepts of national loyalty are poignantly evident in the theories of Tanaka Kōtarō, professor of law at Tokyo Imperial University (the training ground for elite bureaucrats) and a Supreme Court justice in the postwar years. In his prize-winning 1932 article "A Theory of Global Law," Tanaka introduced the theory of natural law as a means of

[35] Hasegawa, "Iwayuru minzoku-teki kyōyō no hōkai," 31–32.

[36] Hasegawa's disillusionment with ethnic national consciousness and his conclusion that ethnic nationalism and the state are ultimately conjoined in political practice may be found in his "Minzoku ishiki," *Shakai keizai taikei* 13 (November 1927).

[37] For the sense of betrayal that some redemptionists felt at the hands of the victorious new patriots, see Shimazaki Tōson's depiction of the years after the Meiji Restoration in *Before the Dawn*, William E. Naff, trans. (Honolulu, 1987), esp. 549–82. On relations between the Meiji state and Shintōism, see Helen Hardacre, *Shintō and the State, 1868–1988* (Princeton, N.J., 1989).

[38] Smith, *National Identity*, 10–13. On the interweaving of ethnic and political nationalism in 1930s Japan, see Kevin M. Doak, "Nationalism as Dialectics: Ethnicity, Moralism, and the State in Early Twentieth Century Japan," in *Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyoto School, and the Question of Nationalism*, James W. Heisig and John C. Maraldo, eds. (Honolulu, 1994), 174–96.



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refuting radical conservatives who believed law was a social construct that must reflect the specificities of Japanese social and cultural practice. Tanaka's main concern was to reconcile the claims of ethnic nationality with the constitutional Meiji state.[39] He began by addressing the thorny question of "what is a nation?"—recognizing, along with Ōyama and Hasegawa, that the concept of the nation (*minzoku*) developed out of race (*jinshu*) but was ultimately distinct from it.[40] Moving clearly toward an ethnic concept of nationality, Tanaka recognized the element of race in the nation but also drew attention to the usual litany of "cultural" elements that nation implied (shared territory, spirit, language, religion, and customs). A classical liberal who supported the modern constitutional state, Tanaka agreed with social democrats like Ōyama that the nation was not the same thing as the state.

Conceding the theoretical distinction between the ethnically determined nation and the political form of the state, Tanaka argued that what really mattered was the relationship between the two: What is the relationship between political sovereignty and national consciousness? Does the state create the nation or do nationally distinctive features produce different forms of the state? In the end, Tanaka concluded that the nation was not a mere invention of the state; rather, the nation assists in the formation of the state, although the state also helps strengthen nationality. The nation belonged to the realm of culture—literature, music, painting, and sculpture—and the state had very little control over such cultural matters.[41] Tanaka drew from the writings of Georg Jellinek, Ramsay Muir, Ernest Renan, and Alfred Eckhard Zimmern to support his view that the nation was a spiritual reality, and therefore he concluded it was an inappropriate area for law, which was concerned with the more objective form of social life, the state.[42]

To be sure, Tanaka's support for ethnic national identity was directed toward a different goal than the Marxist theories of nationalism of men like Ōyama, who sought to bring down the capitalist state. Tanaka argued that a theory of natural law was an essential means of supporting the multi-nation Japanese (imperial) state, specifically citing such multi-nation states as Great Britain and the United States for legitimacy. In framing the issues this way, Tanaka was able to point to the Japanese colonies of Taiwan and Korea as evidence that Japan had become a multinational and multi-ethnic political entity much like those paragons of liberalism, Great Britain and the United States. He attacked "historical legalists" who opposed multi-nation states in favor of ethnic nation-states, and he traced their belief that law was merely a product of ethnic national spirit to the early nineteenth-century German Romantic School.[43] In contrast, Tanaka conceded an

[39] Tanaka Kōtarō, *Sekaihō no riron*, 6 vols. (1932; rpt. edn., Tokyo, 1950), vol. 1. Volumes 2 and 3 were published in 1933 (rpt. 1950) and 1952.

[40] Tanaka, *Sekaihō no riron*, 1: 162–66. Compare Tanaka's distinction between the ethnic nation (*minzoku*) as distinct from race (*jinshu*) with Smith's caution that the *ethnie*, as the foundation for the modern concept of nation, "must be sharply differentiated from a *race* in the sense of a social group that is held to possess unique hereditary biological traits that allegedly determine the mental attributes of the group." Smith, *National Identity*, 21.

[41] Tanaka, *Sekaihō no riron*, 1: 190–91, 193–95.

[42] Tanaka, *Sekaihō no riron*, 1: 212–16.

[43] Tanaka, *Sekaihō no riron*, 1: 268. At the time Tanaka wrote, the German Romantics and their ethnic nationalism were admired by a popular group of Japanese writers and critics, who called



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ethnic definition of national culture, but he argued that the ethnic nation (*minzoku*) must be secured within a trans-ethnic, constitutional political order. Law transcends cultural attributes, and therefore, Tanaka concluded, "I do not hesitate in encouraging politicians to carry out the legislative policy of the state in a fundamentally different manner than national language policies, that is, in a purely rational technical spirit."[44]

Such language on multi-ethnic states captured the paradox at the heart of the modern Japanese constitutional state. Tanaka's theory of natural law sought to legitimate the Meiji state's use of Western constitutional theory, while his recognition of the cultural nation as an entity separate from the state addressed the question of supposed cultural loss in the westernized, modern Japanese state. Yet, when viewed from events outside of Japan proper, Tanaka's theories on natural law and the formal nature of the legal state also provided theoretical justification for the Japanese empire, which had easily encompassed other "ethnic nations" such as Korea under the Greater Japan Imperial Constitution of 1889. Tanaka's refutation of Japanese ethnic nationalism retained a place for Japanese ethnic identity within the Meiji state, while denying the political aspirations of ethnic nationalists in Korea and other parts of the Japanese empire for their own nation-state.

While Tanaka had skillfully harnessed the growing discourse on ethnic nationality in support of Japan's capitalist, imperial state, others sought to preserve ethnic nationalism as distinct from bourgeois and capitalist states in order to promote Marxist political goals. A leader among Marxist supporters of ethnic nationalism was Matsubara Hiroshi, who in 1935 published an outline of Stalin's definition of the nation to aid his fellow Marxists who were planning a conference on the problem of ethnic nationalism.[45] Matsubara emphasized Stalin's position: the ethnic nation was a community that was neither racial nor tribal but was shaped by historical events and possessed a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological structure. Significantly, Matsubara did not include Stalin's criticism of Otto Bauer's definition of the nation as too ethnologically determined, instead emphasizing how Stalin's definition of the nation was "a most accurate, principled critique . . . of the confusion we find in our 'everyday' consciousness of ethnicity [*minzoku*], tribe [*shuzoku*], and race [*jinshu*], or of the ethnic nation [*minzoku*], the state [*kokka*], and the political nation [*kokumin*]."[46] Matsubara's essay provided the springboard for a debate on ethnic nationalism he held with seven other Marxists (Tosaka Jun, Izu Tadao, Ōta Takeo, Hirokawa Hisashi, Utsumi Takashi, Kojima Hatsuo, and Mori Kōichi). Their views ranged widely, but their responses to Matsubara, published in the journal *Yuibutsuron kenkyū* (Studies in Materialist Theory), revealed a fundamental agreement that the ethnic nation, which they all

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themselves the "Japan Romantic School." See Kevin M. Doak, *Dreams of Difference: The Japan Romantic School and the Crisis of Modernity* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994).

[44] Tanaka, *Sekaihō no riron*, 1: 269.

[45] Matsubara's real name was Suga Hirota. He had translated R. Palme Dutt's *Fascism and Social Revolution* (1934) and would play an active role in Marxist intellectual circles until he was drafted into the Imperial Army. He died in Burma during the war, probably in 1944.

[46] Matsubara Hiroshi, "Minzoku no kiso gainen ni tsuite—kenkyū sozai," *Yuibutsuron kenkyū*, no. 30 (April 1935), rpt. in *Rekishi kagaku taikei*, Vol. 15: *Minzoku no mondai*, Bandō Hiroshi, ed. (Tokyo, 1976), 9.



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conceived of as *minzoku*, was a product of historical forces and therefore was both real and contingent.[47] The ethnic nation, they suggested, was a protean tool that could serve Marxist purposes as well as capitalist ones.

The ethnic nation could indeed change form, but subsequent events did not support the expectations of Matsubara and his comrades. In the midst of this Marxist debate on the validity of the ethnic nation as a historically contingent social identity, Shirayanagi published his own theories, which also insisted on the distinction between a concept of the political nation (*kokumin*) and a concept of the ethnic nation (*minzoku*). As Shirayanagi pointedly argued, although the Japanese political nation included Taiwanese and Koreans, the Japanese ethnic nation did not, except for those Chinese and Koreans who had been assimilated into it over the centuries. Shirayanagi relegated race (*jinshu*) to anthropologists and others who would argue for Asian racial affinities that transcended ethnic-national identities. Instead, he offered a classic definition of ethnicity that included both blood and culture. He defined the ethnic nation as a group possessing a common physical appearance (which he conceded might have resulted from assimilating various races), a common language, common religious beliefs and rituals, and a common way of life.[48] Shirayanagi's distinction between the ethnic nation and the political nation might seem at first to imply a criticism of Japanese imperialist policies in East Asia, since he rejected the importance of a common Asian racial consciousness and was quite skeptical of the Japanese state's attempts to assimilate the newest members of the Japanese political nation (*kokumin*) into the Japanese ethnic nation (*minzoku*). Indeed, the major thrust of Shirayanagi's entire book was to demonstrate the natural bonds of the Japanese ethnic nation and the superiority of ethnic nationalism over political forms of national identity—the very political forms that tied together the Japanese empire.

Shirayanagi's conclusion stands as a powerful reminder of the inherent dangers of ethnic nationalism as the basis for a political community like the modern state. Ethnic nationalism, even predicated on the historical assimilation of several different racial groups, eventually led Shirayanagi to a naturalization of political ideologies that not only excluded other ethnic groups like the Taiwanese and Koreans as members of the Japanese nation but also silenced ethnic Japanese who might support non-ethnic norms of political citizenship as an alternative to the totalitarianism of a naturalized nation-state. Shirayanagi shared Matsubara's view that historical experience, rather than racial attributes per se, determined the nature of the Japanese nation, but he went further to suggest that Japanese ethnic national harmony mandated specific Japanese political structures and policies, a causal relation that was complete and not open to debate.[49] Arguing precisely the

[47] Bandō Hiroshi, ed., "Rekishi ni okeru minzoku no mondai ni tsuite," *Rekishi kagaku taikei*, 15: 313–14.

[48] Shirayanagi Shūko, *Nihon minzoku ron* (1934; rpt. edn., Tokyo, 1942), 5–6. Compare Shirayanagi's definition of the ethnic nation with Anthony Smith's six attributes of "the ethnic community" (ethnie): a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, differentiating elements of common culture, association with a specific homeland, a sense of solidarity. Smith, *National Identity*, 21.

[49] On page 9 of the preface, Shirayanagi added an invitation to readers to mail their comments to him and provided an address for the purpose. Of course, only an exceptionally courageous or foolhardy reader would send critical comments on Shirayanagi's brand of nationalism to him, given the general



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opposite of Edwin Reischauer's famous formula that feudalism was the historical foundation for modern Japan's political liberalism, Shirayanagi maintained that, because Japan had lacked a period of feudalism, it was, and would always be, a totalitarian state:

> What we learn from the fact that Japan avoided the feudal domination of the Chinese polity during its long medieval night is that Japan is, in the end, an innately totalitarian state. Many people these days seem to think that the totalitarian state is the product of a new theory that Hitler or Mussolini constructed in opposition to the American, British, and French idea of the liberal state. But this is sheer nonsense. The difference between liberal states and totalitarian states comes from the growth and development of specific states. This is not the result of theory or ideas; it is the force of facts and history. If the three powerful developed states of England, the U.S., and France are natural-born liberal states, then Japan is a natural-born totalitarian state.[50]

Ethnic nationalism had taken Shirayanagi from an anti-statist, populist socialism to a national socialism that embraced the state. In the process, ethnic nationalism functioned in place of civil society as the foundation for the state, as Shirayanagi offered an emotional attachment, a kind of nostalgia, for the origins of the ethnic nation. In Shirayanagi's words, the "love of society" that was the foundation of liberal states was rejected in totalitarian ethnic nations like Japan in favor of "love of the fatherland."[51] No longer an agent for oppressing the common people, the state had become the people's natural protector and advocate.

THE REVIVAL OF ETHNIC NATIONALISM in postwar Japan, especially among leftist historians, has often been overlooked, even though recent events suggest that the postwar "liberal" Japanese state has not yet completely uprooted Shirayanagi's "love of the fatherland" and replaced it with his alternative, "love of society." That is to say, civil society in postwar Japan still has to compete with ethnic nationalism as an alternative source of anti-state sentiment, and historians on the left often share with their rightist opponents a positive view of the Japanese ethnic nation as the subject of their historical narratives. My point is not to reinscribe notions of natural continuity within the Japanese nation from ancient times to the present but to recognize that, since the war, many Japanese continue to grapple with the tradition of ethnic nationalism whose contours I have been outlining here. It is becoming increasingly apparent that such American-inspired reforms as a new constitution returning sovereignty to the Japanese people and extending the franchise to women, or heavy doses of social studies in Japanese schools, have not displaced ethnic nationalism in Japanese public discourse, despite earlier optimistic impressions. In the immediate postwar years, Marxist historians such as Inoue

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political climate and Shirayanagi's position as a member of the board of the Japan Literary Patriotic Association, to which he was appointed in June 1942, the same month that his *Nihon minzoku ron* was published.

[50] Shirayanagi, *Nihon minzoku ron*, 495. For Reischauer's theory on feudalism and its relation to political structures in modern Japan, see Edwin Reischauer, "Our Asian Frontiers of Knowledge," *University of Arizona Bulletin, Riecker Memorial Lecture*, no. 4 (Tucson, Ariz., 1958).

[51] Shirayanagi, *Nihon minzoku ron*, 496–97.



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Kiyoshi again hailed ethnic nationalism as a critical ingredient in anti-imperialism and decolonization movements in ways that reconnected to the post-Meiji popular disenchantment with the modern capitalist state. But domestic history and its reemployment in the service of ethnic nationalism could not be severed from contemporary and theoretical concerns as easily as Shirayanagi had suggested. The recent return by the Japan Historiographical Research Association to the problem of the ethnic and political bases of the nation represents both an attempt to come to terms with the previous Japanese discourses on ethnic nationalism and the state and an indication of the contemporary importance of debates over nationalism in Japan today.[52] In addition, as with the pre-war discourse on ethnic nationalism, many leftist critics are once again participating in this return to ethnicity as a more liberating source of identity and social value than the modern state.

To comprehend fully the significance of postwar attacks on the Japanese state, it is essential to grasp the intimate connection between the postwar Japanese state and its origins in the U.S. Occupation of Japan from 1945 to 1952. The occupation is often portrayed merely as attempts at democratizing Japan, uprooting feudalism, making Japan progressive, extending the franchise to women, returning labor to the political process, inoculating Japan against the return of fascism or militarism, or even as an exercise in converting the Japanese into a postwar image of the normal American. In varying degrees, it was all of these things. But throughout and beyond these specific reforms, the American occupation was an exercise in national redefinition: to be precise, it was an attempt on the part of the United States to redefine the Japanese nation away from ethnic and toward civic models. In order to appreciate the complexity of this process of national redefinition, we would do well to recall Satō Shigeki's reminder that nations are best grasped not as imagined or narrated communities but as fields of discursive contestation where various definitions of the nation compete for dominance.[53] Yet we still have little understanding of the full dimensions of the postwar period as a period of contestation over what the nation is and especially over how nationalism should be resituated in the context of the new Japanese state.

By placing sovereignty in the hands of the Japanese people, the postwar constitution was designed to resolve the tensions that stemmed from pre-war Japanese nationalist discourse. Those writings had highlighted the gap between the state—where sovereignty resided in the emperor—and the people—who, though never constitutionally sovereign, had been represented as the core of the nation in various ideological attacks on the elitist Meiji state (*minponshugi*, *minshushugi*, and *minzokushugi*). While historians have rightly noted the role of the "reverse course" in occupation policy, there also was a consistent goal to the entire occupation that is often overlooked.[54] Whether achieved through democratic labor unions or

[52] Matsumoto Akira, "'Kokumin kokka' no rinen to genjitsu," *Rekishigaku kenkyū*, no. 678 (November 1995): 47–54, 80.

[53] Satō Shigeki, "Neishon, nashonarizumu, esunishitei," *Shisō*, no. 865 (August 1995): 106.

[54] Tetsuo Najita, *Japan: The Intellectual Foundations of Modern Japanese Politics* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974), 102–27; also see Najita, "Nakano Seigō and the Spirit of the Meiji Restoration in Twentieth-Century Japan," in Morley, *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan*, 375–421. On the "reverse course" in U.S. occupation policy, see John Dower, "Peace and Democracy in Two Systems: External Policy and Internal Conflict," in Andrew Gordon, ed., *Postwar Japan as History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993),



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American banking methods, the fundamental policy included an encouragement of a liberal democratic nationalism that would support the liberal, capitalist Japanese state. This democratic nationalism rested on a concept of the Japanese people as a sovereign *kokumin*, the key concept of postwar national citizenship that would now include women and that was explicitly joined to the civic values of the new constitution. This belief in the values of a liberal, civic nation was not merely a rejection of class as more fundamental to social life than the nation but a clear alternative to the pervasive concept in wartime Japan of the Japanese as a distinct ethnic nation (*minzoku*) among its fellow members of the Asian race (*jinshu*).

The postwar constitution upheld the civic ideals of political community against the traditionalism inherent in the concept of the nation as an ethnic community. This strategic support for civic nationalism was not merely an attempt to supplant the national socialism of the wartime years. Eradicating national socialism and the ethnic nationalism that underlay it was certainly a key goal of the postwar reforms.[55] Indeed, the tension between the constitutional state and right-wing nationalists who rejected the civic nationalism of the postwar constitution and who wanted to return to an ethnic nationalism centered on the emperor as a kind of tribal chieftain did not disappear with the end of the U.S. Occupation. These ethnic nationalist resentments have continued throughout the postwar period, and they recently resurfaced in a movement to bring down Prime Minister Takeshita Noboru, whom these nationalists held responsible for Emperor Akihito's plea of January 9, 1989, to protect the postwar constitution.[56]

To suggest that the postwar Japanese constitutional state is a progressive force against die-hard conservative ethnic nationalism is hardly a revolutionary view. Less well understood, however, is the way in which this constitutionally imposed concept of political national identity (*kokumin*) was contested not only by rightist intellectuals by also by leftist historians who sought to portray such civic nationalism as a sham and in its place offered an ethnic form of the nation that positioned the people as victims of internal colonization by capitalist elites as well as of external colonization by the West.[57] These leftist ethnic national narratives are important and not just because many were written by influential historians who helped shape the historical profession in postwar Japan. Their ethnic nationalism is also significant in light of statements by members of Japan's "New Right" that ethnic nationalism might provide a bridge between the otherwise irreconcilable camps of

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3–33; some primary sources related to the "reverse course" have been collected in Jon Livingston, Joe Moore, and Felicia Oldfather, eds., *Postwar Japan: 1945 to the Present* (New York, 1973), 106–38.

[55] Kageyama Masaharu, *Senryōka no minzoku-ha: Dan'atsu to chōkoku no shōgen* (Tokyo, 1979).

[56] Ino Kenji, "Uyoku minzoku-ha undō o tenbō suru," *Uyoku minzoku-ha sōran* (Tokyo, 1990), 42–46.

[57] The appeal of ethnic nationalism in postwar Japan by no means has been limited to historians. Intellectuals such as Takeuchi Yoshimi and Yoshimoto Takaaki played key roles in returning the issue of ethnic nationalism to the forefront of intellectual life in Japan during the late 1950s and early 1960s. For a general overview, see Lawrence Olson, *Ambivalent Moderns: Portraits of Japanese Cultural Identity* (Savage, Md., 1992). I have outlined the role of ethnic nationalism in Takeuchi's contribution to postwar intellectual life in *Dreams of Difference*, 146–51. But in this article, I want to focus mainly on the use of ethnic nationalism specifically by historians who saw their narratives as progressive or liberal.



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Historians Ishimoda Shō, Tōma Seita, and colleagues, May 1952. Picture taken at Matsushima Eiichi's home during the 1952 Japan Historical Association meeting, where the debate on ethnic nationalism dominated the agenda. Left to right, front row: Hayashi Motoi, Tōma Seita, Kitayama Shigeo, Matsumoto Shinpachirō. Back row: Tōyama Shigeki, Matsushima Eiichi, Ishimoda Shō, Takahashi Shin'ichi. From *Ishimoda Shō chosakushū* geppō 10 (Tokyo, 1989), 7.

conservatives and Marxists. For Ino Kenji, one of these New Rightists, ethnic nationalism promises an effective means of circumventing the issue of the emperor, which, he argues, continues to prevent a unification of "left-wing" and "right-wing" ethnic nationalists.[58]

THE 1950S WAS A FORMATIVE PERIOD in the rehabilitation of ethnic nationalism among leftist critics of the Japanese state, and it laid the foundations for subsequent debates over ethnic nationalism among the political Left in Japan. The decade opened with the ending of the U.S. Occupation, and it is significant that the rediscovery of the ethnic nation, and its juxtaposition against the postwar Japanese state, began during the occupation's final years. At meetings of the Japan Historiographical Research Association in 1951 and 1952, various sessions were organized on the problems of ethnic nations in history that, according to Bandō Hiroshi, left Japanese historians all the more confused about the value of the concept of the ethnic nation for the discipline of history.[59] They had good reason to

[58] Ino Kenji, "Uyoku minzoku-ha undō o tenbō suru," 70.

[59] Bandō, "Rekishi ni okeru minzoku no mondai," 316; Kuroda Toshio, "Minzoku bunkaron," *Kōza nihonshi*, 10 vols., Vol. 9: *Nihon shigaku ronsō* (Tokyo, 1971), 290–93.



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be confused. Just a few years earlier, the "ethnic nation" (*minzoku*) had become a critical weapon in the arsenal of the wartime Japanese state. And, for many, the occupation and the postwar constitutional state were designed to root out such cultural beliefs in the nation and to suggest an exclusive bond between political concepts of national identity and progressivism. Yet, with the "reverse course" in occupation policy and the return of conservative politicians to prominence in the new Japanese state, many progressive historians began to return to Stalin's position on ethnic nationalism as a critique of imperialism and the bourgeois capitalist state. Ethnic nationalism was seen as an effective tool for criticizing, simultaneously, the capitalist postwar Japanese state and the "cultural colonialism" of U.S. imperialism.

One of the first to rediscover the ethnic nation for leftist historians, and certainly one of the most influential historians of nationalism in postwar Japan, was Ishimoda Shō. Ishimoda compiled essays he had presented in various forums, including a meeting of the Association of Democratic Scientists, in his 1952 book *History and the Discovery of the Ethnic Nation*.[60] In this work, Ishimoda drew from Stalin's writings on nationalism to present a systematic approach to ethnic nationalism as a narrative of liberation distinct from the nationalist narratives of modernist bourgeois intellectuals. In Ishimoda's view, the Russian *Narodniks* (Populists) were not simply a proto-bourgeois nation but a true ethnic nation that, while still mired in a feudal social structure, had nonetheless formed a social group that possessed its own historical agency, or "subjectivity."[61] While not all Japanese historians were convinced by Ishimoda's theoretical vision, he played a tremendously important role in encouraging many leftist historians to reconsider ethnic nationalism as a legitimate force for progressive change in postwar Japan.

Another historian who was reconsidering the role of national culture in the standard Marxist analysis of base and superstructure was Tōma Seita. Tōma argued in his 1951 *The Formation of the Japanese Ethnic Nation* that, "at present, class conflict is taking the form of the struggle for ethnic national liberation, and this struggle can achieve victory through a firm union with the forces working to preserve global peace."[62] Tōma explicitly rejected the idea that ethnic nationalism was responsible for the tragedy of the war years, blaming that catastrophe on "something else," by which he surely meant capitalism. He implicitly blamed anti-ethnic nationalist ideologies, especially those of Japan's bourgeois (westernized) intellectuals, for preventing progressive movements from improving the lot of the Japanese working class. Writing in the final days of U.S. occupation, Tōma suggested that Japan was a victim of global imperialism, but that Japan's working class could never succeed in its struggles against capitalism without first understanding the global nature of imperialism in the postwar world order:

> Until now, the emperor-system government has completely substituted statism and anti-foreignism for Japan's ethnic national consciousness; thus the development of both an ethnic national consciousness with a populist foundation and a concept of international solidarity

[60] Ishimoda Shō, *Rekishi to minzoku no hakken: Rekishigaku no kadai to hōhō* (Tokyo, 1952).

[61] Ishimoda Shō, "Rekishigaku ni okeru minzoku no mondai," *Rekishi to minzoku no hakken* (Tokyo, 1952); rpt. in *Ishimoda Shō chosakushū*, 16 vols. (Tokyo, 1989), 14: 121–24.

[62] Tōma Seita, *Nihon minzoku no keisei: Tōa shominzoku to no renkan ni oite* (1951; rpt. edn., Tokyo, 1966), 291.



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has been greatly hampered. Moreover, modernism, which has had such a strong influence over our intellectual class, has arrested the development of ethnic national consciousness and worked to encourage cosmopolitanism.[63]

As these remarks suggest, Tōma was beginning to discover the apparently incongruous connections between Japanese ethnic nationalism and pan-Asianism. He framed the problem as that of "the Japanese ethnic nation in East Asia" and opened his widely influential postscript, "Approaches to the Problem of the Ethnic Nation," with an epigraph on the importance of ethnic national culture drawn from Kim Il-sung, the founding father of North Korea.

Ishimoda and Tōma were hardly voices crying in the historiographical wilderness. The well-known historian Inoue Kiyoshi also contributed to the narrative of ethnic nationalist resistance to the postwar constitutional state. Inoue's contribution began with his 1951 essay on how the Meiji Restoration had formed the Japanese people into an ethnic nation, even while the onslaught of Western culture had warped the subsequent development of ethnic national identity in modern Japan. Yet, deep within the Japanese ethnic identity, Inoue suggested, were more remnants of the pre-modern era than could be found in Western ethnic nations.[64] By the late 1950s, this growing sense of Japan's non-modern identity allowed Inoue and other historians in Japan to respond to a changing world with a belief in Japan's non-Western roots. With the 1955 Bandung Asia-Africa convention, the critique of Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956, resistance in Indo-China to French imperialism, and the French and English intervention in the Suez Canal crisis of 1956 in the background, ethnic nationalist liberation from bourgeois modernism and capitalism increasingly came to mean liberation from the West.

Anger and frustration against both the postwar Japanese state and the United States exploded in the movement against revising the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty during 1959–1960, culminating in the massive riots of June 1960 that brought millions of students, housewives, and ordinary citizens into the streets. Their sense of disillusionment with the postwar Japanese government crystallized when Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke forced passage of the revised Security Treaty in the Diet with questionable parliamentary tactics, and it grew during the 1960s along with the anti–Vietnam War movement. Widespread anger focused not only on the obvious role of the "imperialist" United States in Asia but also on the Japanese state's role in supporting U.S. military activities. Ethnic nationalists argued that imperialism, at home and abroad, provided the glue that connected the Japanese postwar state to its pre-war predecessor: the Japanese state in its postwar reincarnation was no more interested in the views of its subjects than it had been earlier, they argued, but it had found the alliance with the United States a convenient mechanism for continuing its arrogance under the cover of rhetoric about peace and democracy.[65] Oda Makoto,

[63] Tōma, *Nihon minzoku no keisei*, 291.

[64] Inoue Kiyoshi, "Nihon minzoku keisei to meiji ishin no igi," *Nihon gendai shi I: Meiji ishin* (Tokyo, 1951).

[65] Writing when Okinawa was still under direct U.S. occupation, Kuroda Toshio implied that internal colonization was driving the issue of ethnic nationalism in Japan when he noted, "it is safe to say that there has never before in history been anything that so clearly reflects Japan's fate as Okinawa." Kuroda, "Minzoku bunkaron," 296.



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a leader in the anti–Vietnam War movement, argued that the Japanese were "guilty of complicity in the war and must oppose it through individual commitment, lest [they] be coopted by the state."[66] Oda and many of his followers claimed that the postwar Japanese nation was still neither democratic nor autonomous, given the massive popular outpouring of anger over Japanese official support for U.S. policy in Vietnam and the postwar state's refusal to act on that popular anger. The parallels with the bureaucratic arrogance of the wartime state pursuing a policy of "catch-up" with the leading Western imperialist powers seemed too striking to ignore, and the differences between the fascism of the wartime period and the postwar democratic constitutional state were often simply discounted. To Oda and his circle of leftist critics, the Japanese state still seemed more concerned with satisfying the demands of the West than with responding to the concerns of the Japanese people.[67]

For many of these ethnic nationalists, events easily fit a narrative of internal colonization: the Japanese nation (that is, the people) was being oppressed by its own state for economic and political purposes that were not designed for its benefit. Moreover, such state policies were the result of the transnational character of a global capitalism that bore striking resemblances to the pre-war form of imperialism that the Japanese state had more openly espoused.

The Vietnam War provided a receptive social ground in Japan for Inoue Kiyoshi's historical narrative of the Japanese nation held hostage by its own state. In 1966, Inoue reprinted his 1955 *Treaty Revision*, which dealt with how the Japanese had been able to revise the unequal treaties forced on them by the West after the arrival of Commodore Matthew C. Perry in 1853. But the tale of treaty revision was not a story of success, at least not as Inoue told it. Inoue's point is well summarized in the book's dedication to Kataoka Kenkichi and his young comrades, who had openly rebuked the Meiji government after Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru acquiesced to Western demands in his treaty revision draft of 1887. To Inoue Kiyoshi, these young activists, who had declared they would "rather be criminals in the eyes of the law than a nation-less people"[68] (and who were in fact imprisoned), served as a symbol of the Japanese people: as a nation whose state oppressed them in order to appease the Western capitalist powers, the Japanese were represented by Inoue as still victims of internal colonization by their own postwar, and ostensibly autonomous, state.[69]

[66] Thomas R. H. Havens, *Fire across the Sea: The Vietnam War and Japan, 1965–1975* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 120.

[67] Ian Buruma has courageously exposed Oda's ethnic national assumptions in *The Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan* (New York, 1994), 39–46, 102.

[68] Inoue Kiyoshi, *Jōyaku kaisei: Meiji no minzoku mondai* (1955; rpt. edn., Tokyo, 1966), 127.

[69] In case the symbolic point eluded his readers, Inoue made it more explicit in the text. In his preface, he drew the connection between his historical narrative and his contemporary concerns: "A century ago, the various ethnic nations of Asia were turned one by one into colonies or semi-colonies of the Western Powers, and the danger was real for our own country as well. Our grandfathers and grandmothers may have lived in different circumstances from our own today, but they too were suffering under the high-pressured unequal treaties that were forced on them by foreign countries . . . Look, for example, at how our nation suffers more and more every day from the Mutual Security Act, and the 'Peace' treaty and the Japan–U.S. 'Security' treaty that are resurrecting militarism in our country and preventing the establishment of our own autonomy. [By joining forces with other groups, we can] build a truly national peace government in Japan and finally rid ourselves of the San Francisco



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Inoue had presented his case for the internal colonization of the Japanese ethnic nation in *Treaty Revision* metaphorically, through historical narrative. But in 1968, he presented a more direct argument, outlining the "formation of Japanese imperialism" in both narrative and theoretical focus. Lest his historical approach be misunderstood, Inoue underscored his argument that Japanese imperialism had not disappeared at the end of the war but had been reborn and continued to serve as an obstacle to Japanese national progress. But he also stressed that postwar imperialism was not identical to the pre-war version:

> This reborn Japanese imperialism is not a free-standing imperialism as it was earlier; rather, it is dependent on American imperialism, and the Japanese people are, as the people of Okinawa prefecture reveal more intensely, directly oppressed in their daily lives by American imperialism. This is what gives rise to the issue of ethnic national independence, but that issue cannot be settled through ethnic nationalism. Is it not only through a combined struggle against the imperialism that has reappeared in our own country that the problems can be resolved?[70]

Inoue recognized that some readers would find this concept of "dependent imperialism" troubling, perhaps even challenge whether it could be considered imperialism. But Inoue concluded that it was indeed a form of imperialism, which he demonstrated through a sustained analysis of the character and nature of the concept in *The Formation of Japanese Imperialism*.

How "dependent imperialism" approximates what Michael Hechter has called "internal colonization" is borne out through an analysis of Inoue's theory of the modern Japanese "emperor system."[71] Inoue drew a distinction between imperialism (*teikokushugi*) and the emperor system (*tennō-sei*), accepting the existence of the emperor system in late nineteenth-century Japan but arguing that it did not become a true form of expansive, modern imperialism until incorporated into the emerging capitalist structure of Japan's economy in the early twentieth century.

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treaties and the oppression of the Mutual Security Act. As a mere student of history, I hope to participate in my own way in this difficult but glorious national movement." Inoue, *Jōyaku kaisei*, i–iii.

[70] Inoue Kiyoshi, *Nihon teikokushugi no keisei* (Tokyo, 1968), iii. Inoue's example of the Okinawans is revealing is several ways. Okinawans have long sought "ethnic national" (*minzoku-teki*) independence from the mainland Japanese, and Inoue's support for "the issue of ethnic national independence" while distancing himself from "ethnic nationalism" can be read as supporting the Japanese ethnic nation's right to independence from the West, while shrinking from the implication of ethnic nationalism in Okinawa. Somewhat revealing is his choice of terms for the Okinawans as "people of Okinawa prefecture" (*okinawa kenmin*), which locates the people as belonging to an administrative unit of the Japanese state, rather than referring to them as the Okinawan ethnic nation (*okinawa minzoku*), which would imply potential independence from Inoue's ideal concept of the Japanese ethnic nation-state.

[71] The issue of the "emperor system" (*tennō-sei*) is one of the most controversial themes in modern Japanese historiography. Generally associated with a Marxist analysis, the "emperor system" has been refuted by moderates and conservatives, who argue either that the "emperor system" is not a strong influence over the Japanese people's everyday lives or that it simply does not exist as a "system." The literature on the "emperor system" in both English and Japanese is vast, but for a representative sampling in English, see Irokawa, *Culture of the Meiji Period*; and Irokawa Daikichi, *The Age of Hirohito: In Search of Modern Japan*, Mikiso Hane and John K. Urda, trans. (New York, 1995); Nakamura Masanori, *The Japanese Monarchy: Ambassador Joseph Grew and the Making of the "Symbol Emperor System," 1931–1991* (Armonk, N.Y., 1992); Stephen S. Large, *Emperor Hirohito and Shōwa Japan: A Political Biography* (London, 1992); Sheldon Garon, "State and Religion in Imperial Japan, 1912–1945," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 12 (Summer 1986): 273–302.



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Consequently, he concluded that the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), which was undeniably a contest between Japan and China over dominance in Korea, was not a form of modern imperialism by Japan, since the requisite structure of modern capitalism was still immature. Until 1900, Inoue argued, the emperor system was a kind of "tsarist," military emperor system; only with the completion of monopoly capitalism did it truly become a form of modern imperialism. At that stage, "the capitalist class enhanced their political position until they were no longer dependent on the emperor system, but rather *the emperor system was forced to rely on them*."[72] As Inoue's choice of the passive verb reveals, it was at this moment that the Japanese nation was dispossessed of its own state in the form of the emperor as hostage to capitalism. Inoue drew explicitly from J. A. Hobson's theory of imperialism to assert that a social subgroup, the capitalist class, had stolen the state by gaining control over the emperor system.[73] Inoue's focus on this capitalist elite subgroup certainly offered no conflict with his nationalist sympathies, and thus the question of whether the solution was the complete dismantling of the emperor system or simply its severing from monopoly capitalism and its reattachment to the entire ethnic nation was left unsolved.

One response to the impasse presented by Inoue's form of internal colonization was to displace the question of the emperor and ethnic nationalism altogether. Uehara Senroku (1899–1975) was perhaps the most influential historian in suggesting a narrative of liberation that drew from this postwar celebration of ethnic nationalism while connecting it with Japan's return to Asia. Uehara drew from his specialty in European medieval history to suggest that ethnic nationalism, a combination of beliefs in the individual and in historical progress, was a European phenomenon, in spite of recent attempts to portray it as a specifically "Oriental" response to the invasion of Western capitalism in nations from the Near East to the Far East.[74] Since 1953, Uehara had been arguing that this Western phenomenon of ethnic national consciousness did not really apply to the Japanese, who historically had a weak consciousness of themselves as an ethnic nation. Yet Uehara did not return to the postwar constitutional sense of a Japanese national identity. Far from it. Rather, he took the ethnic national attack on the postwar constitutional state even further, suggesting that the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1951 was encouraging in Japan not a belief in constitutional or civic nationalism but a return to the ethnic nationalism of the war years, and therefore he was concerned that the treaty would embolden Japan to adopt an aggressive posture toward its Asian neighbors once again. Having defined the West as the cultural home of ethnic nationalism and political reactionism, Uehara then suggested that westernization in

[72] Inoue, *Nihon teikokushugi no keisei*, 121, emphasis mine.

[73] See Inoue's discussion of J. A. Hobson's 1902 *Imperialism*, which Inoue read in Yanaihara Tadao's translation. Inoue also consulted a range of Yanaihara's writings on imperialism that drew from both Hobson and Rudolf Hilferding to assert that imperialism was the exercise of control over the nation by a financial elite. To Yanaihara and Inoue, the best defense against imperialism for both the Japanese and their colonial subjects was ethnic nationalism. See Inoue, *Nihon teikokushugi no keisei*, 18. Some implications of this theory of ethnic nationalism as resistance to finance capitalism may be found in Hobson's notorious anti-Semitism: he believed that the social subgroup dominating finance capital was the Jews.

[74] Uehara Senroku, "Minzoku no jikaku ni tsuite," in *Minzoku no rekishi-teki jikaku* (1953), rpt. in *Minzoku no mondai*, 235–41.



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postwar Japan was the source of both civic nationalism and this newly revitalized ethnic nationalism, and he offered in the place of both forms of nationalism the image of a united Asia as a new world historical principle for progress and global peace.[75] Of course, ethnic nationalism and the fascination with ethnic national identity did not dissipate into a peaceful Asian harmony as effortlessly as Uehara had hoped.

MOST JAPANESE PROGRESSIVE HISTORIANS who embraced the ethnic nation accepted Stalin's theory that ethnic nationalism was a tool to be used differently in different times and different places. Consequently, even in the postwar years, they were not hesitant about returning to a concept that had been tainted by national socialism and fascism during World War II.[76] As those on the left grew frustrated with the return of capitalism in postwar Japan, ethnic nationalism seemed a promising means of responding to problems of social and cultural alienation that assuredly had not disappeared in the newly resurgent Japan. As in the pre-war years, ethnic nationalism could suggest social solidarity in the face of capitalist elites and, equally important in modern Japan, the ethnic nation could be used to mobilize culture and tradition against westernization, which once again seemed the origin of constitutions, capitalism, and all forms of social oppression. Even attacks on the "emperor-system" state, a stock weapon in the arsenal of leftist historians of Japan, could coexist with a deeper identification with the ethnic Japanese nation, as Inoue Kiyoshi's work reveals.

For those seeking a resolution to the dilemmas of ethnic nationalism or the "emperor-system state," Uehara's pan-Asianism was attractive. But it was also disingenuous. A leap beyond the political realities of modern national cultures and state structures to some nebulous concept of "Asia" ultimately had to rest on an imagined racial unity that was as fictitious as any leap into imagined ethnic communities. There was nothing new about this palliative leap: the same thing had happened during the wartime years when many in Japan found solace in imagining a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." Imagination has rarely been an obstacle to historical or political strategies, and the imagination by many on both the political right and left of culture, ethnicity, and even race as forms of resistance to the postwar constitutional Japanese state remains a serious challenge to popular identification with the postwar Japanese state.

What does this imagination of ethnicity in twentieth-century Japan suggest for those interested in the problem of national identity and theories of resistance to global capitalism, imperialism, and other supra-national strategies of social repre-

[75] Uehara examines this theme of a united Asia as a new world historical principle of global peace in *Sekaishi zō no shin keisei* (Tokyo, 1955) and in *Sekaishi ni okeru gendai no ajia* (Tokyo, 1961). See the discussion of Uehara and Ishimoda as two examples of Japanese historians with influential views of Asia in Kanō Masanao, "Nihon kindai rekishikatachi no ajia kan," *Aera Mook* (Tokyo) 10 (1995): 119–23. Prasenjit Duara's attempt in *Rescuing History from the Nation* to question the modern state in China and India, while suggesting parallels between these two non-Western cultures, shares in the general rethinking of modernization, history, and the state that Uehara outlines above.

[76] Kuroda Toshio explores this fascinating about-face among progressive and democratic historians who, beginning in the 1950s, found themselves dallying with the concept of the ethnic nation (*minzoku*) that had been so repugnant to them only a few years earlier. See Kuroda, "Minzoku bunkaron," 293–94.



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sentation? This question is especially significant today, as we are increasingly hearing of the imminent demise of the nation-state combined with anticipations of the twenty-first century. The ethnic imagination employed by Japanese historians and others in narrating their past experiences and cultural identities provides an illustrative contrast to those, such as Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, who have tended to reduce national identities and histories to the needs of the political state. But what is particularly valuable about the dynamics of this ethnic imagination of national identity in Japan is that it also undercuts the ethnic realism that informs the work of theorists such as Anthony Smith and Walker Connor. Even in Japan, a society where ethnic homogeneity is believed to be highly prevalent, ethnic identity was constantly imagined, projected, recreated, contested, and reimagined, often in ways that had little to do with any "real" ethnic diversity. In short, ethnicity was always a political tool in modern Japan, and as such is best understood as employed over and against other, competing concepts of the political community, including those of the constitutional state, the multi-ethnic empire, and civil society. If ethnicity could be mobilized in such diverse ways in Japan, how much more powerfully would ethnicity tug at the social fabric of other nations, where the allure of ethnic realism might be stronger and more grounded in different kinds of historical and political experiences?

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## Civil Rights Struggles in Chicago

*Over the last century, campaigns for civil rights by African Americans have reshaped politics and policy in the United States and influenced social movements in countless other societies. This* AHR Forum *examines the importance of understanding the local context of black civil rights agitation in America. It does so by examining two particularly revealing civil rights experiences in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Chicago. The articles by Elizabeth Dale and Beth Tompkins Bates underscore the historical significance of local events by demonstrating how specific contests and actions can be used to reconstruct the larger ideological and tactical context of broad, national social movements. Their essays also offer contrasting methods of conducting local history and contextualizing the results. Kevin Gaines's commentary helps us understand the broader implications of these two essays. In addition to useful comments on each article, he highlights the importance of two common themes in the studies: the significance of the ideas and strategies of elites in the struggles of racialized and colonial groups, and the need to develop new methods to examine those elites. Taken together, the essays and commentary examine some critical issues in the history of African Americans while also raising questions about the significance of local history and the study of class and ethnicity.*

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*AHR Forum*

# "Social Equality Does Not Exist among Themselves, nor among Us": *Baylies vs. Curry* and Civil Rights in Chicago, 1888

ELIZABETH DALE

ON MARCH 16, 1888, A TRIAL BEGAN in the Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois. The plaintiff, Josephine Curry, was an African American. She sued Josiah Baylies, the white manager of People's Theatre, for violating the Illinois Civil Rights Act of 1885, which mandated "equal enjoyment" of places of public accommodation.[1]

The events that led to her suit occurred almost two years earlier.[2] As she told the story, on the evening of Sunday, June 6, 1886, she went to see the show at People's Theatre with her husband John and two of his employees. At the ticket office, she asked for tickets to the first balcony and was told she could not sit there. The ticket agent suggested that, if she wanted to see a show, she should go next door to Park Theater instead. Her party left. Outside, they met a white customer of John Curry's

This article began as a paper for the graduate student seminar in 19th Century Pluralism at the University of Chicago, and at that point both Kathleen N. Conzen and David Tanenhaus made helpful comments. A subsequent version was presented at the University of Chicago Workshop on Comparative Legal History, and in retrospect I appreciate the comments made there by Jules Kirshner, Bill Novak, and the other participants. Later versions were presented at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association and the Social Science History Association Conference. I also appreciate the suggestions, and the patience, of David L. Ransel, Michael Grossberg, and the anonymous reviewers for the *AHR*.

[1] The full text of the act read: "Section 1: Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly: That all persons within the jurisdiction of said State shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, restaurants, eating houses, barber shops, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and all other places of public accommodation and amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to all citizens.

Section 2: That any person who shall violate any of the provisions of the foregoing section by denying to any citizen, except for reasons applicable alike to all citizens of every race and color, and regardless of color or race, the full enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, or privileges in said section enumerated, or by aiding or inciting such denial, shall, for every such offense, forfeit and pay a sum of no less than twenty-five (25) dollars nor more than five hundred to the person aggrieved thereby, to be recovered in any court of competent jurisdiction, in the county where said offense was committed; and shall also, for every such offense, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not to exceed five hundred (500) dollars, or shall be imprisoned not more than one year, or both: And, provided further, that a judgment in favor of the party aggrieved, or punishment upon an indictment, shall be a bar to either prosecution respectively." *Illinois Revised Statutes*, 1886, chap. 38, section 22.01–02.

[2] The court records of the Curry case no longer exist. According to the records in the Circuit Court of Cook County, the case file was withdrawn at the turn of the century and never returned. Case file



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barbershop who agreed to buy them tickets for the first balcony. After he did so, the Currys went back into People's, but before they could sit down an usher stopped them and sent them back to the ticket office. There, they again were told they could not sit in the first balcony. When they insisted, someone—according to Josephine Curry, it was Baylies—threw money at her and said, "Get out of here, you damn niggers." Baylies told a different story. He denied he was at the theater that night, denied making the comments attributed to him, and denied intending to discriminate. At the same time, he admitted that his theater's policy was to segregate seating, to prevent fights.[3]

The case was tried in a single day, and at its end the jury returned a verdict for Mrs. Curry for $100. Although news accounts written immediately after the trial described the verdict as an important one, it was not noticeably influential. In the most narrow legal sense, the decision created good law. The Illinois Appellate Court upheld Curry's victory in March 1889, and the Illinois Supreme Court affirmed it once again the following May.[4] Yet, in a story written two years after the Curry case, the *Chicago Daily News* had forgotten it completely, asserting that "[s]uits have been commenced against theatrical managers by colored people for not allowing them to enter the theater, but none of them have ever gone to trial."[5] And so, while it stayed on the books, Curry's case vanished almost as quickly as it was decided.

As its disappearance suggests, the significance of Curry's case is not based on the precedential effect of her victory. Rather, it lies in the different visions of equality that her case exposed and disguised, as well as their relation to the way it disappeared. Curry's demand for integrated seating in People's Theatre arose in a time and place that has been described from two very different perspectives. In American legal histories, the late nineteenth century was a civil rights wasteland where "[t]he high hopes for a future of racial justice which abolitionists had expressed at the end of the war were betrayed by the moral indifference and sordid

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for 86 C 5694, Cook County Archives, Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois. The discussion of the case in this section and throughout the article is, therefore, a recreation of what apparently happened at the trial based on other sources. Fortunately, the case was reported in four major newspapers: *Chicago Daily News*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Inter Ocean*, and *Chicago Times*. In addition, both the appellate and supreme court briefs are summarized in the published opinions of those courts, which are reported at 30 Ill. App. 105 (1st Dist. 1889) and 128 Ill. 287 (1889). Those opinions also contain summaries of the facts that were presented at trial. This combination of sources has permitted the recreation of major bits of testimony and arguments in the case. The variety of the sources has also permitted cross-checking of details. Where verification was impossible or where there were inconsistent versions, I have noted it.

[3] *Chicago Daily News* (June 5, 1886): 5, advertising Pastor's show at People's. Curry's testimony is from the *Chicago Tribune* (March 16, 1888): 1. People's Theatre had two balconies, a main floor, and could seat 2,000. *Marquis' Handbook of Chicago: A Complete History, Reference Book, and Guide to the City* (Chicago, 1885), 243.

[4] The case was on the front page in both the *Chicago Daily News* and the *Chicago Tribune* on March 16, 1888. *Chicago Inter Ocean* (March 17, 1888): 16; *Chicago Times* (March 17, 1888): 2; *New York Times* (March 17, 1888): 2. The decision of the Appellate Court is reported at *Baylies v. Curry*, 30 Ill. App. 105 (1st Dist. 1889). The decision of the Illinois Supreme Court is reported at *Baylies v. Curry*, 128 Ill. 287 (1889). The captions of both cases, which set the defendant's name first, reflect the nineteenth-century custom of putting the name of the plaintiff in error (or appellant) first. Since Baylies lost at the trial and appellate courts, he brought both appeals and his name went first.

[5] *Chicago Daily News* (April 21, 1890): 1, story of Minerva Irwin.



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politics of the Gilded Age."[6] More disturbingly, some legal historians have concluded that this was a period when African Americans acquiesced as courts north and south upheld separate accommodations so long as they seemed equal.[7] In contrast, for students of African-American history in Chicago, this was a transitional, but not so depressing, period. While the advances and optimism associated with Reconstruction were waning, the rampant segregation and white hostility that followed African-American migrations north in the early twentieth century had not yet arrived.[8] As a result, in Chicago, the 1880s were a time when African Americans still held some hope for an integrated existence. These versions of history are not just different, they are mutually uninformed. Those who study civil rights from a legal perspective have ignored the admittedly small hopes for equality and integration still entertained by African Americans in Chicago and some other parts of the urban North in the late nineteenth century. In contrast, those studying African-American life in Chicago often dismiss legal events as mere barometers of a shifting racial climate, without examining the role they played in that shift.

The result of this mutual inattention is that life and law are separated, but cases like Curry's demonstrate how false that dichotomy is. The testimony of the parties, the arguments of their lawyers, and the rulings of the various judges in her case defined the law in terms of everyday experiences and, at the same time, translated the everyday into law.[9] Both law and experience were transformed by those translations. In that respect, life and law were (and are) inseparable.[10] They were enmeshed in other ways as well. As Curry's victory passed from the courts into popular notice, it was reinterpreted again and again each time it was accepted or rejected in the public places of Chicago. In that respect, her case demonstrates that,

[6] James M. McPherson, "Abolitionists and the Civil Rights Act of 1875," *Journal of American History* 52 (1965): 493, 510. See also Valerie Weaver, "The Failure of Civil Rights 1875–1883 and Its Repercussions," *Journal of Negro History* 54 (1969): 368; Eric Foner, "Rights and the Constitution in Black Life during the Civil War and Reconstruction," *Journal of American History* 74 (December 1987): 863; Robert J. Kaczorowski, *The Nationalization of Civil Rights: Constitutional Theory and Practice in a Racist Society, 1866–1883* (New York, 1987), 323, 335–38; Herbert Hovenkamp, "Social Science and Segregation before *Brown*," *Duke Law Journal* (1985): 624, 646–47. For a different perspective, see Vincent Gordon Harding, "Wrestling toward the Dawn: The Afro-American Freedom Movement and the Changing Constitution," *Journal of American History* 74 (December 1987): 718, 724–26.

[7] Hovenkamp, "Social Science and Segregation," 637–42, 643–51. See also Donald G. Nieman, *Promises to Keep: African-Americans and the Constitutional Order, 1776 to the Present* (New York, 1991), 108–09; Stephen J. Riegel, "The Persistent Career of Jim Crow: The Lower Federal Courts and the 'Separate But Equal' Doctrine, 1865–1896," *American Journal of Legal History* 28 (1984): 17, 24–26, arguing that most blacks were more interested in first-class accommodations than they were in integrated accommodations. For an argument that complicates this story by describing the roles of class and gender assumptions in shaping arguments about equality, see Barbara J. Welke, "When All the Women Were White, and All the Blacks Were Men: Gender, Class, Race and the Road to *Plessy*, 1855–1914," *Law and History Review* 13 (Fall 1995): 261, 294, 295–313.

[8] Allan H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890–1920* (Chicago, 1967), 1–8; St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York, 1945), 32–50; Willard B. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880–1920* (Bloomington, Ind., 1990), 119–23. For the argument that the migration in the 1890s had a significant impact, see James Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago, 1989), 32.

[9] For a similar argument, see Austin Sarat and Thomas R. Kearns, "Beyond the Great Divide: Forms of Legal Scholarship and Everyday Life," in *Law in Everyday Life*, Austin Sarat and Thomas R. Kearns, eds. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1993), 8–10, 21.

[10] Along similar lines, see Michael Grossberg, *A Judgment for Solomon: The d'Hauteville Case and Legal Experience in Antebellum America* (New York, 1996), 236.



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just as law could constrain the everyday, the everyday set limits on law.[11] There is something else her case offers as well. Unpacking its many layers helps to reconcile the divergent narratives of civil rights set out above, showing how her claim that equality meant integration could be upheld at the very moment in civil rights history when ideas of equality and integration began to separate. Given the ongoing debates about civil rights in many parts of the world, the lessons Curry's case teach about the relationship between ideals and law extend beyond the nineteenth century, Chicago, or even U.S. history.

EQUALITY FORMALLY SEPARATED FROM INTEGRATION in 1896, when the Supreme Court of the United States entered its opinion in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* and decided that the Fourteenth Amendment gave political but not social equality to African Americans. Social equality, the court ruled, over the famous dissent of Justice John Marshall Harlan, meant integration—the "forced commingling of the races" in an effort to overcome social prejudices. Such a concept, the majority went on, was hardly practical or just, since reforms could "neither be accomplished nor promoted by laws which conflict with the general sentiment of the community upon whom they are designed to operate." Although Justice Harlan argued that the outcome was immoral and would lead to the creation of a caste within the United States, the Supreme Court upheld the law mandating segregated seating on trains.[12]

The experiences of Josephine Curry and other African Americans in Chicago during the late nineteenth century provide one context for the debate in *Plessy*. From 1870 to 1900, African Americans were never more than 2 percent of Chicago's population. Although one contemporary commented, "You could walk several squares through the heart of [Chicago] without seeing a single dusky face in the throngs that surge along the streets," articles in both the African-American and mainstream press suggested that African Americans had a greater presence in the city than that. Some articles reminded readers that while many African Americans held traditionally "black" jobs doing domestic or railroad work, others held "white" jobs. A few worked in government, others were professionals or owned businesses frequented by African Americans and whites. Some African Americans held positions in white-owned companies. While many of these articles described race relations only in passing, several deliberately celebrated instances of integration as examples of equality in action.[13]

[11] For studies that make a similar point, see Stephen C. Halpern, *On the Limits of the Law: The Ironic Legacy of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act* (Baltimore, Md., 1995); Welke, "When All the Women," 311.

[12] *Plessy v. Ferguson*, *United States Supreme Court Reports*, 163 U.S. 537, 551–52. Justice Harlan's reference to the creation of caste is at 163 U.S. 559. For studies of *Plessy*'s context, see Charles A. Lofgren, *The Plessy Case: A Legal-Historical Interpretation* (New York, 1987); Hovenkamp, "Social Science and Segregation"; Riegel, "Persistent Career of Jim Crow"; Welke, "When All the Women"; Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (1975; New York, 1977), 50–83.

[13] For much of this period, African Americans were no more than 1.3 percent of the population, even though their population almost doubled every ten years. Thomas Lee Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighborhood Deterioration and Middle-Class Reform, Chicago, 1880–1930* (New York, 1978), 116. James Clark Ridpath, "The Mixed Population of Chicago," *Chautauquan* 12 (January 1891): 486. For accounts of integrated workplaces, see Isaac Counselor Harris, *The Colored Men's Professional and Business Directory of Chicago* (Chicago, 1885 and 1886), an extended celebration of African-American



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Other accounts described a type of integration at the social level as well. African Americans and whites went to the same parks, sometimes playing together on semi-professional baseball teams. Still other times, African-American and white teams played each other in front of interracial crowds. Both races used the city YMCA. Some apartment buildings, neighborhoods, and blocks were integrated. At least one "baby farm" run by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union took African-American and white babies. Just as significant, these stories often treated this sort of interaction as unexceptional. Articles casually recounted that African Americans and whites went to the same theaters and race tracks or gambled and drank in the same lounges and bars. Accounts of public celebrations recorded the presence of marching groups composed of African Americans.[14]

While those articles painted a rather rosy picture of race relations in Chicago, others sketched a bleaker scene. For each news story noting that an African American checked into a hotel, another reported on an African American forced to use the service entrance or directed, like Curry, somewhere else. Although African Americans marched in Chicago parades, they marched at the end. Similarly, African Americans might get into theaters, but, once in, they were often sent to special seats or otherwise humiliated. When, in one such instance, Lulu Hurst, the star of a show at the Central Music Hall who advertised she arm-wrestled all comers, refused even to touch an African-American customer, management made him leave after refunding his money.[15] Other evidence confirms that the late

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financial independence and integration; *Western Appeal* (August 4, 1888): 1, calling for appointment of more African-American letter carriers; *Western Appeal* (April 4, 1890): 1, federal court clerk; *Chicago Daily News* (January 26, 1884): 6, state court clerk; *Chicago Daily News* (November 10, 1884): 4, postal clerk; *Chicago Daily News* (August 21, 1886): 1, nurse in county jail; *Western Appeal* (February 8, 1890): 2, public school teachers; *Western Appeal* (June 11, 1887): 1, laundry and drama companies owned by African Americans; *Chicago Daily News* (August 6, 1884): 1, listing African American–owned businesses; *Chicago Daily News* (September 21, 1886): 1, coffeehouse; *Chicago Daily News* (March 14, 1887): 1, African-American businesses; *Chicago Daily News* (August 6, 1884): 1, ministry. For a story about an African-American priest, see the story on the Quincy, Illinois, parish, *Chicago Daily News* (June 12, 1886): 4.

Some stories referred to specific individuals with jobs in various companies. For example, *Western Appeal* (March 12, 1887): 1, Wood working for Patridge & Co.; *Western Appeal* (June 30, 1888): 1, Jackson working for J. F. Fenton; *Chicago Daily News* (December 20, 1886): 1, African-American engineer employed by white firm; *Chicago Daily News* (March 14, 1887): 1, African American working for American Express as messenger. For other evidence of African-American occupations, see Charles Russell Branham, "The Transformation of Black Political Leadership in Chicago, 1865–1942" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1981), 32–35; Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago: The Rise of a Modern City, 1871–1893*, 3 vols. (New York, 1957), 3: 237.

[14] For example, *Chicago Daily News* (August 30, 1886): 2, Lincoln Park; *Western Appeal* (September 17, 1887): 1, game between African-American and white teams; *Chicago Daily News* (May 24, 1884): 1, story mentions semi-pro team had African-American catcher; *Western Appeal* (November 30, 1889): 1, YMCA; *Chicago Daily News* (February 2, 1884): 5, integrated gambling houses; *Chicago Daily News* (May 10, 1884): 2, integrated policy shop (gambling); *Chicago Daily News* (July 16, 1885): 1, lounge and bar; *Western Appeal* (October 8, 1887): 1, band; *Chicago Tribune* (July 2, 1885): 8, downtown parade by Chicago Light Infantry, an African-American militia group. For stories on integrated living, see, for example, *Western Appeal* (March 24, 1888): 1, fire in apartment building occupied by white and African-American families; *Chicago Daily News* (September 21, 1886): 2, baby farm; *Western Appeal* (January 28, 1888): 4, integrated nursery school. Another article on types of dolls noted that a set of dolls representing three little girls going to school contained two white and one African-American doll. *Chicago Daily News* (October 30, 1886): 2.

[15] *Chicago Daily News* (January 3, 1885): 8, Lulu Hurst story. For the range of stories on African Americans in Chicago hotels, see *Chicago Daily News* (May 31, 1884): 1, African American



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nineteenth century was no period of easy integration in Chicago but, at the same time, demonstrates that segregation did not go unchallenged. African-American legislators in the Illinois General Assembly devoted much energy to dealing with inequality and separation: in 1864, an African-American representative from Chicago sponsored the repeal of the Illinois Black Code. In 1874, others led the successful campaign to pass an act prohibiting segregated schooling. Later, in 1885, another African-American representative from Chicago sponsored the Illinois Civil Rights Act, under which Curry sued, and in 1891, yet another African-American legislator sponsored a law legalizing slave marriages.[16]

Those legislative initiatives and other signs of political activity suggest that the African Americans in Chicago sometimes succeeded in manipulating the political process to press claims for equality and integration, but Chicago politicians were hardly staunch allies in the battle.[17] At times, they actively opposed it. One example of that opposition arose shortly before Curry's case went to trial. In February 1888, a white teenager named Maggie Gaughan was murdered at Greene's Heel Factory, where she worked. Zephyr Davis, an African-American teenager who also worked at Greene's, was arrested and charged with her murder. When the coroner's jury met to indict Davis for the crime, it issued a strongly worded statement opposing racial mixing in the workplace. In response, African Americans called a protest meeting attended by several hundred people, denounced the jury's verdict, and demanded the resignation of the assistant coroner who had instructed the jury. When the assistant coroner would not step down, African Americans organized a voting campaign to defeat him (ultimately, unsuccessful).[18]

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impersonating a delegate to Republican Convention in the lounge at the Grand Pacific Hotel; *Chicago Daily News* (June 2, 1884): 1, African-American delegates to convention meeting in Sherman House Hotel; *Chicago Daily News* (October 10, 1884): 1, African American thrown out of Palmer House; *Chicago Daily News* (February 7, 1888): 1, African-American woman forced out of hotel elevator. An article on African Americans' position in parades is in the *Western Appeal* (October 8, 1887): 1. For some stories on the treatment of African Americans in theaters, see *Western Appeal* (September 14, 1889): 2; and (October 19, 1889): 1.

[16] For examples of challenges to segregation, see *Western Appeal* (July 2, 1887): 1, approving proposed amendment to Interstate Commerce Act that would outlaw segregated rail cars; (May 21, 1887): 1, segregation in Minnesota; (October 14, 1889): 1, segregation by African-American barbers; (November 30, 1889): 1, protest meeting in Chicago over proposed YMCA; (December 14, 1889): 2, editorial arguing economic tariff is good for African Americans; (March 15, 1890): 1, calling for more African Americans on grand jury in Chicago. For African-American legislative initiatives, see Branham, "Transformation," 4–5, 36; and St. Clair Drake, "Churches and Voluntary Organizations in the Chicago Negro Community" (Chicago, Official Project #465–54–386, Works Project Administration, 1940), 77–85.

[17] As the evidence of the African-American sponsored legislation suggests, some African Americans held political positions. For example, Morris held a series of appointed positions, including one in the state's attorney's office. See Branham, "Transformation," appendix. Likewise, John Curry held at least one appointed position. *Western Appeal* (October 13, 1888): 1. For a discussion of the relation between African Americans and Democrats in Chicago politics, see Claudius O. Johnson, *Carter Harrison I: Political Leader* (Chicago, 1925) 98, 196. See also *Chicago Daily News* (March 29, 1886): 1, Democrats nominated black for town clerk position to try to get African-American vote; *Western Appeal* (April 2, 1887): 2, nomination of African American to township position; *Western Appeal* (June 18, 1887): 1, African American appointed as health officer; *Western Appeal* (October 19, 1889): 1, African American held position in recorder's office. Branham makes it clear that African Americans were not able to continue to progress politically at the rate at which they started out. By 1900, they were excluded from many political positions, including judicial positions. Branham, "Transformation," 32–40.

[18] The jury's statement is in *Chicago Daily News* (February 28, 1888): 1. See also *Chicago Tribune*



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Although that organized response gave the impression of a firm commitment to integration among African Americans, other incidents demonstrated less consensus. In 1889, one group of African Americans proposed that a YMCA be built in Chicago for the exclusive use of African Americans. Their proposal, which presaged the African-American movement toward racial separationism and self-help in the early twentieth century, was defeated after a rancorous meeting.[19] Separation of such an extreme sort was unsuccessful in Chicago in the late nineteenth century, but separationism influenced debates among African Americans in that city even then. Some argued that the very presence of two African American–owned papers in Chicago—the *Chicago Conservator*, run by Chicagoans, and the *Western Appeal*, run out of Minnesota but having a Chicago office—proved that there was already a separate African-American community within the city. Both papers denied, however, that they had any interest in a separate African-American community, arguing that their purpose was to provide a voice to help African Americans integrate themselves into Chicago. Yet, in other editorials, those same papers argued that African Americans were a group with distinct economic and social interests. Still other times, the papers attacked each other for failing to either hew firmly to the integrationist line or accept realistically the limited possibilities for integration.[20]

This ambivalence about integration was a result of many things. Sometimes, as in the case of the YMCA debate, it revealed conflicting theories on how to deal with white hostility.[21] Other times, it expressed disagreement about the nature of equality itself. An editorial in the *Western Appeal*, published the year before Josephine Curry's trial, addressed these issues in terms of social equality: "The social equality bug bear troubles the white people of this country more than any other phase of the 'Negro problem,' but it is very foolish to allow it to sit so heavily upon their stomachs; social equality does not exist among themselves, nor among us." The editorial went on: "We have yet to hear of a single instance where a colored person forced social equality. It is not social equality for colored people to have the privilege of being accommodated in hotels, restaurants, saloons and all public places; their presence there does not raise or lower the other guests, nor themselves." Having distinguished between social equality and integration, the editorial continued: "The sensible portion of the colored people are as averse to

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(March 7, 1888): 1, sarcastic article on protest meeting; *Western Appeal* (September 22, 1888): 1, call for defeat of coroner. The coroner was reelected.

[19] *Western Appeal* (November 30, 1889): 1, 2.

[20] The *Western Appeal*, sometimes known as the *Minneapolis Appeal*, exists on microfilm. To all intents and purposes, no copies of the *Chicago Conservator* exist any longer, although an occasional single day's edition can be found. There are extensive excerpts from the *Conservator* in an unpublished MA thesis prepared at the University of Chicago in the 1930s and found at the Joseph Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago. R. N. Davis, "Negro Newspapers in Chicago" (MA thesis, 1939). For an example of an argument that the African-American press was integrationist, see *Chicago Conservator* (December 18, 1886): 1, rpt. of "Why the Colored Men Should Subscribe for a Paper Published by [Their] Own Race," orig. pub. in the *Austin Citizen Gazette*. For suggestions that there was a distinctive African-American interest on certain issues, see *Western Appeal* (December 7, 1889): 2, editorial on tariffs; *Western Appeal* (December 14, 1889): 2, the same; *Chicago Conservator* (December 18, 1886): 1, arguing that there were issues that African Americans had to deal with on their own. For examples of infighting among the papers, see *Western Appeal* (January 4, 1890): 2, attacking the New York *Sun* and the Chicago *Herald*.

[21] *Western Appeal* (November 30, 1889): 2, editorial; and (February 8, 1890): 2, editorial.



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going where they are not invited, when invitations are a necessary passport, as any people on earth, but when the almighty dollar is the only necessary passport for other people to produce, when they have the passport, they wish it to be as serviceable to them as to all others. Is there any social equality in that? That is all the colored people wish in either the south or north."[22]

Although the *Western Appeal* opposed social equality as strongly as the majority of the Supreme Court was to do nine years later in *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, for this newspaper, as for Justice Harlan in his dissent in *Plessy*, social equality meant something very different from what it meant for the majority of the court. For the *Appeal*, social equality had nothing to do with racial justice. It was the mingling of people of different classes, and was neither a necessary nor proper corollary to integration. Under the *Appeal*'s logic, integration, so long as it proceeded on class lines, was always good; social equality, because it overrode class distinctions, was always bad. In other editorials, the *Western Appeal* reinforced this distinction, making connections between economics, integration, separation, and equality in the process. The problem the *Appeal* confronted was that social equality (as it understood that term) resembled segregation—and both solutions forced African Americans, regardless of income, into the same space.[23] Like segregation, social equality lumped all African Americans together and permitted whites to conclude that all African Americans were part of the same class, the lowest class. This, in turn, led to the conclusion that, since all African Americans were lower class, they could all be excluded from respectable places. To put the *Western Appeal*'s analysis into the terms later used by Justice Harlan, social equality was wrong because it created caste by extinguishing class.

Fear of social equality and its threat of caste kept the *Western Appeal* from unequivocally endorsing integration or unilaterally opposing separationism. But its ambivalence about integration did not rest on anxiety about race relations in Chicago. On the contrary, Chicago, the *Appeal* once claimed, was a place "where more than any other city the black man is given a freedom unheard of in the South and without parallel in the North." In comparison, it described Minneapolis (the *Appeal*'s other home city) as a difficult place for African Americans to live. As the *Appeal* put it sarcastically in an editorial on a Minnesota lawsuit in which an African-American man won a nominal victory, "It is wonderful to note the large amount of bitter prejudice which exists in this city."[24]

[22] *Western Appeal* (July 16, 1887): 1. This theme was repeated in other editorials, for example, *Western Appeal* (January 4, 1890): 2, "Our white brothers ignorantly or maliciously confound social with civil rights. It is nothing but civil rights for a Colored man to have the same privileges which can be bought by any other man." This view of social equality was not confined to the *Western Appeal* or Chicago. Joseph C. Price, "Does the Negro Want Social Equality?" *Forum* 10 (January 1891): 564, answering no, just respect; William Hannibal Thomas, *The American Negro: What He Was, What He Is, and What He May Become; A Critical and Practical Discussion* (New York, 1901), 277–99, presenting an explicitly conservative statement of this view. Compare the ideas of social equality put forward by several historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. For examples, see Mark Tushnet, "The Politics of Equality in Constitutional Law: The Equal Protection Clause, Dr. Du Bois, and Charles Hamilton Houston," *Journal of American History* 74 (December 1987): 884, 887; Hovenkamp, "Social Science and Segregation," 643.

[23] *Western Appeal* (February 4, 1888): 1.

[24] *Western Appeal* (November 30, 1889): 2, quote about Chicago. Occasionally, the paper took a bleaker view. For example, *Western Appeal* (August 13, 1887): 1, commenting on how hard it was for



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A SIMILAR OPTIMISM AND A COMPARABLE TENDENCY to consider equality in economic terms shaped Josephine Curry's claim against People's Theatre. At first glance, that claim was very simple. In her testimony, she assumed that her race should be unimportant, asserting only that she was entitled to the same treatment as other customers. For this reason, her evidence focused on the instances in which she did not get equal treatment: when the ticket agent insisted she sit in segregated seating and then told her she belonged at Park Theater, when the usher refused to let her have seats she paid for, and, finally, when Baylies called her "nigger" and told her to leave. But, for all her emphasis on the economic aspects of equality, her claim was different from the theories expressed in the *Western Appeal*. Although the *Appeal* equivocated on the scope of integration, she made her position very clear. Curry wanted to be able to sit anywhere she could afford to, next to anyone.

Her testimony may have denied that she was special, but it rested on her special status as a middle-class African American. The Currys were a young and successful—some might have said respectable—couple. They were frequently mentioned in the social columns of the *Western Appeal*, partly because Josephine's family socialized with the editor.[25] More important, their status reflected their economic standing. Although John came from Ohio and had only lived in Chicago since 1883, he had done very well. His barbershop was on an active commercial street by the intersection of two cable car lines, and he also held a patronage job with the city Water Department. Josephine was a business woman herself, advertising her own line of skin care products in local African-American newspapers.[26] Given the Currys' economic successes, it made sense for Josephine to cast her demand for equality in economic terms. It also made sense for her to go beyond the demands of the *Western Appeal* and insist that her ability to pay her way entitled her to sit where she wanted inside People's Theatre. Hers was a claim for integration in its strongest sense, for mixing within the theater as well as the right to enter.

While both impressive and doubtless the cause of Josephine's assurance about her claim, the Currys' economic standing may have rested on circumstances that exposed a tension that threatened both her case and the *Western Appeal*'s philosophy. Exclusion of African Americans based on economic lumping—the collapsing of class and caste—was not confined to whites. Complaints were made that some African American–owned businesses excluded other African Americans out of fear that their presence would give the impression that the shop was low class and drive away white customers.[27] Barbershops were notorious for this practice, and

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African Americans to get jobs at white firms in Chicago. Compare *Western Appeal* (October 22, 1887): 1, quote about Minneapolis.

[25] *Western Appeal* (May 26, 1888): 1; (June 30, 1888): 1; (July 14, 1888): 1; (September 8, 1888): 1; (October 13, 1888): 1; (April 20, 1889): 2, obituary for Joseph Barbour, noting that he died at the home of his sister, Josephine Curry.

[26] John's business was at 3875 Cottage Grove Avenue in Chicago, the Currys' home was nearby at 3859 Cottage Grove. *Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago* (Chicago, 1887). Also see the listings under John T. Curry in the Chicago Board of Election Commissioner's Registry List, October 1888, Reel 1. The vicinity of Curry's barbershop is described in Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago . . . : 1830–1933* (Chicago, 1933), fig. 23; Glen E. Holt and Denis A. Pecyga, *Chicago: A Historical Guide to the Neighborhoods, the Loop and the South Side* (Chicago, 1979), 60; *Western Appeal* (October 13, 1888): 1. On Josephine's business, see *Western Appeal* (June 30, 1888): 2.

[27] *Western Appeal* (April 30, 1887): 1. The problem was not limited to Chicago. Constance



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John's shop may have done so. Certainly, it is clear his shop served whites, since at People's Theatre the Currys' tickets were purchased by his white customer. It seems just as likely it did not serve African Americans. John did not advertise in the *Colored Men's Professional and Business Directory of Chicago* published in 1886. That same year, however, he was listed in the *Handy Business Directory of Chicago*, a guide that listed both African-American and white (but mostly white) businesses. This combination of selective advertisement and white clientele suggests the possibility that John Curry's shop discriminated.[28] And although the *Western Appeal* denounced shops that practiced this sort of segregation, the ideal of integration on economic terms that both the *Appeal* and Josephine Curry espoused easily justified this sort of class-based discrimination.[29]

That potential for justifying segregation was not the only problem that flowed from a discussion of equality conducted in economic terms. The economic focus also helped reduce civil rights to a matter of individual interest, with repercussions that were apparent in Josephine's life. Even if John's shop did not discriminate, there is little reason to think that either Curry was much concerned with general problems of racial justice. None of the news accounts of protest meetings organized by other African Americans in Chicago in response to incidents of racism or segregation listed either Curry as present.[30] Whether or not John engaged in intra-racial segregation, the Currys' commitment to individual economic success seems to have limited their concern for, and perhaps their awareness of, discrimination as it occurred around them, even as it inspired Josephine to seek integration.[31]

A further problem with the economic explanation of equality was that it opened the door to a range of white excuses. The perception that some African American–owned businesses engaged in intra-racial discrimination led many whites to cry hypocrisy. Indeed, that objection surfaced briefly in Curry's case. One news account of the trial quoted Baylies' attorney as asserting that the verdict against his client was unfair because African Americans segregated themselves based on skin tone.[32]

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McLaughlin Green, *The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital* (Princeton, N.J., 1967) 125–26; David M. Katzman, *Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana, Ill., 1973), 97–98, 116–17. Nor was it a problem confined to barbershops. *Western Appeal* (May 4, 1889): 1, African American refused service at restaurant owned by African American.

[28] Harris, *Colored Men's Professional and Business Directory*; *Handy Business Directory of Chicago 1886–87* (Chicago, 1886), 112. If his shop did discriminate, that might explain another mystery in this case—why John Curry was not a party to the suit. Had he been a plaintiff along with his wife, he would have testified, and his barbershop's practices could have been brought into evidence to undermine his claims of harm. So long as he was not a party, his shop's practices were not relevant and could not have been admitted. See generally Graham C. Lilly, *An Introduction to the Law of Evidence* (St. Paul, Minn., 1978), chap. 5, esp. 146–54, relevance in the context of civil cases.

[29] *Western Appeal* (April 30, 1887): 1; and (November 30, 1889): 2.

[30] Neither Curry is listed as present at the protest meeting following the coroner's remarks in the Maggie Gaughan case. *Western Appeal* (March 10, 1888): 1. Nor were they listed as present in the election-eve meeting concerning the coroner later that year. *Western Appeal* (October 20, 1888): 1. They apparently also missed the heated meeting about the YMCA. *Western Appeal* (November 30, 1889): 1.

[31] In this, their position was not that of the *Western Appeal*, which did argue for organized protest; (November 9, 1889): 2, editorial supporting the Afro-American League.

[32] *Chicago Daily News* (March 16, 1888): 1. A related argument, made occasionally, was that seats should be set aside for "low class" people. That African Americans saw this as an argument which would lead to segregated seating for blacks is suggested by editorials in the *Western Appeal* (for



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But while that comment suggests that self-segregation by African Americans was on the mind of the defendant's party, his reported testimony focused on the relationship between equality and integration from another perspective.

Just as Curry's testimony focused on her condition, Baylies' focused on his own. While she claimed a right to be treated like anyone, white or African American, he asserted that he had to be permitted to treat all African Americans the same, and differently than whites. Because he believed that mixing whites and African Americans would lead to fights and drive customers from his theater, he felt he could not provide integrated seating.[33] As this suggests, these stories rested on very different understandings of individual status in Chicago. Curry's demonstrated an optimistic sense that her position was secure and capable of improving. Baylies', in contrast, showed he feared that his place was both marginal and tenuous. He was the lessee and manager of People's Theatre from its opening in 1884, but his background was vaudeville. In the mid-1880s, he ran People's Theatre and a revue called "Baylies and Kennedy's Bright Lights," which played New York and Chicago in 1884–1885. While the Chicago press described that revue as a "superior variety combination," it was less well received in New York.[34]

Baylies' background explains the shows at People's, where variety was the usual fare. Those acts, in turn, help place the theater in context. Variety acts generally were crude crowd pleasers, and those that came to People's were often dismissed as second-rate. Although People's claimed to be a "family style theater" when it opened in 1884, it tended (at least in the censorious eyes of the *Chicago Daily News*) to run vulgar acts.[35] It hardly helped that People's was across the street from Chicago's Levee district. The Levee, sometimes referred to as Cheyenne, was a mixed-race area at the south of Chicago's Loop near the railroad depots. In part, it was simply an integrated neighborhood of railroad laborers and other low-wage workers, containing boarding houses and tenements. It was also an area with a seemingly dangerous nightlife, full of theaters, gambling dens, lounges, and houses of prostitution. Its nicknames reflected this second aspect of its reputation: Cheyenne, Wyoming, was considered the toughest spot on the railroad line, and the levees along the Mississippi were notorious for African-American gamblers. Even worse, People's Theatre was next door to Park Theater—a dive. Fights broke out at Park Theater routinely, shows made up for lack of quality by featuring barely

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example, April 2, 1888, p. 1). There was some evidence that white businesses made no distinction but segregated regardless of relative darkness of skin. For example, in 1888, the Reverend Birdie Wilkins—described as a light-skinned, well-dressed black minister, *Western Appeal* (April 23, 1887): 1—was sent to segregated seating at a Chicago theater. *Western Appeal* (March 24, 1888): 1. Indeed, it may be that Josephine was light skinned. The *Chicago Times* described her as a quadroon (March 17, 1888): 2. It was impossible to find any further evidence that would shed definitive light on this obviously very subjective matter.

[33] *Chicago Inter Ocean* (March 17, 1888): 16.

[34] *Chicago Daily News* (February 24, 1885): 5; George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage [1882–1885]* (New York, 1940), 12: 320, 333, 374, 525–26.

[35] An advertisement for the opening of People's Theatre promised that it would be a family-style place. *Chicago Daily News* (September 24, 1884): 5. For discussions of variety shows in general and their reputation for being "low class," see Robert W. Snyder, *The Voice of the City: Vaudeville and Popular Culture in New York* (New York, 1989); Pierce, *History of Chicago*, 3: 473. For some of the *Chicago Daily News* articles that questioned the quality of the shows at People's Theatre, see (March 28, 1885): 2; (May 9, 1885): 4.



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dressed women, and prostitutes openly propositioned in the bar. People's anxious relationship to its neighbor was made clear when Baylies' ticket agent told Josephine Curry that if she wanted to see a show she should go to Park Theater. Baylies' despairing reaction to the outcome of the trial emphasized that his theater suffered as much from its environs as its shows; but, in either case, it could ill afford more loss of reputation.[36]

Concern with respectability cut both ways. If Baylies was eager to protect People's reputation by excluding African Americans, middle-class African Americans were usually no less eager to distance themselves from the Levee.[37] In the popular imagination, the Levee and Park Theater were not simply low class, they were dangerous because they were integrated. News accounts in the white press often equated racial mixing in the Levee with unimaginable vice. Stories described visits to the Levee to see whites and African Americans engage in unnatural interactions—dancing together in balls involving interracial, sometimes single-sex couples, gambling in oddly lighted dens that gave off the strange smells of moral and physical corruption.[38] Popular equation of the Levee, integration, and corruption suggested why Baylies wanted to segregate African Americans and why middle-class African Americans tried to avoid the Levee. Given People's marginal status, it is remarkable that the Currys went there in the first place. Quite likely, the only reason they did so was to see Tony Pastor's Show, which was a cut above People's usual fare. Like other revues, Pastor's had magicians, hypnotists, plantation sets, and minstrels. But Pastor, who ran a theater in New York City, brought quality performers and put on a justly famous show. Even the *Chicago Daily News* admitted that Pastor's revue was good, and the house was packed for its run.[39]

The irony, of course, was that the very show that represented respectability for People's Theatre threatened that respectability by bringing in an undesirable audience. The easiest way for Baylies to finesse that consequence was to exclude African Americans from prominent view. His effort to do so was a concrete instance

[36] On the Levee's character, see John J. Flinn, *The Standard Guide to Chicago: World's Fair Edition* (Chicago, 1893), 70, 99–100, 102–03; Holt and Pecyga, *Chicago: A Historical Guide*, 18, 25. For descriptions of the Park Theater, see *Chicago Daily News* (April 29, 1887): 5, recording, with delight, the temporary closing of the theater; William Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago: A Plea for the Union of All Who Love in the Service of All Who Suffer* (Chicago, 1894), 113–14; Stephen Longstreet, *Chicago 1860–1919* (New York, 1973), 354. For accounts of the trial that refer to Baylies' claim that his location made him particularly vulnerable, see *Chicago Tribune* (March 16, 1888): 1; *Chicago Inter Ocean* (March 17, 1888): 16.

[37] For example, *Western Appeal* (June 11, 1887): 2.

[38] For the attitudes toward the Levee, see *Chicago Daily News* (March 15, 1884): 8, debauched lives in the Levee; *Chicago Daily News* (March 24, 1887): 1, stabbing after mixed-race gambling party; *Chicago Daily News* (October 15, 1889): 5, mixed-race licentiousness. Compare Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992), esp. chap. 1.

[39] On Pastor's show, see Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, 12: 51, 301; *Chicago Daily News* (August 26, 1886): 2. For discussions of Pastor's show and its self-conscious effort to appear respectable, see *American Vaudeville as Seen by Its Contemporaries*, Charles W. Stein, ed. (New York, 1984), xi, 10–11; Snyder, *Voice of the City*, 3–26; Pierce, *History of Chicago*, 3: 473. For general background on minstrel shows, see *Chicago Daily News* (August 27, 1885): 1; and (October 20, 1886): 2. Many African Americans objected to minstrel shows; see *Chicago Daily News* (January 17, 1887): 2; Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto; Negro New York, 1890–1930* (New York, 1966), 38–40. Their protests did little to stop the shows. *Chicago Daily News* (January 22, 1887): 8, popularity of amateur "nigger singers." Although it is tempting to see significance in the presence of a minstrel act in the show the Currys went to hear, there is no indication that the minstrels were ever an issue in the case.



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of the creation of caste that the *Western Appeal* explicitly railed against and Curry's testimony implicitly rejected. While it arose out of Baylies' singularly pessimistic vision of the effects of race mingling on his theater, it also seem to rest on sheer speculation. Certainly, news accounts of the time offer no evidence that fights routinely broke out where the races mixed in Chicago.[40] Nor was popular opinion particularly accurate when it concluded that integration gave the Levee its delicious corruption. On the contrary, most accounts suggested that integration in the Levee never went very deep. As one gambler put it, where he gambled everyone was welcome, except "niggers and the police."[41]

So, while Curry's demand for integration expressed her sense of security and emphasized the economic rights of the individual, Baylies offered a defense of segregation derived from his less happy position at the fringe of respectable Chicago. Underlying his fears was a set of assumptions about African Americans as a group. Those assumptions led to a theory of caste that denied that Curry's social or economic condition made any difference in the way she should be treated. Their stories, then, were both fundamentally similar and diametrically opposed. Both defined equality in economic terms but reached different conclusions about what law and economics required. More to the point, while her claims threatened to destroy his tenuous position, his interpretation of the Civil Rights Act challenged even her secure one.

ECONOMIC CLAIMS ALSO DROVE THE LEGAL ARGUMENTS made by the attorneys in this case, although Baylies' and Curry's arguments about the nature of equality were significantly recast by their lawyers in the process of interpreting them into law. Those reinterpretations were, in turn, influenced by the state of the law, the very different ideas of equality held by the lawyers, and by those lawyers' views of the society in which they lived.

Even in the North before *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, the scope of civil rights for African Americans was contested. When Reconstruction ended, the civil rights acts passed by Congress as part of Reconstruction ceased to be enforced.[42] One of the last of these—the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which guaranteed equal access to places such as inns, restaurants, and rail cars—was struck down by the Supreme Court in 1883. In that decision, known as the *Civil Rights Cases*, the court declared that the time had come when the black man should "[cease] to be the special favorite of the laws, and when his rights as a citizen, or a man, are to be protected in the ordinary modes by which other men's rights are protected." Commenting on that opinion, the *Nation* noted, "The calm with which the country receives the word that the leading

[40] Indeed, a review of the *Chicago Daily News* and the *Western Appeal* for the period between the time People's Theatre opened and the time of the trial turned up no instances of racial unrest in any theater in Chicago. Both these papers might be expected to comment on such fights, if they occurred—the *Daily News* because of its hostility to theaters and the *Western Appeal* because it was generally on the lookout for racial incidents. Given those interests, their silence implies that there were none.

[41] *Chicago Daily News* (June 2, 1886): 1.

[42] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York, 1988); Jacobus tenBroek, *Equal under Law*, rev. edn. (New York, 1965); William E. Nelson, *The Fourteenth Amendment: From Political Principle to Judicial Document* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).



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section of the celebrated Civil Rights Act of 1875 has been pronounced unconstitutional shows how completely the extravagant expectations as well as the fierce passions of the War have died out." Others seemed less ready to bury those expectations.[43]

In the *Civil Rights Cases*, the Supreme Court suggested that states could pass their own civil rights acts, and after 1883 several northern states did so, enacting statutes that guaranteed African Americans access to public places.[44] In 1885, Illinois passed the act under which Curry sued in 1888.[45] Although Illinois had never been noted for a commitment to racial equality, its courts rejected some efforts at race-based segregation even before 1885. In 1870, the Illinois Supreme Court decided *Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co. vs. Williams*. There, relying on the common-law obligation of rail carriers to passengers, the court held that a railway could not compel an African-American woman to sit in the general car (occupied by men) when she paid for a ticket to the first-class, women's car. The result was not a ruling that integration was required but one that validated an economic theory of equality when it held that an African-American woman who paid a first-class fare could not be segregated into the general car. Another case decided in 1874 held that equitable principles prohibited the creation of racially segregated schools. Illinois statute law took a similar course. Even before the Civil Rights Act of 1885, in 1874 the Illinois General Assembly had passed a civil rights act stating that all "boards of education . . . are prohibited from excluding, directly or indirectly, any . . . child from school on account of the color of that child." By 1889, the Supreme Court of Illinois confirmed that the acts of the state meant that local government could not create separate schools for African Americans. As hopeful as the passage of these statutes and the making of these decisions were, they were few and far between. They also provided little guidance for further legal development. The biggest question that arose in Illinois, as in other states, was whether equal access meant full-scale integration within public places or just no legal exclusion from those

[43] *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3, 23 (1883); *The Nation* (October 18, 1883): 326. For one statement of "extravagant expectations," see Charles Sumner, "Address to the Final Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, April 8, 1870," rpt. in Gilbert Osofsky, *The Burden of Race: A Documentary History of Negro-White Relations in America* (New York, 1967), 157–58. Sumner's argument was similar to those made by Frederick Douglass and some other African-American leaders at the time; Frederick Douglass, "What the Black Man Wants," speech presented to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, n.d., rpt. in *The Equality of All Men before the Law, Claimed and Defended* (Boston, 1865), 37; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 533–34. For an indication that after the *Civil Rights Cases* not everyone had abandoned these ideals, see *Western Appeal* (July 16, 1887): 2, editorial on social equality; and the comments of Richard Greener, quoted in *The Nation* (October 18, 1883): 326.

[44] 109 U.S. at 23. In addition to Illinois, the following northern states enacted civil rights bills after the *Civil Rights Cases*: Connecticut (1884), Iowa (1884), New Jersey (1884), Ohio (1884), Colorado (1885), Indiana (1885), Massachusetts (1885), Michigan (1885), Minnesota (1885), Nebraska (1885), Rhode Island (1885), Pennsylvania (1887), New York (1893), Washington (1890), Wisconsin (1895), California (1897), and Kansas (1905). These acts are summarized in Gilbert Thomas Stephenson, *Race Distinctions in American Law* (New York, 1910), 112–20; Donald G. Nieman, "The Language of Liberation: African Americans and Egalitarian Constitutionalism, 1830–1960," in *The Constitution, Law, and American Life: Critical Aspects of the Nineteenth-Century Experience*, Donald G. Nieman, ed. (Athens, Ga., 1992), 67, 82–83. For a discussion of the statute passed in Michigan, see Katzman, *Before the Ghetto*, 84, 93. Southern states had passed similar statutes during Reconstruction. Stephenson, *Race Distinctions*, 112–20. For a discussion of the South Carolina statute, see Thomas C. Holt, *Black over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Urbana, Ill., 1977), 143–44.

[45] See n. 1 above.



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places.[46] As this suggests, Curry's case arose in a fluid legal context, and the arguments made by the attorneys in her case had to shape the inchoate assumptions of the Illinois laws as well as support their clients' stories.

The attorneys for the two parties undertook that task in very different ways.[47] Baylies was represented at trial and on appeal by the law firm of McMurdy and Job. No document indicates which of those two attorneys handled the case for Baylies, but it seems most likely that McMurdy did so, since Job was not even practicing law in 1886 when the case arose. Although the conclusion that McMurdy handled Baylies' defense initially appears inconsistent with his subsequent role as one of the white co-founders of the Chicago branch of the NAACP, a closer look at the argument made on Baylies' behalf demonstrates that it resembled positions McMurdy took at other points in his career. At its most basic level, the argument was that, while the Civil Rights Act of 1885 prohibited exclusion of African Americans from certain places, it did not explicitly outlaw segregation within those places.[48] While this argument simply rested on the language of the statute, several assumptions undergirded that interpretation. One was the notion that the statute created a right to equality that had not previously existed and therefore had to be narrowly construed. That sort of strict construction led to the idea that a civil right created by statute was no stronger than any other legal claim. Since rights had been created by a judge or legislature, this argument went, they were worth no more than

[46] Illinois had a Black Code from 1819 to 1864. Branham, "Transformation," 71. The final version of that code is recorded at Ill. Rev. Stat. ch. 74 (1850). For discussions of Illinois' record on race, see Norman Dwight Harris, *The History of Negro Servitude in Illinois, and of the Slavery Agitation in That State* (Chicago, 1904); Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 40–45, 46–57; Elmer Gertz, "The Black Laws of Illinois," *Illinois State Historical Society Journal* 61 (Autumn 1961): 445; Paul Finkelman, "Slavery, the 'More Perfect Union,' and the Prairie State," *Illinois Historical Journal* 80 (1987): 248; Finkelman, "Evading the Ordinance: The Persistence of Bondage in Indiana and Illinois," *Journal of the Early Republic* 9 (1989): 21. *Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co. v. Williams*, 53 Ill. 185 (1870); *Chase v. Stephenson*, 71 Ill. 383 (1874), equitable principles prohibit segregated schools. The statute prohibiting segregated schools was Ill. Rev. Stat. ch. 122 section 105, "An Act to Protect Colored Children in Their Rights to Attend Public Schools." The cases interpreting that statute were *People ex rel. John Longress v. Board of Education of the City of Quincy*, 101 Ill. 308 (1882); *People ex rel. John Peair v. Board of Education of Upper Alton School District*, 127 Ill. 613 (1889). For a general discussion of the problem of access as opposed to integration, see Riegel, "Persistent Career of Jim Crow."

[47] No news account sets out the arguments of counsel in the case. As a result, these arguments have been reconstructed from the summaries of the arguments on appeal set out in the opinions of the Appellate and Supreme Courts. 30 Ill. App. at 105–09; 128 Ill. at 288–90. Generalizations are possible because the arguments made for each party were roughly the same in each opinion; where the arguments changed, this is noted.

[48] The arguments for Baylies are summarized at 30 Ill. App. at 107–08; 128 Ill. at 288, circuit-court case number is 86 C 5694. Plaintiff index for 1888, Cook County Archives, Circuit Court of Cook County, Illinois. Since the first two digits in Cook County case numbers refer to the year in which a case was filed, we know that *Baylies* was filed in 1886. Additional support for the idea that McMurdy was the attorney comes from the evidence that he was essentially a litigator, while Job's career seemed to focus on transactional and business work. See *The Book of Chicagoans: A Biographical Dictionary of the Leading Men and Women of the City of Chicago, 1917*, Albert Nelson Marquis, ed. (Chicago, 1917), 364, 465. In the early twentieth century, McMurdy not only served on the Board of Directors of Fisk University, he was also one of the founding members of the Chicago branch of the NAACP. He was, in the words of an author of an article on that branch, a radical integrationalist. Christopher Robert Reed, "Organized Racial Reform in Chicago during the Progressive Era: The Chicago NAACP, 1910–1920," *Michigan Historical Review* 14 (Spring 1988): 75; see also Editorial, *Chicago Defender* (July 11, 1914): 8, noting McMurdy's role in getting the Illinois State Bar Association to pass a resolution condemning lynching.



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other rights created in a similar manner. Thus even civil rights claims could be balanced against, or trumped by, other rights.

This approach was by no means unusual; similar arguments had been made about civil rights laws since Reconstruction.[49] In the particular circumstances of this case, it meant that Curry's claimed right to sit anywhere in People's Theatre had to be weighed against Baylies' claim of economic hardship. To make that claim stronger, McMurdy argued that two decisions of the Illinois courts on the question of integrated schools had emphasized the need to consider economic hardship. According to this argument, in both those cases the courts upheld challenges to segregated education, but they had done so because the expense of segregation was greater than the expense of integration. This meant the courts left open the possibility that where segregated education created an economic advantage, racial segregation would be acceptable.[50] Under this logic, Baylies' economic problems justified his attempted segregation.

McMurdy argued that the balance of harms rested in Baylies' favor in another way as well, building on Baylies' common-law obligations as a theater owner. Among those obligations was the requirement that Baylies protect all his customers. Translated into the circumstances of this particular case, Curry's demand to be permitted to sit where she wanted had to be weighed against any possible harm that might befall Baylies' other customers if she did so. Based on Baylies' claim that fights would break out if whites and blacks sat next to each other, the balance once again fell on the side of segregated seating.[51]

In some respects, these were rather moderate claims. They were not arguments that the 1885 act should be struck down.[52] Nor were they arguments that public accommodations should never be opened to African Americans. But, for all their apparent moderation, these arguments accomplished many things. They transformed the issue of economic harm, neatly turning Curry's claim to be treated as an economic equal on its head by minimizing the economic harm to her in comparison to the economic threats to Baylies' business. They denied that the Civil Rights Act created a special right, choosing instead to make a claim of right under that act no more significant than any other legal claim. They also emphasized the need to balance claims of individual right against risks to others, no matter how speculative those risks might be. Most insidious, they provided a legal justification of caste, lumping all African Americans together in precisely the way that denied them the individuality Curry sought to protect. These results were not compelled by any law. The language of the Civil Rights Act did not mandate segregation. Nor did the common law, which provided that theater owners could exclude individuals (such as obvious drunks, known thieves or prostitutes) who threatened other customers,

[49] Nelson, *Fourteenth Amendment*; Kaczorowski, "Nationalization of Civil Rights."

[50] 30 Ill. App. at 107–08, relying on both *Chase v. Stephenson*, 71 Ill. 383 (1874) and *People ex rel John Longress v. Board of Education of the City of Quincy*, 101 Ill. 308 (1982). Interestingly enough, this economic argument was not made as explicitly before the Supreme Court. 128 Ill. at 288.

[51] This was the argument emphasized at the Supreme Court, 128 Ill. at 288, although it was also made in passing before the Appellate Court. 30 Ill. App. at 105.

[52] Though McMurdy did point out that it was "an exact reproduction of the civil rights act of the United States . . . [which was] decided to be unconstitutional." 30 Ill. App. at 105.



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sanction the separation of an entire group.[53] Segregation was being read into the Civil Rights Act and, with it, a theory of racial caste.

Nearly forty years later, at Fisk University in 1920, McMurdy made many similar arguments in a speech defending Abraham Lincoln's response to slavery.[54] There, McMurdy took the position that while Lincoln was appalled by slavery, he properly refrained from permitting his personal antipathy to influence his actions. Lincoln was, as McMurdy put it, a lawyer above all else. As a lawyer, Lincoln venerated the Constitution and felt obliged to honor the fact that "while the Constitution did not impliedly sanction slavery it did not prohibit it."[55] In that sentence, McMurdy captured two related legal theories. What the Constitution did not expressly prohibit, it implicitly permitted. This idea had its antecedents in the expansive constitutional interpretations offered by many Republicans during the Civil War and Reconstruction.[56] However, McMurdy's use of it to defend inaction about slavery and limit the meaning of equality was a far cry from the visions of that doctrine offered by radical members of the Republican Party. His original point about Lincoln—that lawyers had to be limited by the law—was a basic doctrine of legal formalism and one he made in other contexts as well.[57] In a mystery novel McMurdy wrote in 1912, the lawyer hero wound up falsely accused of murder as a direct result of putting his desire to earn a profit above his professional obligations to the law.[58]

Taken together, McMurdy's speech at Fisk and his novel emphasize the extent to which he believed that lawyers had to be constrained by laws, be those laws good or bad. While that implies that McMurdy felt law existed in its own world, free from external influences, in his speech at Fisk, he admitted that other factors influenced the way law had to be used. There, he praised Lincoln for believing that any right the slaves had to freedom had to be balanced against the financial harm or possible destruction of the Union that would result from their emancipation.[59] This was, McMurdy argued, an admirable reaction that demonstrated Lincoln's judicious sense that the problems of the world had to be corrected gradually and in a manner that considered the harm to all involved. The claim that the law had to take real-world concerns into account was precisely the economic argument made on behalf of Baylies, on a grander scale.

McMurdy's defenses of Lincoln and Baylies may have expressed another belief as well. In his mystery novel, one character was an African-American waiter named

[53] J. Albert Brackett, *Theatrical Law: The Legal Rights of Manager, Artist, Author and Public in Theaters, Places of Amusement, Plays, Performances, Contracts and Regulations* (Boston, 1907), 187–91.

[54] Robert McMurdy, "Lincoln and Slavery: An Address Delivered before the Student Body of Fisk University on Emancipation Day, January 1, 1920" (n.p., 1920), Lincoln Collection, Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago.

[55] McMurdy, "Lincoln and Slavery," 8.

[56] Phillip Shaw Paludan, *"A People's Contest": The Union and the Civil War, 1861–1865* (New York, 1988), 92–93; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 232–34.

[57] On legal formalism, see Arnold Paul, *Conservative Crisis and the Rule of Law: Attitudes of Bar and Bench, 1887–1895* (1960; rpt. edn., Gloucester, Mass., 1976), 1–38; Morton J. Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law, 1780–1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 253–66; Hovenkamp, "Social Science and Segregation," 624, 626, and nn. 8–9.

[58] Robert McMurdy, *The Upas Tree* (Chicago, 1912). This moral was explicitly noted by one of the other lawyers in the story, who pointed out the temptations and risks of practicing law to another young lawyer, pp. 135–36.

[59] McMurdy, "Lincoln and Slavery," 13–14.



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Robert. As described in the novel, Robert was educated, observant, and incorruptible. Not only were his morals far superior to those of most of the whites in the novel, they kept him, as he put it, from being used by whites the way they used so many of his people. While better than most, Robert was not the most admirable character in the book. He acted, when he did so, indirectly. He eavesdropped on conversations and reported them to the police. Although he used information gathered that way to solve the mystery and save the hero, there was always a hint of the sneak in Robert because he obtained his information in underhanded ways. In that respect, his conduct called to mind that of another, even less attractive, character in the book, a white woman whose backhanded methods were repeatedly maligned as "oriental." The only unambiguously good person in the book—the hero's wife—was always frank, open, and supremely honest.[60] If Robert represented McMurdy's view of African Americans, he demonstrated that even the best of them were sly, indirect, and never completely trustworthy.

The arguments justifying segregation in People's Theatre built on Baylies' economic anxiety and used it to show that segregated seating was a statesman-like response that prevented a greater harm. But McMurdy's treatment of the character Robert in his novel suggested another possible influence on his argument—a sense that even the "best Negroes" were different from whites and could never be completely assimilated into white culture. His sense of their innate difference may have determined his defense of segregation as much as the economic conditions on which it focused and the legal doctrines in which it was framed.

ARGUING FOR JOSEPHINE CURRY, Edward Morris flatly rejected the idea that equal rights could or should be considered in such a limited way, and he denied that there were any inherent differences between the races. What he did not do was attack the speculative nature of Baylies' case. Rather, Morris responded to the legal argument made for Baylies by offering an alternative interpretation of the decisions of the Supreme Court of Illinois in the two school-segregation cases. Where McMurdy had interpreted both cases as resting on an economic analysis, Morris emphasized the way the two cases were consistent with other decisions that forbade distinctions made on racial grounds. Reading those cases as all of a piece, Morris argued that they meant that the right to equal access was something more than an economic right or a right created by a statute that could be balanced against and limited by other claims. Rather, he argued, they established that the right of equal access was derived from something more fundamental—basic rights inherent in all humans.[61]

Morris's argument resembled Charles Sumner's justification of the federal Civil Rights Act of 1875 and was just the sort of claim that the Supreme Court rejected as extravagant in the *Civil Rights Cases* in 1883.[62] A more conventional argument for Curry would have relied on the terms of the Illinois Civil Rights Act of 1885,

[60] McMurdy, *Upas Tree*, 285, 82–83, 284–85, 23–24, 42–43, 30–31.

[61] This argument is set out most clearly in the summary of Morris's brief to the Appellate Court. 30 Ill. App. at 108–09, relying on *Chase v. Stephenson*, 71 Ill. 383 (1874), *People ex rel. John Longress v. Board of Education of the City of Quincy*, 101 Ill. 308 (1882).

[62] *The Nation* (October 18, 1883): 326; Sumner, "Address to the Final Meeting."



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claiming the plain language of that act was broad enough to cover both admission to the theater and access to all its parts.[63] Morris made that conventional argument but did so in the context of his rejection of McMurdy's argument that equality was a function of economics.[64] Taking this approach, he kept Sumner's theory of the fundamental nature of equality alive. More significant, he shifted Curry's claim away from the economic argument that her money should buy her whatever it would buy a white person. As he did so, Morris also used his argument to subtly refute the suggestion that African Americans wanted special rights by asserting that Curry wanted only the rights all other people had. In these respects, Morris interpreted his client's testimony in legal terms. He also interpreted the law in a way that fit his argument into a particular sense of rights and equality. In so doing, he crafted an argument that was drawn from his own background and status as much as Curry's arguments were drawn from hers. By 1888, Morris was certainly one of the African-American elite in Chicago. He attended exclusive parties and receptions with the most prominent members of that community, and thus mixed in circles that, as the social columns of the *Western Appeal* demonstrated, did not include either Curry. In the 1880s, while the Currys were trying to make themselves socially and professionally prominent, Morris had done so and crossed the color line in the process. His clients included African Americans, whites, and white-owned corporations.[65]

Although Morris lived the life the Currys aspired to, he was more explicitly and militantly committed to integration than they were. In contrast to both John and Josephine, he was inevitably mentioned as a participant at any meeting about integration. He was a member of state and national civil rights organizations. Later, he became a prominent opponent of Booker T. Washington and a passionate defender of integration in the face of increasing separationist sentiment. His arguments in the Curry case were consistent with his lifelong commitment to integration. They were also in keeping with his status, since, as Willard Gatewood has shown, integrationist arguments usually were made in late nineteenth-century Chicago by the most elite members of the African-American community.[66] But Morris was an anomalous member of that elite. While Gatewood found that most African-American elites in Chicago during the 1880s held that status from birth,

[63] Compare the argument of counsel for the plaintiff in *Cecil v. Green*, 161 Ill. 265 (1896). On file in the Illinois State Archives, Springfield, Illinois.

[64] 30 Ill. App. at 108, 128 Ill. at 289.

[65] On Morris's social and business standing in Chicago, see Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color*, 121; Spear, *Black Chicago*, 61; August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *Along the Color Line: Explorations in the Black Experience* (Urbana, Ill., 1976), 132. See also *The Bench and Bar of Chicago: Biographical Sketches* (Chicago, n.d.), 529–30. For evidence of the fact that Morris and the Currys socialized in different circles, see *Western Appeal* (February 25, 1888): 1, Morris at meeting of Autumn Club, no mention of Currys; (March 16, 1889): 1, Morris holds church social, no mention of Currys; (February 15, 1890): 2, article on the 50th celebration of local society mentions Morris, not Currys; (April 14, 1888): 1, Currys hold party, no mention of Morris. The extent to which social stratification existed in this period in Chicago is discussed in Spear, *Black Chicago*, 50–70; and Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color*, 119–24.

[66] Gatewood, *Artistocrats of Color*, 119. For examples of Morris's activism in Chicago protests, see *Western Appeal* (March 10, 1888): 1; *Western Appeal* (November 30, 1889): 1; *Chicago Tribune* (March 7, 1888): 1. For examples of his participation in civil rights organizations, see *Western Appeal* (February 8, 1890): 1. See also the discussion of Morris's life and the Morris-Washington exchange in August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880–1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963), 177–78, 237–38; Spear, *Black Chicago*, 61.



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Morris was no more born an aristocrat of color than was John Curry. He had been born a slave in Kentucky in 1858 and was freed after his father's death in 1861, under a law that declared his mother free upon the death of her husband. His family moved to Chicago in 1871, where he attended school and college. After college, he trained for the bar in the office of a white lawyer, Edward A. Fisher, and was admitted to practice in 1877.[67] Like John Curry, Edward Morris had only achieved success in Chicago a short time before the trial. In comparison to the Currys, he seemed to have come further and gone farther in the process. Perhaps as a result, his argument on Josephine's behalf was more extreme than her own. Where she was content to claim no more than what she thought was economically hers, he grounded her right on a fundamental sense of what people deserved. Where her claim manifested the optimism that marked the *Western Appeal*'s coverage of Chicago, his argument demonstrated a concern with the future of integration. Where she minimized her claim of right, he reasserted that civil rights claims ultimately were different from other sorts of claims.

In other contexts, Morris explained why he thought civil rights and integration were important. In 1890, in a speech on race and rights at the Central Music Hall in Chicago, Morris rejected the idea—broached by the Supreme Court in the *Civil Rights Cases*—that African Americans wanted to be considered "ward[s] of the nation." Rather, he argued, they wanted the laws to be enforced for them, as they were enforced for whites. After emphasizing the fundamental nature of civil rights, Morris called for integration as a means of creating a "healthy public sentiment" by bringing the races together to meet and understand each other. History, he argued, demonstrated that blacks and whites could meet without prejudice. The purpose of the civil rights laws was to obliterate the lessons of slavery and recreate an environment in which that sort of meeting would occur so that prejudice could be ended.[68] In this speech, as in his argument in Curry's case, Morris flatly rejected the assumption that law could not change sentiment. Integration was, for Morris, the only way to fight the creation of caste.

THERE WAS YET ANOTHER LEGAL POINT OF VIEW expressed in the courtroom on March 16, 1888—that of the trial judge.[69] Arba Waterman was a "strong" Republican who fought for the North in the Civil War.[70] But he was not a Republican in the mode

[67] For details about Morris's life and legal career, see Meier and Rudwick, *Along the Color Line*, 132 and n. 16; *Bench and Bar of Chicago*, 529–30. According to at least one biography, Morris's mother was a free woman before her marriage to Morris's father, who was a slave. Following state law, she became a slave upon her marriage. When her husband died shortly before the Civil War, she returned to her free status. Her children, including Edward Morris, became free at the same time following the fairly standard legal rule that the status of African-American children followed the status of their mother. *Bench and Bar of Chicago*, 529–30; Lawrence M. Friedman, *History of American Law*, 2d edn. (New York, 1985), 85; Thomas D. Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law, 1619–1860* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996), 43–49.

[68] *Western Appeal* (February 15, 1890): 1.

[69] The judge's ruling (below) was apparently in response to a motion considering whether the jury should be instructed that segregated seating fell within the meaning of the act. *Baylies v. Curry*, 128 Ill. 287, 291 (1889).

[70] See his biography in *Bench and Bar of Chicago*, 372. Waterman had also been an alderman for the 12th Ward in 1874–1875 and president of the Chicago chapter of the Sons of Vermont in 1885. Alfred



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of Charles Sumner, Frederick Douglass, or the Reconstruction Congress. Where their theories of equality—like Morris's—rested on the idea of rights inherent in all humans, Waterman took a different tack. As did McMurdy, Waterman grounded his discussion of the case on the Civil Rights Act itself, although he reached a different conclusion. He rejected the argument that segregated seating was permitted by that law's actual language, which required that African Americans be provided equal enjoyment of accommodations but made no further demand. Instead, he determined that a prohibition of segregation within a public space was included in the act and that, by any other reading, "the civil rights act was rendered nugatory." In reaching this conclusion, Waterman rejected the argument that the Civil Rights Act had to be limited so that "order and good government could be preserved." He compared it to claims that African Americans had to be enslaved lest they become public charges, or punished severely for even a trivial offense. Both ideas, Waterman noted, had fallen by the wayside in the aftermath of the Civil War, and "neither disorder nor destruction of the government followed." Waterman was equally dismissive of Baylies' claim that his business would fail if he could not segregate African Americans. Under the law, he ruled, "if an inn or restaurant or theater could not be conducted without race or color distinction, it was not to be conducted at all."[71] Waterman's decision was a powerful endorsement of integration within public places, but it did not accept Morris's proposition that integration was necessary because it would restore race relations to their pre-slavery harmony, any more than it accepted McMurdy's argument that integration led to harm.

In support of his ruling, Waterman relied on one of the two school-segregation cases cited by the attorneys—*People ex rel. John Longress vs. Board of Education of the City of Quincy*. According to the only news account that set out the basis for his decision, Waterman read that case as deciding that "[a]n attempt . . . to evade the law by having a separate school room for negro children . . . was the very discrimination prohibited by the Illinois Statute." Extending this logic to the case before him, Waterman concluded that, just as a school board had violated a general law with a specific attempt to segregate within a school, so, too, Baylies violated a general law by attempting to segregate within his theater. The problem with this analysis is that Waterman misread *City of Quincy*. There, the court was concerned with deciding whether the state law prevented Quincy from requiring African-American students to attend a separate school. The question of whether children could be segregated within a school was never an issue in that case, and the court did not address it. Waterman could only make *City of Quincy* fit Curry's case by misinterpreting it. By relying on a case that interpreted a statute forbidding racial exclusion to include the prohibition of segregation, Waterman could claim that the law's inexorable logic, rather than politics or personal preference, compelled a similar outcome in Curry's case. His choice suggests that Waterman, like McMurdy, was influenced by the legal formalism of his time. Yet, for all that he tried to cloak

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T. Andreas, *History of Chicago from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Chicago, 1884–86), 3: 101, 409.

[71] *Chicago Inter Ocean* (March 17, 1888): 16.



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his decision in logic, Waterman's treatment of Curry's case rested on ideas of race and society that were not obviously mandated by the act. His opinion made it clear that the Illinois Civil Rights Act existed to protect African Americans from whites. Protect was the operative word, since it implied that African Americans were victims to be helped, not actors who helped themselves.[72]

This emphasis was consistent with Waterman's generally paternalistic approach to race relations. In 1901, he wrote a novelette called *A Century of Caste*, which set out his views and ended—as its title suggests it would—with a denunciation of racial caste.[73] His story of a woman who had been born a slave was set in the South from the 1840s to sometime after Reconstruction ended. In the book, African Americans were victims, kept down during slavery and after the Civil War because they were deprived of the protections of law. Supposedly, law protected African Americans, who could not help themselves, by restraining those whites who could not control themselves. But while Waterman clearly felt that African Americans needed laws to help them, it was equally clear that he believed the laws could only do so much. This pessimism was partly a result of what he perceived to be the attributes of the African American, whose limitations the book made clear. Most African Americans in the book were uneducated, and even the exceptions, the narrator and a young man named Henry, took no benefit from education. Although the narrator could read, she remained focused on her small part of the world. Education did not help Henry, either. He was the brightest student at the local school, but when he had learned all that school could teach him, he went to work on his father's farm. One day, he was killed by a band of men who falsely believed he had frightened a white woman. The narrator's literacy did not overcome the narrowness of her world view, nor did Henry's learning save him from the fate of uneducated African Americans. It did not give him ambition, make him a leader, or drive him to change his community.[74] Education could do nothing for African Americans because they were naturally passive. This passivity in the face of southern violence meant that laws had to be written to protect them, but it also meant that African Americans could never be equal to whites.

Waterman's opinion in the Curry case did not go that far, but it rested on similar assumptions. Given the Civil Rights Act, he believed that Curry could not be barred from, or segregated within, People's Theatre. He dismissed as speculative Baylies' fear that white customers would respond to her presence with violence. Not only was violence unlikely, law existed to check it. This idea of law might seem positive, but a closer look demonstrates the limits of this understanding of law. In making his argument, McMurdy treated law as a collection of rules to be followed for their own

[72] Waterman's opinion is paraphrased in the *Chicago Inter Ocean* (March 17, 1888): 16. The *Chicago Daily News* set out a considerable amount of the opinion but did not provide his legal justification; (March 16, 1888): 1. For the scope of the Supreme Court's opinion in *City of Quincy*, see 19 Ill. at 315.

[73] A. N. Waterman, *A Century of Caste* (Chicago, 1901). The book deliberately evoked *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, both in terms of its characters (the narrator's husband was named Tom and was sold down river) and its treatment of blacks as gentle victims. It ended with the narrator crying out: "Oh my God! My God! why was I born to be despised and robbed? Why should all I had, all I had, my husband have been sold away from me? How long, how long, Oh Lord, must we be a despised race, because thou hast made us black?" Waterman, *Century of Caste*, 67.

[74] Compare the effect of education on John in "Of the Coming of John," in W. E. B. Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago, 1911), 228–41.



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sake (and the sake of economic health); Morris, by contrast, argued that law was a positive force that could improve lives. For Waterman, laws were as unlikely to change human nature as literacy was to uplift African Americans, and to prove it he ended his novelette with a collection of laws from northern and southern states that oppressed African Americans.[75]

That fear of the law's potential for oppression doubtless explains Waterman's legal formalism. It also undermined his ruling in Curry's case. Reading the act of 1885 in terms of protection meant that Waterman could limit the scope of the law, but his legal philosophy meant that he would not endorse Morris's claims that African Americans and whites were created equal or dare to entertain the aspiration that legally induced integration would help bridge racial divides.

THE VERDICT IN JOSEPHINE CURRY'S FAVOR was appealed to both the Illinois Appellate Court and the Illinois Supreme Court.[76] And the opinions of those two courts complicate this story further. The decision in the First District Appellate Court was written by Joseph E. Gary, who had achieved considerable fame as the judge in the Haymarket Square anarchists' trial only two years earlier and had been elected to the Appellate Court as a result. A contemporary described Gary as a judge who was "noted for the rapidity of his decisions and for his great dispatch of business, evidently holding with Emerson that it was more important to the public that cases should be decided, than that they should always be decided correctly."[77] Somewhat improbably given that philosophy, Gary upheld Curry's claim for integration.

The question on appeal was whether Waterman had erred by barring evidence that might justify segregated seating. Relying on the reasoning of the U.S. Supreme Court in *Railroad Co. vs. Brown*, Gary concluded that Waterman had ruled correctly. In *Brown*, the Supreme Court held that a railroad operating under a government charter with the proviso "no person shall be excluded from the cars on account of color" could not create separate but equal cars. Reading *Brown* as a ruling that prohibitions on exclusion encompassed prohibitions on segregation within rail cars, Gary read the Civil Rights Act of 1885 the same way. It is, Gary

[75] Waterman, *Century of Caste*, 67–85.

[76] 30 Ill. App. 105 (1st Dist. 1889); 128 Ill. 287 (1889). The trial involved another perspective—that of the jury. But other than knowing that the jury entered a verdict for Curry in the amount of $100, well beyond the price of four tickets to Pastor's show (and four times larger than an award in another case decided a month later, *Western Appeal* [April 28, 1888]: 1), we know nothing about its opinion in the case. The jury may have accepted Curry's claim that integration was her economic right or Morris's hope that integration would bring people together. Its verdict just as easily could have ratified Baylies' worst fear, reflecting the conclusion that People's Theatre, like the Levee that surrounded it, was so corrupt it should be integrated, or McMurdy's theory that economic interests trumped the need for integration. It is also possible the jury agreed with Waterman that the 1885 Act imposed integration on victims and their victimizers, without the possibility of changing either. It might have been the case that the jury focused on the testimony that Josephine Curry was thrown out of the theater, and rejected that exclusion without reaching the more difficult question of whether integration within the theater was required.

[77] On Gary's career, see Carl Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman* (Chicago, 1995), 171. The statement about Gary's judicial philosophy was by Alfred Andreas, quoted in Smith, *Urban Disorder*, 122.



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wrote, "the custom so general that the court cannot affect ignorance of it, that one buying tickets with seat reserved, to any public amusement, has his choice of any unsold for which he is willing to pay the price." More to the point, "No white man is ever denied that choice because he is white." "If," concluded Gary, a person "is so denied because he is colored, 'full and equal enjoyment' is denied." Reaching this conclusion, Gary echoed the language Morris used in his brief on appeal. Having borrowed Morris's phrase to set out an economic basis for integration that would have made the *Western Appeal* proud, Gary turned to Baylies' claim that his particular circumstances required segregation, a claim he rejected out of hand. It was not, Gary wrote, "for the residents of any part of the city, however disreputable they may be, to nullify the law." If Baylies catered "for such a class, he must abide the consequences of such lawlessness as he can not, with or without police assistance, control."[78]

At first glance, this last sentiment seems to be identical to Waterman's statement that a business that could not function without segregation should not function. Thus it is a comment that, given its seeming acceptance of economic harm to Baylies, reads oddly coming from the man whose relentless devotion to property rights marked the Haymarket trial.[79] A closer look suggests that Gary's and Waterman's points were not identical and that Gary's work in the Haymarket trial and Curry's case arose out of common assumptions. In an 1893 article he published defending his conduct in Haymarket, Gary drew a distinction between formal law (statutes and the decisions of courts) and popular justice. In the particular circumstances of Haymarket, that difference meant that it was no justification of the verdict that it comported with popular sentiment.[80] The verdict had to stand on its own as a matter of law, and Gary spent many pages demonstrating that it did so.

Although Gary intended to use the distinction he drew to justify the lawfulness of his decision in the Haymarket case, in the grand scheme of things it meant that law and justice were often at odds. Formal law—constrained as it was by logic and the limitations of those who drafted or interpreted it—might be unable to redress a particular wrong or correct a specific harm. When that limit on the law resulted in injury, or threat of injury, to a particular social unit (the family or a community), popular justice could step in. Thus where a husband beat his wife, Gary concluded that if the law did not prohibit the behavior, her family could beat him with impunity. Where a salesman offered contaminated goods that threatened the health of a community, if no law forbade the sale, Gary reasoned that the community could rise up and run the salesman out of town. In both cases, extralegal justice was

[78] 30 Ill. App. at 111–12, citing *Railroad Co. v. Brown*, 84 U.S. (17 Wall.) 445 (1872). Morris's brief is summarized at 30 Ill. App. at 108.

[79] See *Chicago Tribune* (October 9, 1886): 2; and (October 10, 1886): 12. At the Haymarket trial, eight suspected anarchists were tried for the murder of Chicago police officers. Although most historians (and some contemporaries) consider the evidence against them flimsy, all eight were convicted, four were excuted, one committed suicide while in jail; the remaining three were subsequently pardoned. Gary's view of the trial is set out in the statement he made after sentencing the defendants; it is reprinted in an article he wrote later. Joseph E. Gary, "The Chicago Anarchists of 1886: The Crime, the Trial, and the Punishment," *The Century Magazine* 45 (April 1893): 803, 836–37. On the trial generally, see Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), 264–65, 277–78, 292–93; Smith, *Urban Disorder*, chap. 7, esp. 127–31.

[80] Gary, "Chicago Anarchists," 809.



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legitimate because there was no legal prohibition, but the only people entitled to act were those faced with the harm. Applied in the Haymarket anarchists' case, this separation of formal law and popular justice had no effect, since to Gary's mind the anarchists were outside agitators properly punished for provoking murder. But in Curry's case, this split had significant repercussions. Formal law, in the guise of the Civil Rights Act, required Baylies to let the Currys into his theater and apparently meant he had to permit them to sit anywhere they could afford to. But nothing in that law required the other customers to sit next to the Currys. If the protests of the customers went too far—if, for example, a riot ensued—the police could be called in. Within proper limits, Gary seemed to recognize that popular justice gave Baylies' other customers a right to resist integration. Thus, for Gary, as for Waterman, "equal enjoyment" meant full-scale integration, a clear benefit for African Americans. At the same time, there were vast differences between their two opinions. For Waterman, any business that could not function if integrated should shut down; for Gary, laws requiring integration did not bar some extralegal protests. Waterman's opinion tried to square popular justice and formal law by denying that a popular sense of what was right or wrong could exist in conflict with the act. Gary's opinion gave quarter to the split between law and popular mores that shaped the majority opinion for segregation in *Plessy vs. Ferguson*.

The Supreme Court of Illinois affirmed the Appellate Court's decision, in an opinion written by Justice John Scholfield. In contrast to Waterman and Gary, who were both Republicans, Scholfield was a lifelong Democrat.[81] As might be expected, given that he was from a part of southern Illinois that had supported the Confederacy during the Civil War, Scholfield's opinion shifted the ground of the decision a final time.[82] Where Gary, and Waterman before him, concluded that the act prohibited exclusion and required integration, Scholfield did not reach that far. "The only case [Curry's] evidence tended to prove was, that after having paid through another, for the requisite ticket to the 'first balcony,' she was first denied admission thereto, and afterwards denied admission to every part of the theater, because of her color." She was excluded from People's Theatre, and that, for Justice Scholfield, was that. Because exclusion was barred, the court did not need to consider Curry's claim for integration within the theater.[83] Thus, in a few lines, Scholfield changed Curry's case from one holding that equal enjoyment meant integration to one providing that equal enjoyment meant equal, but potentially separate, access. Upholding her victory, Scholfield decisively narrowed its scope.

Equally limited interpretations followed *Baylies vs. Curry*, and they undermined the act. In 1926, nearly forty years after it decided the Curry case, the Illinois Supreme Court reiterated its commitment to *Baylies vs. Curry* in *Pickett vs. Kuchan*, holding that a theater owner violated the act when he tried to sell African Americans tickets to a special section.[84] But between *Baylies* and *Pickett*, there was no line of important civil rights victories ratifying integration in public places. Quite the opposite. In 1896, the Supreme Court of Illinois reversed a verdict for an

[81] On Scholfield, see *Encyclopedia of Biography of Illinois* (Chicago, 1894), 2: 137–38.
[82] *History of Crawford and Clark Counties, Illinois*, William Henry Perrin, ed. (Chicago, 1883), 322.
[83] 128 Ill. at 292.
[84] 323 Ill. 138 (1926).



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African-American man who was refused service at a soda fountain on the grounds that a soda fountain was not "a place of accommodation or amusement" within the scope of the act.[85] The act was amended to include soda fountains, but that hardly helped. In 1904, the Appellate Court held that the act should be read narrowly, concluding that a restaurant which "failed to serve" an African American had not violated the act, because the act required proof that the restaurant "refused" to provide service.[86] A few years later, the Illinois Supreme Court held that cemeteries were outside the scope of the act.[87] These rulings made the act useless. By 1920, the Chicago Commission on Race Relations found that the criminal aspect of the act was rarely enforced. Where arrests were made, there were no convictions. At the same time, the commission found that when African Americans brought civil suits under the act, the average verdict was roughly $25, a sum too small to cover the cost of litigation.[88]

THUS THE CONSTRAINTS OF FORMALISM limited the impact of the Civil Rights Act as it applied to Josephine Curry's case and to others. Popular interpretation narrowed her victory as well. The news accounts of the trial were dismissive, showing Curry little respect. In the article in the *Chicago Tribune*, her comments were reproduced in the implausible "darky" dialect often used in plantation sketches.[89] A story in the *Chicago Times* sneered at her victory, mocking her desire to sit where she wanted as a childish wish to sit close to the stage and smell the rosin on the fiddler's bow.[90] Owners of public places chose simply to ignore the verdict. Three days after the trial, the Reverend Birdie Wilkins, an African-American minister, went to the Columbia theater in downtown Chicago with a friend to see "The Strange Case of Doctor Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, or A Double Life." At the box office, Wilkins requested and was sold first-floor tickets. Inside the theater, the usher refused to seat Wilkins and his guest on the first floor and took them to gallery seats reserved for African Americans instead.[91] Reporting this incident, one African-American newspaper published in Chicago concluded, "instructions have been given by management to so insult the colored patrons of the house, whenever they think they have ignorant or timid ones to deal with."[92] While the paper did not suggest that those instructions were a reaction to Curry's case, timing makes that conclusion

[85] *Cecil v. Green*, 161 Ill. 265 (1896).

[86] *Grace v. Mosley*, 112 Ill. App. 100 (1st Dist. 1904), reversing the verdict for the plaintiff and remanding the case for a new trial.

[87] *People ex rel. Gaskill v. Final Home Cemetery*, 258 Ill. 36 (1913).

[88] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot* (Chicago, 1922), 232–38.

[89] *Chicago Tribune* (March 16, 1888): 1. For another article using that dialect, see *Chicago Daily News* (March 9, 1885): 2. Of course, at other times, papers reported comments by whites (especially the Irish) in dialect as well. For example, *Chicago Daily News* (March 16, 1887): 1, recounting testimony in a trial, Irish "brogue" used. Waterman's narrator had also shifted between standard English and "darky dialect." *Century of Caste*, 64, 66–67.

[90] *Chicago Times* (March 16, 1888): 1.

[91] *Western Appeal* (March 24, 1888): 1. The Columbia, like People's Theatre, was a downtown theater, though, since it was located at 104 and 110 Monroe, it was not quite as close to the Levee. *Lakeside Annual Directory* (1888).

[92] *Western Appeal* (March 24, 1888): 1.



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inevitable. Certainly, given the widespread publicity about her case a few days before, it was likely the Columbia's personnel were aware of it. The Wilkins incident was not isolated. Eighteen months later, the Havlin Theater refused to admit John Howard because he was African American.[93] Nor was discrimination confined to theaters. In April 1890, the Criterion restaurant refused to serve Minerva Irwin because of her race. In an interview, the restaurant manager explained: " 'It is against the policy of this place to cater to colored people. The man that was here before me said that he had several squabbles with colored diners. This is the first time I have had any trouble with them. Let her go ahead and sue me. I have my witnesses and I will take care of myself. The colored people hurt our trade.' "[94] And so, social equality as understood by Justice Harlan and Edward Morris occurred less and less in Chicago as the nineteenth century came to an end.

Curry's case was, then, simultaneously a victory for integration and, by virtue of its interpretation in the courts and public spaces of Chicago, a case that helped limit the authority of the Illinois Civil Rights Act. Yet, as significant as it was for Curry, Baylies, and the people of Chicago in the late nineteenth century, it is perhaps less obvious what importance her case holds for us. The answer is that one hundred years after the Supreme Court's decision in *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, when the question of how far litigation can be relied upon to improve race relations remains fiercely debated, Curry's case serves to tell a cautionary tale.[95]

At first glance, that tale is one made already too familiar by histories of similar suits. Her case can easily be read as one more story of unintended consequences, an account of how a particular strategy—here, the decision on the part of some African Americans in Chicago to discuss civil rights in terms of economic interests and class—blunted the force of civil rights laws. A more theoretical, but still familiar, perspective on her case would dismiss it as yet another example of the way structural racism undermined civil rights legislation. Even though these two perspectives rest on disparate notions of human agency (and carry their own distinctive political baggage), in one respect at least their differences are slight. In each, the moral of her story seems to be that Justice Brown was right when he declared in *Plessy* that law could not change popular sentiment about race.

Yet there is another way of looking at Curry's case that tells a more complicated story about the relationship of law to society and challenges Justice Brown's assumption at the same time. Rather than treat her case as an all-too-familiar end to the failed trajectory of a civil rights law, it is better seen as the story of a process. More precisely, it is the story of a process of interpretation and reinterpretation.[96] A story that shows, in a way that contradicts those more instrumentalist views of law set out above, how those legal arguments were determined by the lives of the people

[93] *Western Appeal* (October 19, 1889): 1. Other incidents are recounted in Spear, *Black Chicago*, 40–43.

[94] *Chicago Daily News* (April 21, 1890): 1. See also the story about Frank Turner; *Western Appeal* (March 29, 1890): 1.

[95] Compare Richard Delgado, "Rodrigo's Second Chronicle," in Delgado, *The Rodrigo Chronicles: Conversations about America and Race* (New York, 1995), and the materials he cites, with Richard A. Epstein, *Forbidden Grounds: The Case against Employment Discrimination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

[96] For studies that have shaped the arguments I am making here, see Robert W. Gordon, "Critical Legal Histories," *Stanford University Law Review* 36 (January 1986): 57; Christopher L. Tomlins, *Law, Labor, and Ideology in the Early American Republic* (New York, 1993).



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who made them. In this sense, it is a history of a process that is very contingent, a history that demonstrates how the particular context of a case dictates its direction.

But this is more than just a history of the intersection of the law and the everyday. It is also a history of choices. Although each layer of interpretation was individually shaped by the experiences of the various people offering them, each interpretation was made in response to other arguments. Curry defined her claim in terms of economic equality because of her personal experiences, but that claim was then turned on its head by Baylies' claim of economic harm. Later, the attorneys for the parties recast those interpretations in different ways. Morris deemphasized the economic aspect of his client's claim and focused his argument on the ideals of civil rights law. In contrast, Baylies' attorney centered his analysis on the economic harm that threatened his client, and he offered a formalist attack on Morris's idealistic interpretation of the law. Those interpretations, in turn, were reworked by the various judges. As he upheld Curry's claim, Waterman rejected the ideas of individuality and law on which it rested and offered a modification of McMurdy's formalism in its place. Where Waterman's formalism revealed his fear that law could oppress as well as aid, Gary's decision affirming the lower court verdict rested on another idea of law's peculiar limitations. Far from accepting Waterman's desire to limit law's authority, Gary offered the idea of extralegal justice that filled the gaps that law was too limited to reach. The effect, in Curry's case, was that Gary upheld her claim in a way suggesting that popular protests against integration were acceptable. The decision of the Illinois Supreme Court, although it, too, upheld Curry's victory, did so by the narrowest of grounds, leaving open the very issue at the heart of her case—whether equal enjoyment meant integration or simply equal access. Those verdicts helped define the law Curry's case made. And that law helped shape popular behavior. Unchecked by a firm commitment on the part of the legal system to the ideal of integration, popular interpretations of the act followed the courts, so that segregation, rather than integration, became the norm. Thus the interpretations in her case built on one another, and each was defined to some extent by those that went before; each layer reflected choices made and ideas rejected. Unpacked, Curry's case shows how choices made within the legal system make law into something that is simultaneously contingent and controlling.

Its ability to demonstrate this aspect of law is why the history of Josephine Curry's case is something more than another tale of the inevitable failure of civil rights. It is the history of a process. Indeed, it is the history of the particular process by which the Civil Rights Act of 1885 was cast adrift from any idealistic moorings it had. For this was not a case where the ideal of law as an agent of social change failed to carry the day, leaving integration to flounder as a result.[97] Rather, it was an instance where the idealistic potential of law—the idea that integration could bring blacks and whites together to improve race relations—was systematically removed by judges and attorneys using the ideas of legal formalism. It is as an account of that particular process that Curry's case has its historical significance. Far from affirming the *Plessy* court's view that law lacks the authority to change society, her case makes the rather obvious (but often overlooked) point that law can never have that

[97] Compare the argument in Michael J. Klarman, "How *Brown* Changed Race Relations: The Backlash Thesis," *Journal of American History* 81 (June 1994): 81; Halpern, *On the Limits of the Law*.



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authority when it is deliberately stripped of any ideals. In so doing, her case suggests a moral quite different from the one offered by Justice Brown—in light of law's contingency, it matters very much what ideas are used to give it content.

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*AHR Forum*

# A New Crowd Challenges the Agenda of the Old Guard in the NAACP, 1933–1941

BETH TOMPKINS BATES

IN THE EARLY 1930s, THOUSANDS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS organized themselves through Unemployed Councils, rent strikes, and the rank-and-file unionization movement of the early New Deal. Some of their actions were encouraged and led by Communist Party organizers, others by groups such as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Missing from efforts to mobilize the grass roots was the black elite. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), for example, committed its resources to making appeals in courts on a case-by-case basis and agitated by compiling facts and deluging government officials with information. Collective organization within the larger black community of workers was not part of the gradual, legal approach that had been its hallmark since 1909. Its appeal, as pointed out by scholars August Meier and John Bracey, Jr., was basically a moral one, "to reach the conscience of America."[1]

Despite the interest demonstrated by many black American workers toward unions and economic issues, the NAACP, as late as 1937, issued conflicting statements about the value of new industrial unions and continued, according to Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the NAACP, "refusing to adopt any suggestion for mass appeal with the single exception of the anti-lynching buttons."[2] The

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[1] From the NAACP's tenth annual report, quoted by August Meier and John H. Bracey, Jr., "The NAACP as a Reform Movement, 1909–1965: 'To Reach the Conscience of America,'" *Journal of Southern History* 59 (February 1993): 6.

[2] Memo, Roy Wilkins to Walter White, March 11, 1939, 2, I-C-80, NAACP Papers, Library of Congress. St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1945; rpt. edn., Chicago, 1993), 83–89; August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW* (New York, 1979), 57–58; Ralph J. Bunche, "Extended Memo on the Programs, Ideologies, Tactics and Achievements of the Negro Betterment and Interracial Organizations," Carnegie-Myrdal Study of the Negro in America Papers, p. 51, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library; B. Joyce Ross, *J. E. Spingarn and the Rise of the NAACP, 1911–1939* (New York, 1972), 222–41. The ambiguity of the NAACP's stand toward labor emerges when Walter White dragged his feet until the very last minute to collect evidence of discrimination for presentation at the important 1935 hearings of the American Federation of Labor's Committee of Five



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moderate approach of the "old guard," represented by those leaders who wanted to maintain a somber, reformist stance, contrasted sharply with that of a more militant "new crowd," which was emerging from the economic turmoil of the Great Depression and the social dynamics of migration: the old guard relied on making appeals or seeking legal redress for individuals, the new crowd on collective demands. The outlook of most new-crowd black workers was shaped by the experience of migrating from the agrarian South to the industrial North seeking jobs during World War I, while that of the old guard represented the place they had established for themselves in pre–World War I Yankee environs. Some members within the NAACP did lobby for strategies that paid attention to economic needs of the black majority, but such efforts were overshadowed by increasing dependency on philanthropic monies. In his 1934 resignation from the NAACP, W. E. B. Du Bois told the Board of Directors that he "firmly believed" the association, "which has been great and effective for nearly a quarter of a century, finds itself in a time of crisis and change, without a program, without effective organization" to guide it.[3] Nevertheless, by 1941, Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, borrowed tactics used by the new crowd when he joined the United Auto Workers' call for collective action and actively supported striking workers at Ford's River Rouge plant near Detroit.

What led an "old-guard" leader like Walter White to change tactics?[4] Although a more militant impulse galvanized black communities by World War II, we know relatively little about what led the NAACP to endorse collective action and mass unionization.[5] When the NAACP shifted its tactics and went on the offensive to

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on Negro Discrimination. Publicly, White and the NAACP were strong supporters of this hearing. Internal correspondence from NAACP Papers suggests White's resolve to orchestrate strong evidence was not so clear. Moreover, although in 1935 White congratulated John L. Lewis when the Committee for Industrial Organization was initially formed and the 1936 NAACP National Convention called it the "greatest hope to black and white workers," in 1937 the convention rejected unqualified praise of the CIO. Roy Wilkins to Charles Houston, July 8, 1935, I-C-80; A. Philip Randolph to White, July 3, 1935, I-C-414; White to John L. Lewis, November 27, 1935, I-C-413; "Tentative Draft of Suggested Resolution ... Detroit Conference, June 29, July 4, 1937" and "Resolutions Adopted by the Twenty-Eighth Annual Conference ...," I-B-14, NAACP Papers; *Crisis* 44 (August 1937): 246, NAACP Papers.

[3] Minutes, Board of Directors, July 9, 1934; Du Bois to Board, June 26, 1934, p. 3, I-A-3, NAACP Papers.

[4] When "new strategies" is used in this essay, it is not meant to imply that these strategies or tactics dropped out of the sky. Strategies tried out in the 1930s often had roots in the history of African-American communities. Many African Americans learned to look, for example, within their communities for solutions and leadership during Reconstruction. Peter Rachleff discusses efforts of Richmond African Americans with "collective self-help," a strategy they used to try to improve their economic conditions. Rachleff, *Black Labor in Richmond, 1865–1890* (Urbana, Ill., 1989), 38, 34–54. A. Philip Randolph, aware of the resistance and protest that ran through African-American history, noted, "we are all creatures of history, for every historical epoch has its roots in a preceding epoch ... We stood upon the shoulders of the civil rights fighters of the Reconstruction era, and they stood upon the shoulders of the black abolitionists." Jervis Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), 21. Thus new strategies and new approaches are new only in relation to the direction and approach of the NAACP; they are not necessarily new strains in African-American history.

[5] Robert Korstad and Nelson Lichtenstein uncovered an aggressive, labor-oriented, civil rights approach in two communities during the 1940s in "Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of American History* 75 (December 1988): 786–811. For a contemporary assessment, see memo from staff of Rosenwald Fund, which characterized the militant



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support the right of black workers to organize collectively, its new strategy represented a radical departure for the association and a turning point in relations between the NAACP and the industrial union movement. This essay explores the political dynamics of the process within the larger black community that, in the end, not only contributed to increasing the power of black and white workers in their negotiations with corporate America but also reconfigured power relations within the black community.

Despite the importance of the NAACP as the guardian of civil rights, the nature of its relationship with the black community has only recently received close attention.[6] What follows is an exploration of the NAACP agenda during the 1930s to assess its role in shaping the culture of protest politics within the black community. When the search for new strategies led in 1935 to the organization of the National Negro Congress (NNC), to address economic interests of the black

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milieu within black communities in June 1942: "the present proletarian direction grows out of the increasing general feelings of protest against discrimination." Quoted in Richard M. Dalfiume, "The Forgotten Years of the Negro Revolution," *Journal of American History* 55 (1968): 100.

[6] Korstad and Lichtenstein refer to the relationship of the NAACP to the black community in the 1940s in "Opportunities Found and Lost." Robin D. G. Kelley explored Alabama radicalism and discovered moments of militancy in the Birmingham NAACP: *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990). Recent histories of the civil rights movement address the impact of the relationship between the NAACP and black communities on the larger black freedom struggle. The voluminous civil rights literature contains numerous works that excavate part of the relationship between branches and national NAACP. See, for example, Adam Fairclough, *Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915–1972* (Athens, Ga., 1995); Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Urbana, Ill., 1994); *The Civil Rights Movement in America*, Charles W. Eagles, ed. (Jackson, Miss., 1986). Steven F. Lawson called for case studies that adopt an interactive approach to move discussion of civil rights from the particular to a more general synthesis: "Freedom Then, Freedom Now: The Historiography of the Civil Rights Movement," *AHR* 96 (April 1991): 456–71. But a comprehensive history of the NAACP that looks at the role it played in shaping the protest politics at the local level remains to be written. Much of what we know about the NAACP we owe to the pathbreaking work of August Meier and Elliott Rudwick. They dealt with how black NAACP staff appealed to and related with white liberals, both inside and outside the association. See "The Rise of the Black Secretariat in the NAACP, 1909–1935," and "Attorneys Black and White: A Case Study of Race Relations within the NAACP," in Meier and Rudwick, *Along the Color Line: Explorations in the Black Experience* (Urbana, 1976); Meier and Bracey, "NAACP as a Reform Movement." Other studies that look at aspects of the NAACP's agenda and specific struggles against racial inequality include Raymond Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression: The Problem of Economic Recovery* (Westport, Conn., 1970), which explores the rift within the NAACP over its agenda and strategy; Ross, *J. E. Spingarn*, which discusses the struggle within the institution over the question of economic radicalism; Richard L. Watson, "The Defeat of Judge Parker: A Study in Pressure Group Politics," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 50 (September 1963): 213–34; Kenneth W. Goings, *"The NAACP Comes of Age": The Defeat of Judge John J. Parker* (Bloomington, Ind., 1990); Robert L. Zangrando, *The NAACP Crusade against Lynching, 1909–1950* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1980). Studies that look at the NAACP's relationship to the New Deal include John B. Kirby, *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era: Liberalism and Race* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1980); Nancy J. Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln: Black Politics in the Age of FDR* (Princeton, N.J., 1983). Studies that focus on the NAACP and civil rights include Genna Rae McNeil, *Groundwork: Charles Hamilton Houston and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (Philadelphia, 1983); Jack Greenberg, *Crusaders in the Courts: How a Dedicated Band of Lawyers Fought for the Civil Rights Revolution* (New York, 1994); Harold Cruse, *Plural But Equal: A Critical Study of Blacks and Minorities and America's Plural Society* (New York, 1987); Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (New York, 1976); Mark V. Tushnet, *The NAACP's Legal Strategy against Segregated Education, 1925–1950* (Chapel Hill, 1987); and Dona Cooper Hamilton and Charles V. Hamilton, "The Dual Agenda of African American Organizations since the New Deal: Social Welfare Policies and Civil Rights," *Political Science Quarterly* 107 (1992): 435–52, to mention but a few.



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working class, many old-guard leaders agreed that the NNC threatened the position of the NAACP as the leader of protest activity.[7] The NNC local in Chicago serves as a window on the protest politics that captured the attention of many black Americans in one large northern community. Activities of the Chicago branches of the NNC and NAACP are assessed for what they can tell us about how challenges to the NAACP's agenda reshaped the direction of black politics. More than a straightforward shift in NAACP policy toward industrial unions, stressed in the work of August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, is at issue.[8] The broader concern is how tactics of local protest networks contributed to reconfiguring the range and direction of national protest politics. The impetus for change flowed from the periphery to the center and then back again, somewhat like a double-arrowed chemical reaction in a nonlinear, interactive process. Connecting the national agenda of the NAACP with local protest networks argues for integrating macro and micro politics as a way to better understand the interactive nature of forces that preceded and gave shape to mass-protest strategies employed during the early civil rights era.

CHALLENGES TO THE AGENDA OF THE NAACP from the larger black community were not entirely new: Marcus Garvey scorned the dependence of many NAACP leaders on the support of white philanthropists, claiming that they want "us all to become white by amalgamation, but they are not honest enough to come out with the truth"; A. Philip Randolph attacked the old guard through the pages of *The Messenger* in the aftermath of World War I, suggesting the need for new leaders who would not appeal to white benefactors in a defensive posture; the Communist-led International Labor Defense (ILD) challenged NAACP legal tactics and strategies when they won control of the Scottsboro case, over the NAACP legal defense team, defending nine African-American males sentenced to death on charges of raping two white women. As the Scottsboro case caught the nation's attention, the ILD approach—taking the battle against Jim Crow justice into the court of public opinion—struck a chord with a population the NAACP had not been able to reach. Communists did not win massive numbers of converts for the party among black Americans, but their militant approach raised questions about appropriate strategies for challenging racial inequities in a justice system embedded in a racist social

[7] Scholar Robert Zangrando declared that from the beginning the NNC "posed nothing but trouble for the Association." Zangrando, *NAACP Crusade against Lynching*, 137.

[8] Meier and Rudwick argued that UAW officials, by agreeing to certain concessions regarding promotion of black workers to all job categories, were largely responsible for convincing Walter White to endorse the strike at River Rouge, setting the stage for "the subsequent alliance between the NAACP—both nationally and in Detroit—and the UAW-CIO." White, in turn, pressured the Detroit branch of the NAACP to back the strike. Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW*, 102. Raymond Wolters took the position that, after 1935, when the CIO's "racially egalitarian new unions" appeared, the NAACP felt the time was right to present the "industrial labor viewpoint to the Negro community." Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression*, 304–05. This essay questions how prepared the NAACP was during the 1930s, given its emphasis on legal civil rights, to appeal to the black working-class community. On the NAACP's agenda, see Hamilton and Hamilton, "Dual Agenda of African American Organizations." The present study shifts the focus to what happened within the politics of black communities to change tactics, arguing that the shift was part of larger negotiations over tactics and strategies to deal with new conditions in northern urban areas.



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A. Philip Randolph carrying sign "If Negroes must fight . . . ," demonstrating for civil rights in the military. Negro Labor Committee Photograph Collection, n.d., SC-CN-97-0051. Courtesy of Photographs and Prints Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

context. And the question mounted at a point when the NAACP was particularly vulnerable to sagging membership contributions. The competition between the Communists and the NAACP, as Mark Naison argued, was not just for control over the case but for the "hearts and minds of the black public."[9]

[9] Garvey quoted in E. David Cronon, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Madison, Wis., 1969), 192–93. For Randolph's perspective, see *The Messenger* (May–June 1919): 9, 26–27. Mark Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression* (New York, 1985), 62, see also 57–94. On the Scottsboro case, see Dan T. Carter, *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South*, 2d edn. (Baton Rouge, La., 1984); Hugh T. Murray, Jr., "The NAACP versus the Communist Party: The Scottsboro Rape Case, 1931–1932," *Phylon* 28 (1967): 267–87; Robin D. G. Kelley, "Memory and Politics," *The Nation* 259 (October 3, 1994): 353; Meier and Bracey, "NAACP as a Reform Movement," 18; Charles H. Martin, "The International Labor Defense and Black America," *Labor History* 26 (1985): 171–72. For the relationship of the Scottsboro case to community protest activity in Alabama, see Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 78–87. The NAACP, upset when the ILD stepped up activities exposing racial justice in the South, especially Alabama, used the Communist interference—the "wild talk and threats against the governor of Alabama"—to appeal for contributions to the NAACP's Scottsboro fund. A printed mailing to potential contributors stressed that the NAACP "believes that the only way to go about this case is in an orderly manner with a firm appeal to the



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Daisy Lampkin, regional field secretary for the NAACP between 1933 and 1939, understood the threat Scottsboro posed. "The NAACP is being openly criticized by its own members, some frankly saying that the NAACP is less militant" than it used to be, Lampkin told White. Moreover, friends of the NAACP asked her whether she thought the NAACP had outlived its usefulness and whether the time had come for it to give way to another organization with a more "militant program." Her advice, in 1933, was to initiate a more aggressive program in order to meet the "onslaught of the Communists."[10] Although it would be several years before White or Wilkins agreed with Lampkin's suggestion, Wilkins said he thought it was "perfectly obvious that the branches we have now are not reaching all the people who could be interested in the Association." According to Wilkins, the problem with the branches was a question of both "distance" from the national headquarters and "differences in interests and in levels of society."[11]

Indeed, the branches of the NAACP presented a special challenge to the association by the early 1930s. Considered the lifeline of the organization and its chief source of funding, branch contributions dropped considerably at the beginning of the Depression.[12] As one of the cities hardest hit by the economic downturn, Chicago ranked high among the problem branches in terms of memberships. Even in flush times, Chicago branch membership was limited because the rank and file were not attracted by its reputation as a high-brow organization under the control of Julius Rosenwald, founder of Sears Roebuck, and other white liberals. Historian Christopher Reed maintained that it was so inactive during the 1920s that some speculated about its very existence.[13] By contrast, the local black community was very interested in politics. Ralph Bunche, political scientist at Howard University, described Chicago in the 1920s as a political mecca for black Americans, a "seventh heaven." The city had a black alderman by 1915, twenty-six years before New York, and sent that alderman, Oscar DePriest, to Congress in 1928, the first black congressman from the North.[14] For the long-term viability of the NAACP, Chicago mattered. Although not the cosmopolitan center that New York was, Chicago represented, according to sociologist E. Franklin Frazier, "more nearly the pattern

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regular courts of law" (Financial Papers, November 1931, I-C-145, NAACP Papers). Later, in 1932, after the ILD controlled the case, the NAACP actually had to refund several donations for the Scottsboro fund. Walter White to Arthur Spingarn, April 4, 1932, I-C-78, NAACP Papers.

[10] Daisy Lampkin to Walter White, March 13, 1933, I-C-67, NAACP Papers.

[11] Roy Wilkins to Daisy E. Lampkin, March 23, 1935, I-C-80, NAACP Papers.

[12] Gunnar Myrdal called the NAACP branches the "lifeline of the Association," adding that "the National Office is constantly struggling to maintain them in vigor and to found new branches, especially in recent years." Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, Vol. 2: *The Negro Social Structure* (New York, 1944), 822; Bunche, "Extended Memo on the Programs, Ideologies, Tactics," 52.

[13] On the impact of the Depression, see Harold F. Gosnell, *Machine Politics: Chicago Model* (Chicago, 1937), 3. For the relationship of the NAACP to Chicago's black community, see Allan H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890–1920* (Chicago, 1967), 87–89, 101, 104, 105, 170; Christopher Robert Reed, "A Study of Black Politics and Protest in Depression-Decade Chicago: 1930–1939" (PhD dissertation, Kent State University, 1982), 38–44, 115.

[14] Ralph J. Bunche, "The Thompson-Negro Alliance," *Opportunity* 7 (March 1929): 78–80; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States, 1920–1932* (Washington, D.C., 1935), 55; Walter White to Herbert A. Turner, January 26, 1932, I-G-52, NAACP Papers; Harold F. Gosnell, *Negro Politicians: The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago* (Chicago, 1935), 11, 50–51; Charles R. Branham, "The Transformation of Black Political Leadership in Chicago, 1864–1942" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1981), 256.



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Daisy Lampkin, from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was regional field secretary for the NAACP during the 1930s. She was also an organizer for the National Association of Colored Women, a post she often used to reach recruits for the NAACP. Box Lot: #x61980: 213, Box 1, Folder 1, n.d., item ICHi-26897. Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.

of Negro life at large in America." Chicago exhibited, he explained, "the possibilities of the Negro as an industrial worker as no other city," for the number of men employed in manufacturing and mechanical jobs was a third more than those in



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domestic and personal services, a category that usually ranked first.[15] If the NAACP wanted to learn how to reach the rank and file, what better place than Chicago?

But several local organizations already looked out for the interests of black workers, making it difficult for the Chicago NAACP to broaden its base of support. In one arena, the interests of black workers and the middle class were joined in the struggle of the Chicago division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP) to form a union in 1925. When the BSCP first tried to mobilize support, it was ridiculed by the press, politicians, and most members of the clergy, who thought "the business of 'pullman portering'" part of the backbone of the black community.[16] To win their allegiance and counter the influence of thousands of dollars that the Pullman Company dispersed to turn the black press and ministers against unions, the BSCP developed entities to educate the community about its labor movement. One of these, a Citizens' Committee created by Milton P. Webster, head of the Chicago division of the BSCP, encouraged Ida B. Wells-Barnett, a prominent anti-lynching advocate, and her vast network of clubwomen to send the brotherhood's "staunch, progressive, militant" message on "economic subjects of vital importance to Negro workers" out to the larger community.[17] The BSCP created a network of activists who used the union as a vehicle for spreading a protest strategy that sought political as well as economic gains.

In another arena, the South Parkway Branch of the Chicago YWCA looked after the interests of black female industrial workers. In the early 1930s, they hired Thelma McWorter (later, Wheaton), a recent graduate with a master's degree from Western Reserve University, as the South Parkway's industrial secretary. Wheaton considered her job—teaching and training female workers about labor laws and coping on the job—a plum for a young, highly educated person. Although the Y's approach did not advocate joining any particular union, she said they did teach "the value of the unions. How you get in and participate." Coming from Wheaton, a paragon of respectability within the black community, the message carried weight. But the most important thing Wheaton recalled trying to teach the industrial workers was self-confidence. "We tried to teach the women to learn to speak up for yourself."[18]

Thus, when A. Clement MacNeal, a member of the Executive Committee in the Chicago branch of the NAACP, helped direct the "Don't Buy Where You Can't

[15] E. Franklin Frazier, "Chicago: A Cross-Section of Negro Life," *Opportunity* 7 (March 1929): 70.

[16] Quote, Associated Negro Press News Release, 1926, Folder 5, Box 278, Claude A. Barnett Papers, Chicago Historical Society. William H. Harris, *The Harder We Run* (New York, 1982), 77; E. J. Bradley to M. P. Webster, January 7, 1928; D. W. Johnson to John Fitzpatrick, January 25, 1928; Webster to Fitzpatrick, January 26, 1928, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Papers, Chicago Division, microfilmed by University Publications of America; BSCP-New York to African-American Community, November 28, 1927, I-C-413, NAACP Papers; *Black Worker* (October 1937): 7; Greg LeRoy, "The Founding Heart of A. Philip Randolph's Union: Milton P. Webster and the Chicago's Pullman Porters Organize, 1925–1937," *Labor's Heritage* 3 (July 1991): 22–43.

[17] Milton P. Webster to Ida Wells-Barnett, September 15, 1926; A. Philip Randolph to Webster, September 26, 1926, BSCP Papers, Chicago Division. For activities of the BSCP's Citizens' Committee, see Beth Tompkins Bates, "The Brotherhood," *Chicago History* 25 (Fall 1996): 4–23.

[18] Thelma McWorter, now Thelma K. Wheaton, interview by the author, September 1, 1994, DuSable Museum, p. 4, and September 14, 1994, at the Northern District Association of Colored Women, p. 15, Chicago, Illinois. Archival references to Wheaton's activities within the community



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Thelma K. Wheaton (nee McWorter), industrial secretary for the South Parkway branch of the YWCA in Chicago during the 1930s, taught household and industrial workers about the history of female workers, labor laws, workers' rights and how to exercise those rights. Courtesy of Thelma K. Wheaton.

Work" campaign in 1930, he was not the first to go against the culture of civility that permeated old-guard relations in Chicago. Because he chose a confrontational

during the 1930s are found under Thelma McWorter or, after 1933, under Thelma Kirkpatrick. Page numbers refer to typed transcript of interviews in author's possession. See also Juliet E. K. Walker, "The Afro-American Woman: Who Was She?" in *Black Women's History: Theory and Practice*, Darlene Clark Hine, ed., vol. 2 (Brooklyn, N.Y., 1990), 659–69; Chicago *Defender* (June 24, 1933): 4; (July 1, 1933): 1, 3, 4; (July 15, 1933): 4; Gosnell, *Negro Politicians*, 334.



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tactic—a boycott with picketing, propaganda, and public meetings—rather than a strategy based on conciliation, MacNeal acted without the support of the national board of the NAACP, as well as many branch members. He did, however, receive the backing of branch leaders who had recently won control away from the old guard. The boycott targeted a Woolworth's Five and Ten on Chicago's South Side because it was the only major national chain in the city that did not employ black clerks in stores located in black neighborhoods. In the national arena, the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign, while duplicated by a few other northern NAACP branches, received the scrutiny, but not the sanction, of Walter White and other old-guard leaders at NAACP headquarters.[19]

It was left to the Communists, who formed neighborhood Unemployed Councils, to address the problems facing thousands of unemployed black Chicagoans. Communists used the councils to struggle against landlords who evicted unemployed black Americans; in the process, hundreds of non-Communists were introduced to collective action tactics with eviction protests. Although the efforts of the Unemployed Councils and those of the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign did not overlap, both groups endorsed confrontation and both relied on the power of collective action.[20]

The national NAACP did not support the direct action of "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work," but White and Wilkins applauded the branch on June 1, 1933, for its "active defense of the rights of colored people," which "cannot but result in increased prestige for the Chicago Branch and for the Association as a whole." A month later, however, the branch was a problem for headquarters, when MacNeal, as the new branch president, attempted to organize a nationwide boycott against Sears at the same time White made a personal appeal to William Rosenwald, son of Julius Rosenwald, for a contribution toward the salary of Wilkins.[21]

The Chicago boycott was to protest discriminatory practices by the Sears shoe department against "prominent women" from Chicago's black neighborhoods. The

[19] Will Herberg, "Shall the Negro Worker Turn to Labor or to Capital?" *Crisis* 38 (July 1931): 227, and (November 1931): 393; T. Arnold Hill, "Picketing for Jobs," *Opportunity* 8 (July 1930): 216; Memo, Walter White to Branches, October 30, 1931, I-C-321, NAACP Papers. For background on Chicago protest politics, see Oliver Cromwell Cox, "The Origins of Direct Action among Negroes," unpublished manuscript, University of Chicago, 1932–1933; Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy, *Anyplace But Here* (1945; rpt. edn., New York, 1966), 185–86; Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 84–85, 743. William H. Chafe captured the essence of civilities in his study of social control and social change in Greensboro, N.C. For his analysis of civilities that influenced this study, see *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York, 1980). For MacNeal receiving support from branch, see Reed, "Study of Black Politics in Chicago," 146–56. For White not sanctioning "Don't Buy" campaign, see August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, "The Origins of Nonviolent Direct Action in Afro-American Protest: A Note on Historical Discontinuities," in *Along the Color Line*, 317, 331. For a comparison with the situation in Harlem, see Cheryl Lynn Greenberg, *"Or Does It Explode?" Black Harlem in the Great Depression* (New York, 1991), 114–39.

[20] Chicago *Whip*, July 25, 1931; Gosnell, *Negro Politicians*, 329–31; Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 85–87; Roy Rosenzweig, "Organizing the Unemployed: The Early Years of the Great Depression, 1929–1933," *Radical America* 10 (1976): 37–62. For overlap in the two campaigns, see Reed, "Study of Black Politics and Protest," 167–77.

[21] Roy Wilkins to A. C. MacNeal, June 1, 1933, Branches, I-G-51, NAACP Papers. For branch problems, see Joel Spingarn to Walter White, June 7, 1933; White to Spingarn, June 8, 1933; Spingarn to White, June 9, 1933, I-A-27; "Dean" Pickens to White, June 6, 1933, I-G-51; White to William Rosenwald, June 8, 1933, I-C-78, NAACP Papers. Compare with discussion by Ross, *J. E. Spingarn*, 135–37.



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local branch directed its protest specifically at Lessing J. Rosenwald, brother of William Rosenwald and chairman of the board of Sears, whose stock funded the Rosenwald Fund, a major contributor to projects benefiting black Americans. When MacNeal wrote to Sears describing the discrimination against black women, Sears responded by stating that they did not discriminate; the letter carried no signature. The Chicago branch continued to ask questions and stated that black customers of Sears Roebuck wanted to know whether Sears subscribed to Jim Crow policies. By the end of June, William Rosenwald told White that the Chicago branch had sent his brother a letter that was "couched in so unpleasant a tone that he did not think it worth the trouble of attempting to answer it." Moreover, "your Chicago branch does not have a very good reputation . . . they are not personally know [*sic*] by some citizens in Chicago who take a leading interest in negro work. Upon hearing of this situation, I felt certain you would want this called to your attention, as you doubtless wish to uphold the reputation of your Organization."[22]

That was apparently White's intention when he told MacNeal to curtail all protest activity against Sears. Rosenwald, he explained, "has already taken up, as he promised, the matter of the charges of discrimination in the Sears Roebuck store at Chicago." Wilkins told MacNeal that the NAACP and Rosenwald had a gentlemen's agreement to correct the misunderstanding. In fact, Rosenwald put the matter in the hands of someone who was "highest in authority," who was, it turned out, unable to attend to the matter immediately because he was traveling; there would be a slight delay until "he will be in a position to handle the matter."[23] Before White's gag order arrived, however, the Chicago branch released a story under the NAACP name to the Chicago *Defender* (a black newspaper), detailing plans for a nationwide protest and boycott against Sears. After receiving White's rebuke, branch president MacNeal canceled the Sears protest, but not without stating that he hoped White was not caving in because of the $2,500 Rosenwald gave each year to the NAACP.[24]

Shortly after White suppressed the boycott, the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), during its July convention in Chicago, also condemned Sears for its discriminatory policy. MacNeal begged White and Wilkins to allow Chicago to continue publicizing the Sears case, arguing that the branch's "reputation" was at stake if it did not follow through and instead stayed "in the back ground while other

[22] A. C. MacNeal to "the Manager, Sears-Roebuck," June 12, 1933; Press Release, June 13, 1933; Memo: Case reported June 8, 1933, Mrs. Susie Myers, Mrs. Hazel Murray, Mrs. Ouida Smith; Sears, Roebuck & Co. to A. C. MacNeal (no signature of any individual, no accountability), June 16, 1933, I-G-51; Rosenwald to White, June 28, 1933, I-C-74, NAACP Papers. The Rosenwald correspondence to White also intimated, strongly, that the NAACP might "improve its effectiveness by concentrating on important issues, only." What counted as "important" was left unclear.

[23] White to MacNeal, July 19, 1933. Gentlemen's agreement mentioned in Wilkins to MacNeal, August 3, 1933. For the reference to the "highest in authority," see White to MacNeal, July 19, 1933. For other relevant correspondence related to curtailing protest activity, see MacNeal to White, July 3, 1933; White to MacNeal, July 7, 1933; telegram, White to MacNeal, July 12, 1933; MacNeal to White, July 17, 1933; I-G-51; White to Rosenwald, October 25, 1933, I-C-78, NAACP Papers.

[24] Chicago *Defender* (July 8, 1933): 4. For comments on the $2,500 connection to policy directives, see MacNeal to White, July 3, 1933, I-G-51, NAACP Papers. Rosenwald reminded White of the personal interest he took in all facets of NAACP work on other occasions. He often censored NAACP press releases, for example, and he told White explicitly that he thought "patient cooperation" was a much better approach than "widespread publicity." For interference from Rosenwald, see Rosenwald to White, September 1, 1933; November 1, 1933, I-C-74, NAACP Papers.



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organizations push the fight."[25] To complicate matters, regional field secretary Daisy Lampkin increased tension between the branch and the national office when she failed to visit the Chicago branch while attending the NACW convention, a slight that led MacNeal to complain to White. Lampkin was running for vice-president of the NACW and strongly endorsed the resolution against Sears, which also urged "wide spread publicity on the matter." Was Lampkin trying to disassociate herself from the NAACP's compromising stance toward Rosenwald in the Sears case? That seems likely; she was seeking the vice-presidency of an organization that had gone on record against the NAACP's passive approach. On another occasion, Lampkin defended her behavior by reminding White that it was because of her influence in the "largest organization of colored women in America" that she was important to the staff of the NAACP. The public was well aware, she said, of her "many other interests," which "account to a very large degree for the success I have in getting people to work with me in campaigns for the NAACP."[26]

Black female garment workers also demonstrated independence from traditional approaches of the old guard. In June 1933, they struck B. Sopkins and Sons Company, apron and house-dress manufacturers. After Chicago police created an explosive situation by beating female strikers, middle-class black leaders stepped in to help the women work out an agreement. But the women rejected the agreement and demanded better working conditions and the inclusion of a Communist Party organizer in the negotiations. In the end, the women played Communist organizers against middle-class leaders for their own interests.[27]

FOR WALTER WHITE, the tensions created by challenges from within the NAACP were perhaps the hardest to overcome. In a speech before the 1932 NAACP Annual Conference, W. E. B. Du Bois, member of the Board of Directors and editor of *The Crisis*, the association's monthly periodical, asked, "What Is Wrong with the NAACP?" His answer suggested that the problem stemmed from "a program of negation" and the defensive posture and tactics used by the association. Rather than waiting for individual cases of discrimination to arise, Du Bois said the association must go on the offensive with a larger "positive program" for black advancement, using "a frontal attack on race prejudice."[28] Complaints like Du Bois' expressed the views of a minority within the organization who questioned the

[25] MacNeal to White, July 29, 1933, I-G-51, NAACP Papers. For the Chicago branch as a problem, see MacNeal to Roy Wilkins, September 13, 1933, I-G-51; White to William Pickens, October 25, 1933; Memo, White to Charles Houston, July 13, 1938, I-C-79, NAACP Papers.

[26] Quote re: NACW, MacNeal to White, July 29, 1933, I-G-51 (two letters with same date). Quotes re: Lampkin's importance, Daisy Lampkin to Walter White, October 22, 1936, I-C-68, NAACP Papers.

[27] After the strikers rejected an agreement negotiated by black middle-class leaders, they demanded that James W. Ford, who had been attempting to organize the women for the Needle Trade Workers Industrial, be included in the negotiations. Mr. Sopkins had tried to lock Mr. Ford out of the labor discussions, but the strikers valued his advice and wanted his input, along with that of others, in order to resolve the conflict. See Gosnell, *Negro Politicians*, 334–36; Chicago *Defender* (June 24, 1933): 4; (July 1, 1933): 1, 3, 24; (July 15, 1933): 4.

[28] W. E. B. Du Bois, "What Is Wrong with the NAACP?" speech given at the NAACP Annual Conference, Washington, D.C., May 18, 1932, File: Annual Conferences, I-B-8, NAACP Papers. See also excerpts from conference speeches, *Crisis* 39 (July 1932): 218. Ross analyzed this speech in *J. E. Spingarn*, 159–60. For a contrasting view, see Harold Cruse, who argued that a white liberal bloc "aimed



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NAACP's mission and agenda and tried to get the old guard to wean themselves of their dependency on white patronage. These critics called for a new emphasis to address the primary problems facing black Americans—bread and butter issues. At both the Amenia Conference in 1933 and during discussions over the so-called Harris Report in 1934–1935, they charged that the NAACP ignored issues central to the lives of the "masses."[29]

The Amenia Conference brought together thirty-three black men and women "who have been out of college only a few years" to make suggestions about "how . . . the program [should] be changed or enlarged or shifted . . . toward certain ends." Although the conference did not result in any immediate change in the NAACP agenda, it called for an alliance between middle-class leaders and working-class black Americans and an end to reliance on white patronage.[30] Within one year of Amenia, Du Bois resigned from the board of the NAACP because he felt his work inside the organization for "realignment" had "been almost absolutely unsuccessful." Reorganization, Du Bois reminded the board, was "the most gruelling of tests which come to an old organization." Although the NAACP had "succeeded so well that the program seemed perfect and unlimited," new circumstances called for the creation of "a positive program of construction and inspiration," a task they seemed incapable of performing. He saw the association ossifying, without a workable strategy to cope with the changing circumstances of the Depression.[31]

Before leaving his post, Du Bois had cultivated allies in local offices who shared his desire to reorganize the NAACP "root and branch." One of these, Abram Harris, a Marxist economist at Howard University, was appointed to the board by Du Bois. When the NAACP leadership ignored the recommendations of Amenia, Harris used his position as chair of the Committee on the Future Plan and Program

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at reorienting the association's legal direction" was bypassing Du Bois; Cruse maintained that by 1934 the NAACP was on the "verge of disintegration," in *Plural But Equal*, 101.

[29] As found in text of Amenia Conference file, "Findings," August 1933, I-C-229, NAACP Papers; Ross, *J. E. Spingarn*, 180. The term "masses" included all members of the African-American community who were below middle class, according to the 1930s understanding in northern cities. Education was the critical factor that distinguished the "masses," or working class, from the middle-class citizen, particularly during the hard times of the Depression, when more educated middle-class citizens crossed over into working-class occupations. I consciously use the term masses in this article because it was used during the 1930s by African Americans when referring to ranking in their social order, suggesting that the black community did not share the same perspectives. While the term lacks specificity, it nevertheless reveals a consciousness of broad class division in the minds of the middle class and upper class. Similarly, contemporary letters and recollections from black workers and organizers referred to the middle-class leaders in the NAACP, for example, as "better sort of people." The goal is to understand these terms as they were understood in the 1930s.

[30] Memo to All Those Invited to the Amenia Conference, May 27, 1933, Roy Wilkins to George S. Schuyler, July 15, 1932, "Findings," Second Amenia Conference, August 18–21, 1933, Amenia Conference File, I-C-229, NAACP Papers.

[31] Minutes, Board of Directors, July 9, 1934, pp. 3–4, I-A-3, NAACP Papers. See also comments that Du Bois made regarding failure of black betterment organizations to meet the challenges of everyday life for African Americans in Du Bois to Dear Friends, February 5, 1934, printed February 21, 1934, in *Amsterdam News*. Thomas C. Holt believes that "the resonance between philosophical differences and political animosities best explains Du Bois' decision to resign," stating that "the struggle was really for the soul of the NAACP," in Holt, "The Political Uses of Alienation: W. E. B. Du Bois on Politics, Race, and Culture, 1903–1940," *American Quarterly* 42 (June 1990): 323, n. 46.



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The Amenia Conference of 1933, held at the Hudson River estate of Joel E. Spingarn (NAACP board chair), gathered several members of black America's intellectual elite to reconsider the NAACP's program and tactics. Last row, third from left, W. E. B. Du Bois; first on right, Walter White. Second row, sixth from left, Joel Spingarn. Courtesy of Prints and Photographs Division, Lot 13077, no. 6, Visual Materials from NAACP, Library of Congress.



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of the NAACP in 1934–1935 to attempt a restructuring of the NAACP's agenda.[32] Two issues foreshadowed the breach between the old guard and new crowd that ensued. The first issue involved Harris's request to invite A. C. MacNeal to represent NAACP branch interests, for, as he told White, the Chicago branch had "something on their chests that they should be given a chance to get off." The second issue was Harris's refusal to accept NAACP Board Chairman Joel Spingarn's invitation to work out the future direction of the NAACP at his country estate, Troutbeck, in Amenia, New York. "I don't see how the Committee can function," Harris confided to White, "while it is the guest of the Chairman of the Board. Discussion ought to be free and untrammeled. And I fear . . . there are certain proprieties that some people can't ignore."[33] The venue for committee meetings was changed to New York City, but White managed to keep MacNeal off the committee.[34] Nonetheless, the issue of distributing power to NAACP branches—to restructure what scholar B. Joyce Ross described as a "closed corporation" operating out of New York—was hardly moot. The Harris committee tried to diminish the role of the national office, the executive secretary, and the Board of Directors by transforming local branches into "permanent centers of economic and political education and agitation" supervised by a salaried regional secretary. Under Harris's arrangement, the direction of the NAACP would be determined as much by the force of the wheel as that of the hub. In the final report, however, after editing by the board, ultimate control remained with the old guard stationed at the hub.[35] The board also eliminated the report's call for direct, mass-action tactics. Harris's intent was that branches would form workers' councils, which would "not . . . be mere discussion groups but through actual participation in strikes, lockouts and labor demonstrations will seek to protect the interests of Negro workingmen and to promote their organization and unity with white labor." That phraseology was changed to make branches "centers of education in the use of the ballot."[36]

[32] On Du Bois cultivating allies in local branches, see Holt, "Political Uses of Alienation," 317. Compare with Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression*, 219–29, 302–52; Ross, *J. E. Spingarn*, 218–41; Kirby, *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era*, 176–77. Also, Abram Harris to Du Bois, January 6, 1934, and Du Bois to Harris, January 16, 1934, Reel 42, frames 425, 427, Du Bois Papers, microfilm, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York. My reading of the Harris Report comes from the version called "Future Plan and Program of the NAACP," I-A-29, NAACP Papers.

[33] Abram Harris to White, July 28, 1934, File: "Future Plan and Program," July–August 1934, I-A-29, NAACP Papers. Ross pointed out that, although the committee, appointed by Spingarn, represented a split of three new-crowd members and three old-guard thinkers, he specifically added both himself and White as ex-officio members of the committee, countering the weight of the new crowd. Ross, *J. E. Spingarn*, 219.

[34] Ross, *J. E. Spingarn*, 221. Wolters noted that, in terms of deciding the matter of meeting place, White "doubtless welcomed the restraining hand of President Spingarn." Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression*, 313. White tried to persuade Harris to reconsider his decision, White to Harris, July 30, 1934, "Personal and Confidential," I-A-29, NAACP Papers.

[35] For a discussion of the closed corporation, see Ross, *J. E. Spingarn*, 235. Quote, Draft "Future Plan and Program of the NAACP," August 1934, p. 8, I-A-29, NAACP Papers. See also Minutes, Board of Directors' meetings of September 25, October 8, November 13, November 24, 1934; March 11, April 8, June 10, 1935, I-A-3; and compare drafts of Report of the Committee on the Future Plan and Program, I-A-29.

[36] Report of the Committee on the Future Plan and Program, p. 6, I-A-22; final Report of Committee on the Future Plan and Program, adopted by Board of Directors June 14, 1935, I-A-29. See also Board Minutes, September 25, October 8, 1934, I-A-3, NAACP Papers. Ross noted, over two decades ago, the omission of any reference to direct-action tactics in the final report, *J. E. Spingarn*, 239. Still, White had trouble with the term "workers' education." He wrote that "we have just got to find a



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Abram L. Harris, Jr., an economics professor and member of the Howard University radicals during the 1930s, authored the controversial "Harris Report" that challenged the agenda of the old guard within the NAACP. Portrait Collection, n.d., SC-CN-94–0007. Courtesy of Photographs and Prints Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

Despite rhetorical flourishes in the final version that gave greater weight to economic issues and branch interests, the Harris Report, as scholars August Meier and John Bracey have stressed, "advocated such sweeping changes to the Association's organization that it foreclosed any possibility of being adopted." Frustrated with his inability to alter substantially the NAACP's structure and agenda, Harris resigned in March 1935. White then declared that a severe financial crisis made it

better name," referring to classes for workers that were designed to replace advocating direct-action tactics like the strike and lockout. White to Benjamin Stolberg, August 30, 1934, I-A-29, NAACP Papers.



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impossible to implement the reform called for in the Harris Report, including funding for hiring John P. Davis, a Harvard lawyer and new-crowd leader like Harris.[37] The original Harris Report had suggested that Davis, who had been investigating the severity of the Depression and the effect of New Deal programs on black Americans for the Joint Committee on National Recovery, be hired as an economic adviser for the NAACP's executive staff. There is reason to believe that White may have wanted to keep Davis off the payroll of the executive staff in order to maintain greater control over the association's agenda. When Harris suggested that Davis replace Du Bois as editor of *The Crisis*, White countered by successfully campaigning for Roy Wilkins. According to John Kirby, White suspected Davis of "personal and political opportunism."[38] Whatever the basis for his suspicions, White no longer had to contend with potential rivals for leadership within the association after the departure of Davis, Harris, and Du Bois. The old-guard approach and tactics of White strongly influenced the NAACP agenda after the Harris Report, even though all who remained on the staff did not always agree with White. Charles Houston, for example, empathized with the new-crowd challengers, attended NNC local meetings in New York, and donated money to the organization. On one occasion, he wrote White that, "with all due respect, we have not worked out a solution" to the current problems.[39]

While that was true, more was at stake for White than reordering priorities to appease dissident voices, such as those found in the Harris Report. As a salaried officer of the NAACP, he was charged with carrying out policy directives of the board, and he owed his position to those same board members. White was recommended to the board by Joel Spingarn when James Weldon Johnson resigned in 1930. Spingarn reinforced the hierarchical nature of the relationship between the board and the officers when, as Ross noted, he formulated an elaborate "network of checks and balances" to ensure that "White would be answerable to the top-level leadership of the organization." At the same time, White felt the need to meet the approval of liberal reformers outside the association. For that reason, White must have welcomed the endorsement of Edwin Embree, president of the Rosenwald Foundation, who told White he agreed with his hesitations and concerns over the Harris Report.[40]

[37] Meier and Bracey, "NAACP as a Reform Movement," 17–18. Minutes, Board of Directors, March 8, 1935, I-A-3; November 11, 1935, I-C-150, NAACP Papers. Charles Houston was upset when, during the trying financial crisis, White hired Juanita Jackson as an addition to his staff. Houston told White, "if the Association really believes in the economic program that we have worked out, it will have to use more and more of its resources . . . [to] execute that program." Quoted in Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression*, 327, 332.

[38] Kirby, *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era*, 166; and see 177, where Kirby points out that White used much of the data compiled by Davis to carry out his critique of New Deal programs, suggesting White thought highly of his work. Wolters and Zangrando agree with Kirby that White's suspicions of Davis stemmed from White's fear of Davis as a rival for leadership within the NAACP. Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression*, 315–34; Zangrando, *NAACP Crusade against Lynching*, 110.

[39] Houston to White, May 23, 1935. Houston refused to be strictly anti-Communist, and he would not categorically endorse the approach of White toward the NNC. See Houston to John Davis, December 26, 1935, I-C-383, NAACP Papers; McNeil, *Groundwork: Charles Hamilton Houston*, 108.

[40] Ross, *J. E. Spingarn*, 126–29, 242–43. William Pickens to W. E. B. Du Bois, June 16, 1934, Board of Directors Correspondence, I-A-22, NAACP Papers. My thanks to Kirby, *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era*, 182, for the citation of White to Edwin Embree, June 19, 1935; and Embree to White, June 24, 1935, in Julius Rosenwald Fund Archives, Box 302, microfilm.



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Officials and board members of the NAACP: Walter White, first on left; Mary White Ovington, second from left; William Pickens, fifth from left; Arthur Spingarn, far right. *Circa* late 1930s. Subject Collection–Organizations–NAACP, n.d., SC-CN-87–0592/SC-CN-88–0136. Courtesy of Photographs and Prints Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

Having muffled, for the moment, the voices of protest from within the association against its structure and strategies, White tried to restore his standing as the best person to lead the NAACP. He chose anti-lynching as his identifying cause. It happened to be White's forte and was regarded by the board as a better issue for fund-raising than pushing an economic agenda. White possessed all the requisite skills for such work and had a network of liberal reformers and public officials to make his appeals to Congress and the New Deal administration for anti-lynching legislation. The hope was that an emphasis on lynching would increase support from liberal whites by surpassing the appeal of the Scottsboro case, for the financial situation was dire.[41]

When the economic upheaval of the Depression led to a 50 percent drop in membership contributions in the early 1930s, the financial committee of the board responded by decreasing the size of the staff and slashing the operating budget

[41] For anti-lynching as a good fund-raising issue, see Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression*, 337. For network of liberal reformers, see Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln*, 97–99; Kirby, *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era*, 176–77; Zangrando, *NAACP Crusade against Lynching*, 98–165.



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more than a third between 1930 and 1934. To make up the shortfall, White and the board looked increasingly to large contributions from well-to-do benefactors, shifting the attention of the staff and board further from the concerns of the rank and file.[42] William Rosenwald ingratiated himself to the directors and White by initiating matching fund offers in 1930 and 1932. The first offer, $1,000 for three years, was matched by $1,000 each from Edsel Ford, New York Lieutenant-Governor Herbert H. Lehman, Mr. and Mrs. Felix M. Warburg, and Samuel S. Fels. By 1932, the NAACP could boast that the ten largest contributions, which included one from John D. Rockefeller, totaled $13,825, out of a budget of $50,000. Faced with the setback of fewer regular membership contributions, the association appreciated this money, as well as an additional $20,686 from legacies and bequests established by wealthy whites during the 1920s.[43]

A new dependency flowed from these funding patterns. First, despite the NAACP's dependence during the 1920s on large contributors like Edsel Ford and John D. Rockefeller, member fees and branch contributions had been the largest source of funds. Second, since the Depression also hit large contributors, it created the need to cultivate new wealthy supporters—part of the reason for Rosenwald's offers—not just maintain good relationships with long-time ones. Philip Peabody, unlike Ford and Rockefeller, could not continue his contributions into the 1930s because, he said, economic "necessity knows no law." Still others who were financially sound in the early 1930s had, by the mid-1930s, reduced their donations to small or none. Mother M. Katherine of Philadelphia donated $2,000 in 1932 but only $200 in 1937. Third, during the 1920s, when contingent offers had been made, a relatively small amount of staff time was required to secure the matching funds. By contrast, Walter White noted during the spring of 1932 that he and the staff sent out 3,500 letters in an attempt to generate matching funds for William Rosenwald's contingent offer.[44]

These new patterns also set in motion a growing volume of office work that took time from field work, which, in theory, should have been developing branches and being attentive to membership needs.[45] Large contributions had a strong appeal, since White and his staff spent just as much time cultivating a $25 contribution as a $500 or $1,000 one. Learning the job of executive secretary in the midst of

[42] Information presented to Board of Directors, November 8, 1932; Minutes, Board of Directors, September 12, 1933, November 13, 1933, I-A-17; White to Philip G. Peabody, November 11, 1931; White to Fanny T. Cochran, November 11, 1931; White to E. Lewis Burnham, November 18, 1931; Roy Wilkins to Joseph Prince Loud, November 27, 1931, Financial Papers, I-C-145, NAACP. For ten years between 1921 and 1931, a total of $406,058 was raised by the branches for the general fund, which contrasted with $161,566 from other sources. That average was around $40,000 per year during the 1920s as compared to $21,224.73 for 1932, $16,931.27 for 1933, and $18,579.77 for 1934. Board of Directors Files, Annual Reports, I-A-21, I-A-25, I-A-17, NAACP Papers.

[43] Board of Directors Files, Annual Reports, December 31, 1932, I-A-25; General Financial Papers, April 1933, I-C-147; White to Peabody, November 11, 1931, I-C-145, NAACP Papers.

[44] Peabody to White, November 25, 1931, I-C-145; White to Rosenwald, April 8, 1932, I-C-78; Mother M. Katherine to Walter White, May 24, 1937, Financial: May 20–31, 1937, I-C-151, NAACP Papers. On contingent offers in the 1920s, see Ross, *J. E. Spingarn*, 131 and 105–06, 273, n. 6.

[45] "Supplementary Report of the Department of Branches," December 12, 1932, January–February file, I-A-21. For the voluminous correspondence in the NAACP files documenting the energy, time, and tenacity that White put into appeals to potential donors, see Board of Directors, I-A-22; Board of Directors, Committee Correspondence and Reports, I-A-26; Finance Committee, 1933–1939, I-A-27; Finance Committee, I-C-145–150, NAACP Papers.



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national economic disaster made White dependent on Rosenwald's support. Moreover, White continued to appeal to him with special financial problems as he had in June 1933, when Spingarn threatened to reduce Wilkins's salary.[46]

Nevertheless, even the relative certainty of Rosenwald's generosity could not overcome the turmoil of the times that made financial planning something of a guessing game. For that reason, White and the board agreed that the association should also cultivate small donations of $5 to $100 along with large $1,000 gifts. But as an NAACP study revealed, this decision further strengthened the bond between white liberals and the organization. The Finance Committee of the Board of Directors found that, for 1937, 64 percent of contributions $5 and over were from white donors. Another way to view the relationship between race and per-capita contribution is to note that *less* than 1 percent of total members and contributors gave $25 or more in 1937, yet the 105 individuals who contributed $25 or more accounted for 31 percent of the total general funds that year; 93 percent of people in the $25 plus category were white Americans.[47] Those financial ties were reinforced by White's identification with the basic assumptions espoused by New Deal liberals. As John Kirby has argued, White may have criticized the New Deal for its shortcomings in terms of black unemployment, but he believed in the liberal reform philosophy of his friends Harold Ickes and Eleanor Roosevelt, who thought the inclusion of black Americans in New Deal programs was the route to racial justice in society. Moreover, through his relationships with Ickes and Roosevelt, White became a major resource within the Roosevelt administration for advice on the welfare of black Americans. It was a position that accorded White a measure of control over the opinions that prominent white Americans held toward both the NAACP and black America's struggle for civil and political rights.[48]

[46] White to Rosenwald, June 8, 1933, I-C-78, White to Spingarn, June 8, 1933, Spingarn to White, June 9, 1933, Board of Directors Files, I-A-27, NAACP Papers. Ross argues that Spingarn was the "key formulator" of the association's financial policy during the most critical phase of the Depression from 1930 to 1933, and that he exercised a heavy hand in financial decisions during the entire 1930–1938 period; Ross, *J. E. Spingarn*, 132.

[47] Cultivation of small donations was discussed in Memo, White to Board of Directors, May 8, 1933, I-C-147. Tabulations broken down by race were rare in the files of the NAACP. My figures are based on figures from "Plan of Campaign," November 17, 1938; "Contributions List Submitted by Miss Marvin to Finance Committee for Conference with Villiard," December 30, 1938, Finance Committee, Board of Directors, I-A-27; and Minutes, Board of Directors, December 13, 1937, I-A-18, NAACP Papers.

[48] Kirby, *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era*, 178–84. To hear White's interpretation of his position, see White to Edward L. Bernays, June 16, 1934; Bernays to White, June 19, 1934; White to Bernays, June 20, 1934; George S. Schuyler to Bernays, June 21, 1934, I-C-322; White to Spingarn, November 26, 1935; White to Felix Frankfurter, March 24, 1938; Memo, White to Charles Houston and Thurgood Marshall, March 25, 1938; White to William H. Hastie, April 12, 1938; White to Hastie, April 15, 1938; White to Frankfurter, September 26, 1938; White to Eleanor Roosevelt, November 13, 1935, November 22, 1935, November 27, 1935, December 16, 1935, September 30, 1938, I-C-79, NAACP Papers. Kirby claimed that it was White's "personal desire to be seen as the administration's main source of information and advice concerning the welfare of black people and his promotion of the NAACP as the leading organization in the civil rights field that, as much as anything, determined White's response to racial and political events in the 1930s and 1940s." Kirby, *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era*, 181.



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By the spring of 1935, two groups of black leaders looked in two directions for allies in the struggle for a more secure place for black citizens in America. One sought an alliance with white liberal reformers; the other group looked to the black community for solutions. In May, John P. Davis, who knew how difficult it was to implement change within the NAACP, along with Ralph Bunche and A. Philip Randolph and other new-crowd leaders who identified with Abram Harris's recommendations to the NAACP, thought the time had come to create a new organization. While the founding of the National Negro Congress may have been inspired, partially, by the inability of the NAACP to change its agenda, its program went far beyond that of the Harris Report. As president of the NNC, Randolph explained that its intention was to "mobilize and rally power" in the community around "a militant program" all black Americans could endorse. The "all" included the 99 percent of the "Negro peoples" who "win their bread by selling their labor power." During the summer, fall, and winter of 1935, Davis, Randolph, Bunche, and others called for a gathering of the NNC; and in February 1936, more than five thousand men and women—secretaries and social workers, labor leaders and preachers, politicians and doctors—responded by journeying to the first convention in Chicago. Randolph looked to the black community, not the New Deal, for relief from racial inequities when he cautioned black Americans, at the convention, against placing "their problems for solution down at the feet of their white sympathetic allies which has been and is the common fashion of the old school Negro leadership."[49]

The Chicago *Defender* noted that new-crowd networks formed by the NNC were welcomed because they advocated relying on collective action by the majority rather than philanthropic foundations to challenge inequities.[50] After the first congress, several newspaper editorials, letters to the editor, and news stories written from around the country mentioned the phrase "a new race leadership is in the making," or pointed out that "older leaders [are] missing at the National Negro Congress," or concluded that "it seems clear that the Negro masses are moving rapidly towards a definite break with the old leadership of the race." "Aha! a new leadership!" wrote Dr. Wilfred Rankin in the *Amsterdam News*. "Let the leaders be free of the inhibitions which have tended to distort the thinking or seal the lips of many of the older generation."[51] Perhaps the most important thing the NNC did at the local level was provide an organizational base, bringing together various efforts and interests that had often worked through independent networks. From that base, new-crowd leaders—from the middle and working class—emerged.

[49] Wolters observed black leaders looking in two directions for solutions to economic problems, *Negroes and the Great Depression*, 219–20. Keynote address of A. Philip Randolph, *Official Proceedings of the National Negro Congress*, February 14–16, 1936, pp. 8, 11, A. Philip Randolph Papers, Box 34, Library of Congress. For Randolph's description of the NNC as a "militant program," see *Black Worker* (September 1, 1935): 3. For Randolph's desire to aim "propaganda" at a working-class audience, see Randolph to John P. Davis, September 4, 1936, Box 7, NNC Papers, Schomburg Center for Research on Black Culture, New York Public Library (microfilm). For contemporary accounts of the NNC, see Lester Granger, "The National Negro Congress—An Interpretation," *Opportunity* 14 (May 1936): 151–52; Richard Wright, "Two Million Black Voices," *New Masses* 18 (February 25, 1936): 15.

[50] Chicago *Defender* (October 23, 1937): 16.

[51] For example, Chicago *Defender* (February 22, 1936): 1; *Amsterdam News* (February 29, 1936): 12, 1.



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Despite its popular support, the NNC has been often regarded as a failure. Some scholars have claimed it failed because, rather than uniting the black community, the NNC created more divisions within it.[52] One of the divisions often noted was between the NAACP and the NNC. It has been suggested that because the NAACP did not participate in the NNC's work, the NNC did not "obtain the depth of support it needed, and functioned both nationally and locally largely as a paper organization."[53] Other scholars suggest that the NAACP was reluctant to join forces with the NNC out of fear of Communist participation. Yet when the NNC was organized—during the Popular Front phase—Communists neither dominated nor controlled the NNC's agenda,[54] raising the question whether White feared Communist influence in the NNC or grass-roots activism that he had not tapped.

Roy Wilkins, in a report to the NAACP Board on the first NNC convention held in Chicago, wrote that rumors of the congress being financed by Communists were "wholly without foundation." Furthermore, he said, the NNC must be taken seriously because "unquestionably, the Congress was an expression of the willingness of masses of the people to sacrifice and fight." He called the democratic strategy, which appealed to the "working class" constituency at the first congress, a major departure from the way organizations usually "select the delegates from the

[52] For a view of the NNC as a Communist front, see Wilson Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1951); Record, *Race and Radicalism: The NAACP and the Communist Party in Conflict* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1964). Compare with Harvard Sitkoff, who claimed that the NNC "constantly tried to steal the NAACP's thunder," in *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue* (New York, 1978), 259; Robert Zangrando, who asserted that the NNC "posed nothing but trouble for the Association" from the beginning, in *NAACP Crusade against Lynching*, 137; Paula Pfeffer, who argued that the NNC had a "problem forging a coalition of black organizations from its inception" and saw the "reluctance of the NAACP to become a sponsor" as a problem for the NNC, in *A. Philip Randolph, Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement* (Baton Rouge, La., 1990), 37; Raymond Wolters considered in some detail the split within the NAACP and concluded that the NNC did not represent a significant threat to the NAACP because the congress lost support after 1937 "from Negro professional and civil groups, and especially from businessmen," *Negroes and the Great Depression*, 363–64.

I have Lawrence S. Wittner to thank for turning the spotlight on the local councils of the NNC and noting the vigorous grass-roots support for the NNC during the first years of existence. The interpretation of this article builds on his findings. While Wittner focused on the impact that local councils of the NNC had on community affairs, my interest is in the impact that black working-class mobilization had by influencing the direction of protest politics and, in turn, the NAACP's agenda. See Wittner, "The National Negro Congress: A Reassessment," *American Quarterly* 22 (Winter 1970): 883–901. Compare with Kirby's argument that the NNC failed to develop fully because Davis and the NNC "shifted to class rather than race alliances" in order to gain financial backing from the Communists, in *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era*, 168–69. Kirby claimed that the purpose of the NNC was to develop black political independence. For three works that integrate the local councils, the black community, and the national NNC, significantly adding to our understanding of the importance of the NNC to black American history, see John Baxter Streater, Jr., "The National Negro Congress, 1935–1947" (PhD dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1980); Cicero Alvin Hughes, "Toward a Black United Front: The NNC Movement" (PhD dissertation, Ohio University, 1982); Keith Griffler, "What Price Alliance? The Black Radical Intellectual, the Black Workers and the Program for Labor, 1918–1938" (PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 1993).

[53] Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 29. Both Wolters and Wittner raised important questions regarding the relationship between the NAACP and the NNC, and documented the broad base of support the NNC received through endorsements. See Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression*, 364–65; Wittner, "National Negro Congress," 884.

[54] For example, see n. 52 and Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph*, 32–40. On lack of domination by Communists, see Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression*, 368–70; Meier and Rudwick noted that the NNC was "accorded considerable respect by black moderates during the 'Popular Front' period," and that it was not until 1940 that "communist influence became more evident"; *Black Detroit*, 29.



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top" and suggested that the NNC should not be viewed as an obstacle to the NAACP just because the congress "tends toward the left." He urged endorsement of the NNC by the NAACP as a way to counter the "widespread feeling among great numbers of people that the Association is not a true representative of the aspirations of the race and is not attacking the problems as vigorously as they should be attacked." Lester Granger of the National Urban League, writing in the spring of 1936, attributed the "inner significance of the Congress" partially to the "growing importance of labor leadership and . . . the power of the labor movement."[55] Both observations suggest that the NNC became a thorn in the side of the NAACP because it was a vehicle for organizing black workers—the very folks the NAACP often had not reached.[56]

IN CHICAGO, THE NNC LOCAL, called the Chicago Council, was formed in 1936 by men and women from the ranks of organized labor, the Communist Party, and the BSCP's Citizens' Committee.[57] With those groups as its base, the Chicago Council brought in churches, trade unions, and social organizations to work together around local issues such as police brutality, economic discrimination, and jobs for black Chicagoans. Most of the work was channeled through the labor committee and its secretary, Eleanor Rye. As a member of the executive board of the Fur Workers Union, a friend of the Communist Party, an activist in the Chicago Federation of Labor, and a supporter of the BSCP, Rye had established contacts within both white and black working-class communities of Chicago. NNC alliances within the black community were further extended through the efforts of two other NNC organizers, Henry Johnson, who contacted more than 600 black organizations in Chicago and Gary, Indiana, and James McDonald, of the Amalgamated Association of Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.[58]

[55] Memo, Roy Wilkins to Board of Directors, March 9, 1936, pp. 5–6, I-C-383, NAACP Papers; Granger, "National Negro Congress," 152.

[56] Roy Wilkins reported to the NAACP Board that William Hastie, a prominent black New Deal lawyer, an assistant solicitor in the Interior Department, and a long-time adviser to White, said "affiliation will give us an opportunity to expose our work and our history and philosophy to large groups of people who are now either totally ignorant of it or who have been misinformed about it." Memo, Wilkins to Board of Directors, March 9, 1936, p. 6; see also Houston to White, February 29, 1936, both in I-C-383, NAACP Papers.

[57] Despite the fact that Dr. Charles Wesley Burton of the BSCP Citizens' Committee was a leader in the NNC local in Chicago and the BSCP supported the NNC, there was resentment between some members of the NNC local and Milton Webster, head of the Chicago division of the BSCP. I argue that Webster resented the fact that the first NNC Congress took attention away from the BSCP National Negro Labor Council, an annual event in Chicago since 1928 and hosted by Webster during the last week of January or first part of February, precisely when the NNC Congress took place. But Webster was also known to provoke colleagues. The limiting factor, in my opinion, was not just gender, as some have argued, but attitude and class. He had no trouble working with Ida B. Wells-Barnett, for example. But he was rebuked by Young Turks (college-educated males) in the March on Washington movement of the early 1940s, and he referred to Walter White as a "porch climber" on more than one occasion. See Milton Webster to C. L. Dellums, September 4, 1941, Box 3, C. L. Dellums Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. For a contrasting perspective, see Melinda Chateauvert, who noted that Webster did not get along with activist women within the BSCP Women's Economic Council, some of whom worked with the NNC, in "Marching Together: Women of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 1925–1957" (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1992).

[58] For the relationships between the NNC and community organizations, see Charles Wesley Burton to Residents of Chicago, May 12, 1936; Eleanor Rye to John P. Davis, May 13, 1936; Rye to Davis,



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Rye, Johnson, and McDonald collaborated with the Urban League, the Interclub Council of Chicago, the South Side Garment Workers Club (members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, ILGWU), women's clubs, and the Freight Handlers Union. The Chicago Council joined with Horace Cayton of the University of Chicago, and other "prominent people," to raise funds and educate the community. Their efforts often built on work done by other organizations and individuals active on the South Side before the NNC local council or the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) was formed. Thelma Wheaton's work as a community organizer for the YWCA, for example, helped prepare many female industrial and domestic workers for the NNC message in 1936, including planting seeds for what later became the Domestic Workers' Association.[59]

Not only did the NNC local connect disparate new-crowd networks, it also developed a mutually beneficial relationship with the CIO. The CIO needed the support of the thousands of black workers in steel, auto, and meatpacking plants to organize industrial unions; John Davis, A. Philip Randolph, and the NNC could open doors for the CIO in the black community. Chicago became a center of the CIO drive because many of the industries they intended to organize were concentrated there, also increasing Walter White's interest in the black community of Chicago.[60] To create a favorable climate for the CIO, the NNC labor committee published and distributed 10,000 leaflets to both white and black trade unionists, established labor forums, worked with the ILGWU toward the organization of black women in the Sopkins Plant, used the Chicago Federation of Labor radio station, WCFL, to broadcast the NNC labor message, formed a Southside Citizens Committee to support the steel organizing drive in the greater Chicago area, wrote articles in the Chicago *Defender*, and demanded that black men and women buy union-made products.[61]

The first collaboration between the CIO and NNC grew out of mutually beneficial interests between the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC) and the NNC. Formed in early June 1936, SWOC needed the support of black steelworkers to make industrial organization work.[62] Davis, now executive secretary of the NNC,

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October 3, 1936; Davis to Rye, March 26, 1936; Davis to Rye, May 18, 1936, all in Box 7, NNC Papers. On Communist affiliation, see Ishmael P. Flory, colleague of Rye's in the 1930s, interview by the author, Chicago, August 29, 1994. On organizers for the NNC, see Davis to Bittner, July 14, 1936, Box 4, NNC Papers; Chateauvert, "Marching Together," 148, 159.

[59] See sources in n. 58 above. Thelma Wheaton, interview by the author, Chicago, September 1 and 14, 1994; Davis to Marion Cuthbert, January 18, 1936, mentioned his concern regarding organizing black female industrial and domestic workers and suggested that Cuthbert contact Mrs. Kirkpatrick in Chicago. Mrs. Thelma Kirkpatrick's name later changed to Thelma Wheaton; Box 4, NNC Papers.

[60] Elmer W. Henderson, "Political Changes among Negroes in Chicago during the Depression," *Social Forces* 19 (October–May 1941): 545.

[61] Bunche, "Programs, Ideologies, Tactics," 343; Rye to Davis, October 3, 1936; Davis to Randolph, June 6, 1936, Box 7, NNC Papers; *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 31, 1937. For contemporary articles, see Chicago *Defender* (September 12, 1936): 4.

[62] Robert H. Ziegler, *The CIO: 1935–1955* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995), 37; Irving Bernstein, *Turbulent Years: A History of the American Worker, 1933–1941* (Boston, 1969), 92–94, 196–99, 369–72; Horace Cayton and George Mitchell, *Black Workers and the New Unions* (Chapel Hill, 1939), 190–224; Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619–1981* (New York, 1982); David Brody, *Steelworkers in America: The Nonunion Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960); Brody, *Labor in Crisis: The Steel Strike of 1919* (Philadelphia, 1965); Brody, "The Origins of Modern Steel Unionism: The SWOC Era," in *Forging a Union of Steel: Philip Murray, SWOC, and the United Steelworkers*, Paul F. Clark, Peter



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and Randolph needed the endorsement and backing of SWOC and the CIO to aid their plans to organize black workers. As Davis told Charles W. Burton, chairman of the Chicago NNC, if they could show immediate action in steel communities, "it will mean that we can secure large sums of money from the Steel Workers Organizing Committee to further organization work among Negro steel workers." By mid-July, Davis had convinced Van Bittner, midwest director of SWOC, to employ NNC organizers Henry Johnson, James McDonald, and Eleanor Rye to work in the Great Lakes area.[63] For the next three years, joint efforts with the CIO became a major focus of both Davis and Randolph's.[64] Without this collaboration, it is questionable whether SWOC would have made the connections to the black community that were a prerequisite for signing up large numbers of black workers. Through the NNC networks, the larger black community learned to trust white organized labor. Thus did the NNC locals prepare the community for the CIO organizing drives.

Davis specifically recommended the services of Rye for the SWOC effort because she could work both sides of the street: not only could she effectively organize within the steel mills, but she could be of "endless value" organizing within the community, especially among steel workers' wives, dealing with women's "fears and doubts in a convincing way." Van Bittner was aware of the obstacles SWOC organizers faced in Homestead and Clairton, Pennsylvania, where "emissaries of the steel companies" went "to the houses of Negro steel workers urging their wives to keep their husbands out of the Union."[65] Whether Davis or Bittner knew that steel company managers in the Chicago area were in the process of hiring black "investigators" to interview black steelworkers about their feelings toward the CIO in hopes of learning how to counter its influence is not known. What does seem

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Gottlieb, and Donald Kennedy, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987), 13–29; Dennis C. Dickerson, *Out of the Crucible: Black Steelworkers in Western Pennsylvania, 1875–1980* (Albany, N.Y., 1986), 119–49.

[63] Davis to Charles W. Burton, July 11, 1936. See also Davis to Bittner, July 14, 1936; Bittner to Davis, July 18, 1936, Box 4, NNC Papers.

[64] Davis to W. Gertrude Brown, July 11, 1936, Box 4; Davis to Burton, July 11, 1936, Box 4; Davis to James H. Baker, Jr., July 10, 1936, Box 4; Bittner to Davis, July 13, 1936, Box 4; Davis to Robert Evans, July 10, 1936, Box 5; Davis to Bittner, July 14, 1936, Box 4, NNC Papers. Some scholars have argued that Randolph did not get very involved with the NNC, that he was largely a figurehead; see Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph, Pioneer*, 42; and Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, 234. I offer another interpretation. Randolph and other BSCP organizers did what Randolph himself called "double duty" during the 1936–1939 NNC period. When Randolph stopped in Chicago for BSCP business, he also campaigned for the NNC local. Brotherhood organizers followed this same pattern in other cities, such as Omaha and Jacksonville, building NNC locals on the BSCP base. See Memo from Pullman Company spy, November 15, 1937, Box 633-A, Pullman Company Archives, Newberry Library, Chicago. Benjamin McLaurin, field organizer for the BSCP, rode the rails up and down the East Coast setting up local councils of the NNC while he continued to organize for the BSCP. McLaurin drew on the BSCP network to establish further connections in Jacksonville for the NNC. Martin Richardson to U. Simpson Tate, January 22, 1936, Box 7; Randolph to Davis, November 15, 1935, Box 7, NNC Papers.

[65] Davis to Bittner, July 14, 1936, Box 4, NNC Papers. It should also be noted that Rye had another talent. She became a heroine in a sitdown strike at Wilson and Bennett Company (manufacturers of can containers) when she was the only person to slip through police lines, scale a 15-foot fence, "get inside the plant and sign up everybody" for the CIO. Reported by George Schuyler, *Pittsburgh Courier* (July 31, 1937): 14. For similar relationships between the CIO and the NNC in Cleveland and Pittsburgh, see Dickerson, *Out of the Crucible*, 136–37.



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clear is that all parties understood the importance of organizing not just the workplace but also the home and community.[66]

Eleanor Rye selected Helena Wilson, president of the Chicago Women's Economic Council of the BSCP, to help her organize the Inland Steel Company in Indiana Harbor. As a member of the brotherhood labor collectivity, Wilson knew how to parry efforts of company stool pigeons.[67] The two women worked with both black and white women's clubs and ministers, bringing group pressure on clergy still in the pockets of steel companies. At first, they concentrated on using confidential talk, in private homes, as a means to help people sort out issues of bi-racial labor organization and the power of collective organization. From the home, they branched out to public, interracial meetings, hoping people would see the strength of their numbers. Their efforts paid off when they set up a NNC-SWOC women's auxiliary with a black vice-president and treasurer, and gained the support of some of the black ministers. In the process, the NNC-SWOC local developed strategies that looked to collective efforts of workers as the path to reform.[68] One reporter estimated that, thanks to the network NNC-SWOC had developed, 5,000 African-American workers at Indiana Harbor, in the Chicago metropolitan area, signed up with the NNC-SWOC in 1937, and black steelworkers were active on all committees of the SWOC.[69] Observers Horace Cayton and George Mitchell concluded that the SWOC was lucky the NNC was "in a position to challenge the leadership of the Negro community of the more conservative element." The CIO rewarded the NNC local council with donations, including $50 toward expenses of the labor committee every two weeks, one-half the rent on its office, and telephone service. The efforts of Rye, Wilson, Johnson, and McDonald in Indiana Harbor illustrate how the NNC-SWOC network gave voice to a new cast of characters and tried out direct-action strategies to mobilize the community around a labor agenda.[70]

The success of the NNC-SWOC collaboration led black packinghouse workers to expect the same kind of organizing for their industry. After prodding by NNC

[66] J. Carlisle MacDonald, Assistant to Chairman, United States Steel Corporation, to Claude A. Barnett, July 27, 1936; John A. Stephens, Manager of Industrial Relations, Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, to Barnett, July 28, 1936; Barnett to Stephens, August 1, 1936; Stephens to Barnett, August 20, 1936; Barnett to MacDonald, October 31, 1936; Memo, Barnett to MacDonald, October 31, 1936; Folder 1, Box 280, Barnett Papers. For a community study that connects the "home sphere" and workplace to understand the "culture that bound blacks to one another, even while it distinguished the working class from the elite," see Earl Lewis, *In Their Own Interests: Race, Class, and Power in Twentieth-Century Norfolk, Virginia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 4.

[67] See reports by Pullman Company employee spies; reports from Pullman Company supervisors on BSCP mass meetings; report by J. A. Chapel to A. V. Burr, October 24, 1926, on Randolph's meeting with BSCP in St. Louis; report by Chapel to Burr, September 19, 1927, on Randolph's meeting with BSCP in St. Louis, all in Pullman Company Archives, Newberry Library.

[68] On gaining support of black ministers, see Rye to Davis, October 3, 1936, Box 7; Rye to Davis, September Report on Inland Steel Cooperation, 1936; Rye to Davis, August 27, 1936, Box 7, NNC Papers.

[69] Stated by Schuyler, *Pittsburgh Courier* (July 31, 1937): 14; Cayton and Mitchell reported that, in the Chicago area, black workers joined the SWOC in even greater proportion than did white workers. Cayton and Mitchell, *Black Workers and the New Unions*, 202.

[70] Cayton and Mitchell, *Black Workers and the New Unions*, 205. On the CIO rewarding local council, see Rye to Davis, August 12, 1936, Box 7; Rye to Davis, October 6, 1936, "Resolutions of the Chicago Council of the NNC," n.d. [October 1936], Box 10, NNC Papers. For a contrasting interpretation of the black middle class and their organizing ability within the black community during the 1930s, see Cruse, *Plural But Equal*, 201–03.



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organizers, the CIO turned its attention to Chicago's packinghouse workers, 25 percent of whom were black Americans, and hired Henry Johnson away from the NNC-SWOC campaign to be assistant director of the national Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee (PWOC). Johnson's talent as an organizer was, according to fellow Chicago NNC organizer Ishmael P. Flory, "legendary, for he could work a crowd, both black and white, like few others." He was also able to cross class lines, aided perhaps by his start in life as the son of a Texas sharecropper who went on to earn a bachelor's degree from City College of New York in 1934.[71] In order to help the NNC extend the influence of the new crowd, Johnson belonged to both the NNC and a competing group, the Chicago Council of Negro Organizations (CCNO), which was formed late in 1935 by a group of middle-class leaders representing the Chicago NAACP, Chicago Urban League, and other civic, church, and fraternal groups. Eleanor Rye decided that the CCNO was "trying to steal the thunder from us." But it in turn worried about the influence of the Chicago NNC, which threatened its acceptance by the "masses." MacNeal, a member of the CCNO, wrote to Wilkins that "the NAACP must get going on some new 'techniques' or the Congress will have the field."[72] MacNeal may have been referring to the membership of people like Henry Johnson, who was in both the CCNO and the local council of the NNC. By belonging to both groups, Johnson attempted to meld rank-and-file interests with those of the middle-class reformers.

With time, the activities of the NNC Council may have contributed to bringing middle-class folks over to a more proletarian approach. In 1938, for example, over 200 middle-class Chicagoans joined in a march demanding more "bread and shelter" for black Chicagoans and an end to discriminatory practices by the trade unions of the American Federation of Labor. Scholars St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton claimed that, by that time, a more militant approach was considered "respectable" in Chicago.[73] Thelma Wheaton's recollections support their claim. She remembered attending NNC meetings to get "information . . . that would not go through the newspapers," and she believed the NNC was "independent" in a way that the NAACP was not.[74] By the late 1930s, Irene McCoy Gaines, who cultivated a new-crowd approach during the 1920s as a member of the BSCP Citizens' Committee, was elected president of the CCNO, carried her own union card, yet still appeared on the society pages of black newspapers as the "charming wife of Representative Harris B. Gaines."[75]

[71] Ishmael P. Flory, interview by the author, August 31, 1994, Chicago. On the history of black packinghouse workers, see Eric Brian Halpern, " 'Black and White Unite and Fight': Race and Labor in Meatpacking, 1904–1948" (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1989), 257–331; Ziegler, *CIO: 1935–1955*, 80, 83. For portraits of Henry Johnson, see Stephen Brier, "Labor, Politics, and Race: A Black Worker's Life," *Labor History* 23 (Summer 1982): 416–21; and Roger Horowitz, "The Path Not Taken: A Social History of Industrial Unionism in Meatpacking, 1930–1960" (PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1990), 241–49.

[72] Rye to Davis, May 13, 1936, Box 7, NNC Papers. (See also Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 738; Chicago *Defender* [November 5, 1935]: 22.) A. C. MacNeal to Roy Wilkins, March 1936, I-G-53, NAACP Papers.

[73] Davis to Rye, May 18, 1936, Box 7, NNC Papers; Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 737–38.

[74] Thelma Wheaton, interview by the author, September 14, 1994, Chicago, p. 24.

[75] Copy union membership card, State, County and Municipal Workers of America, Local #30, Chicago, Illinois, September 1937, Folder: 1937–1938; clipping, Chicago *Bee*, January 26, 1929; Chicago *Whip*, May 4, 1929, Box 1, Irene McCoy Gaines Papers, Chicago Historical Society.



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Neva Ryan's Domestic Workers Association also showed that a degree of cross-fertilization had occurred.[76] By 1938, Ryan gathered old-guard leaders to support the domestic workers' union, which had about 150 black women members in the Chicago area. Claude A. Barnett of the Associated Negro Press[77] and A. L. Foster of the Chicago Urban League spoke of the interests of working-class domestics when they raised funds. Ryan, a member of the NNC's executive board, established a network across class lines but united around workers' concerns. As Chicago's old guard accommodated themselves to the more radical new crowd, labor unions and interracial organizing gained acceptance in black neighborhoods and became part of the civic discourse.[78] In March 1938, despite opposition from national headquarters, the Chicago branch of the NAACP joined the initiative of the NNC to support a national anti-lynching conference. The Chicago Council brought together church, women's civic, and labor groups in a mass meeting in Chicago to endorse an anti-lynching bill pending before Congress. Henry Johnson, A. Philip Randolph, Alderman William Dawson, and the Chicago YWCA joined efforts to support the bill. Although they were backed by Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York and the NNC declared its desire to work with the NAACP in a joint anti-lynching effort, Walter White and Roy Wilkins felt that John Davis was "attempting in every way to cut in on our program," and refused to collaborate. Instead, NAACP headquarters made an issue out of the fact that it was "trying to raise funds and the NNC is cutting into a potentially rich source of funding for the NAACP."[79]

WHITE BELIEVED THAT THE MASS PROTESTS organized by John Davis and the NNC employed tactics that threatened his bailiwick, the anti-lynching campaign. When the NAACP had taken up anti-lynching in 1935, they did so, as Robert Zangrando

[76] Despite the fact that Neva Ryan was a member of the executive committee of the NNC, I have not found any evidence that the Domestic Workers Association became affiliated with the CIO. Support for the domestic workers came from the NNC, the Women's Trade Union League, and the YWCA of Chicago.

[77] Claude Barnett, while on the payroll of the Pullman Company, produced the *Light and Heebie Jeebies*, a Chicago magazine that attacked the BSCP. See LeRoy, "Founding Heart of A. Philip Randolph's Union," 29–30; William H. Harris, *Keeping the Faith: A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 1925–37* (Urbana, Ill., 1977), 43, n. 67.

[78] "Agenda of Conference on Domestic Service Workers," May 19–22, 1938, Box 12, NNC Papers; Neva Ryan to John Davis, May 14, 1938, with Citizens' Committee listed on the masthead, Box 12, NNC Papers.

[79] Roy Wilkins to William Pickens, April 19, 1938, I-C-80, NAACP Papers. For activities of the Chicago branch of NAACP, see Chicago Council of the National Negro Congress to All Organizations, February 26, 1938; White to Charles D. Murray, March 10, 1938; White to "Organizations Cooperating on the Anti-Lynching Bill and NAACP Branches," March 14, 1938, I-C-383. For the attempts initiated by Davis, Randolph, and other NNC officials to get the NAACP's cooperation for its anti-lynching activities and the NAACP's response, see Wilkins to Davis, February 3, 1938; MacNeal to White, January 18, 1936; Davis to White, January 29, 1936; Randolph to White, January 25, 1936; Davis to White, June 8, 1937; White to L. Wray Choat, April 2, 1938; White to Gertrude B. Stone, "personal and confidential," April 5, 1938; Memo, "Delegation to the President, April 12, re the Anti-Lynching Bill," Walter White to Staff Files, April 7, 1938; White to Arthur Huff Fauset, April 18, 1938; Wilkins to William Pickens, April 19, 1938; Davis to White, November 28, 1938, I-C-383, NAACP Papers. Davis to White, April 15, 1938, Box 15; Davis to Dr. Albert E. Forsythe, February 24, 1938, Box 13; James W. Ford to Randolph, February 1, 1938, Box 13, NNC Papers.



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has shown, in the context of increased lynchings and "in anticipation that New Deal liberalism, the expansion of interracial cooperation throughout the South, and recent victories within the Senate all augured well for the attempt." White still believed between 1936 and 1939 that he could convince President Roosevelt, through individual lobbying of Congress and his special relationship with Eleanor Roosevelt, to back an anti-lynching bill.[80] Nevertheless, as Nancy Weiss found, the "larger black community neither shared White's close ties to the First Lady nor was privy to her assurances that FDR intended to deal with the antilynching bill through the private political channels at his command." In some circles, it was thought the NAACP was deceiving black Americans by relying on its traditional individual lobbying tactics to combat lynching.[81] Not only did the New Deal fail to deliver an anti-lynching bill but, despite continued efforts, large contributions from liberal sources did not pour in. Financial uncertainty seemed the major constant.[82] Yet White and Wilkins continued to claim that the NNC's labor-oriented appeal was not the appropriate model for the NAACP. MacNeal, president of the Chicago branch of the NAACP, disagreed and asked:

> How are you so sure that the timid and sometimes tepid gestures which are of the nature of a compromise are not the very things that now operate to prevent the Association from having a membership of 100,000? Will a scrutiny of your position reveal that the present leadership of the Association is now 25 years BEHIND the demands and wants of the people which it seeks to serve? ... the refusal of the Association to take the positive and uncompromising stand ... [is] the "hang-over" of the "Old Guard."[83]

Wilkins acknowledged that "in some respects we have failed to sense the public pulse"; still, he was "not convinced as yet" that MacNeal was correct. Daisy Lampkin, on the other hand, told White that the Chicago branch "showed the possibilities of what a well set up local NAACP office can do." MacNeal warned White that the NAACP was in danger of "real competition for the support of the beloved 'masses.'"[84] Chicago, however, was not the only branch deviating from the direction of the national office. Historian Cheryl L. Greenberg found that "foot-dragging of the NAACP" helped spur "new mass movements for black jobs" in Harlem.[85] NAACP branches in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Detroit, particularly

[80] Quote from White to Gertrude B. Stone, "personal and confidential," April 5, 1938, I-C-383, NAACP Papers. See also Zangrando, *NAACP Crusade against Lynching*, 106–08. For another assessment, see Wolters, *Negroes and the Great Depression*, 351, n. 48. The importance of individual lobbying efforts is discussed in Kirby, *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era*, 182; Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln*, 110–19.

[81] Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln*, 110–19; Kirby, *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era*, 182–83. Also new by 1938 was a considerable drop in the number of lynchings from 18 in 1935 to 8 in 1936 and 1937, and to 6 in 1938. This trend led White to remark that the NAACP was aware of, "frankly, the fact that there have been no considerable number of horrible lynchings to make the public—even the Negro public—lynching conscious." White to Lampkin, November 30, 1939, I-C-80, NAACP Papers.

[82] Board of Directors, Monthly Reports, I-A-17, I-A-18, NAACP Papers.

[83] MacNeal to Wilkins, April 4, 1936, I-G-53, NAACP Papers.

[84] Wilkins to MacNeal, April 13, 1936, I-G-53; Lampkin to White, December 5, 1936, I-C-68; MacNeal to Wilkins, March 1936, Branches, I-G-53, NAACP Papers.

[85] Greenberg, *Or Does It Explode?* 120. Paul Brunn uncovered a similar situation in St. Louis, where the NNC stepped into a void created by the "non-involvement" of "key black community organizations such as the N.A.A.C.P."; see Brunn, "Black Workers and Social Movements of the 1930s in St. Louis" (PhD dissertation, Washington University, 1975), 562–63. In other cities, such as Milwaukee, the



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between 1937 and 1940, joined protest activities initiated by NNC locals. Philadelphia's NAACP, against the national's wishes, cooperated with the NNC local in its anti-lynching campaign.[86] Andor Skotnes has shown that the Baltimore branch, led by Lillie Jackson, who believed that "the NAACP has got to get away from just the classes, the teachers and doctors and lawyers; we've got to have the masses," worked with longshoremen leader Jefferson Davis and Arthur Murphy, organizer for NNC-SWOC.[87] In Detroit, the interests and needs of black workers increasingly shaped the discourse of the reform agenda in the black community through the combined efforts of the local chapter of the NNC, the Youth Division of the NAACP, and new-crowd leaders in the Detroit NAACP chapter, some of whom were members of both the NNC and the NAACP. The secretary of the Detroit NAACP chapter was a founder and board member of the NNC local, a fact that helped, as Meier and Rudwick pointed out, dilute the impact of the pro–Henry Ford, old-guard NAACP leaders. Although Snow Grigsby, a labor and NNC activist, worked with both organizations, perhaps his major contribution was working with NAACP membership drives, where he was able to promote its program to a broad audience.[88] Efforts of the NNC and others cultivated an agenda responding to the rising militancy of the new crowd in Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Detroit. When the three largest NAACP branches—Chicago, Detroit, and Baltimore—worked with black workers, memberships increased.[89] While correlation is not causation, we do know that Daisy Lampkin was rewarded

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old-guard leaders in the NAACP branch "conducted separate Scottsboro activities before joining broader efforts." Those broader efforts united leaders from middle-class institutions with black workers and the CIO, according to Joe W. Trotter, Jr. But Milwaukee appears to have retained more class division within the black community during the 1930s than Chicago. The social and economic structure of Milwaukee's black community was quite different from most other northern, industrial cities; see Trotter, *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915–1945* (Urbana, Ill., 1988), 163–66.

[86] Arthur Huff Fauset, local president of NNC, and Harry J. Greene, local president of NAACP, issued a joint call to Philadelphia citizens to support anti-lynching and Scottsboro campaigns, handbill, March 23, 1938, Box 13; Fauset to Davis, March 25, 1938, Box 13, NNC Papers. For a contemporary account of enthusiasm for labor unions among black workers in Philadelphia, see Schuyler, *Pittsburgh Courier* (August 14, 1937): 14.

[87] Andor D. Skotnes, "The Black Freedom Movement and the Workers' Movement in Baltimore, 1930–1939" (PhD dissertation, Rutgers University, 1988), 423, also see 422–37. In addition, see Baltimore *Afro-American* (August 29, 1936): 4. Schuyler reported that the SWOC had organized 4,000 of the 6,500 black workers at Bethlehem Steel Company at Sparrows Point, Md., near Baltimore; *Pittsburgh Courier* (August 7, 1937): 14.

[88] Robert Evans was elected branch president of the Detroit NAACP in 1938, while continuing to play an active role in the local NNC. Robert J. Evans to John Davis, April 25, 1936; Evans to Davis, May 6, 1936; Davis to Evans, May 9, 1936; Davis to Evans, May 18, 1936; Davis to Evans, August 10, 1936; James B. Washington to Evans, November 6, 1936, Box 4, NNC Papers. Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 80. For Grigsby's account of his role within the NAACP of Detroit, see interview with Snow Grigsby, March 12, 1967, p. 6, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

[89] For example, a report of Daisy Lampkin's activities as field secretary between October 1 and November 30, 1938, finds her addressing an NNC forum as field secretary of the NAACP, in Baltimore, October 7, 1938, I-C-69; Lampkin to White, December 27, 1938, I-C-69, NAACP Papers. Robin Kelley noted a similar correlation in Birmingham, Alabama, between increased militancy on the part of the local chapter and increased popularity of the NAACP. See "Hammer n' Hoe: Black Radicalism and the Communist Party in Alabama, 1929–1941" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1987), 522–23.



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for her successes in Chicago and Detroit with an increase in salary, despite the NAACP's financial problems.[90]

In 1937, White and Wilkins contemplated the new directions charted by black workers at the February meeting of the National Conference of Negro Organizations, sponsored by the NNC and attended by 350 black union delegates and community leaders. During that summer, when black support for the NNC was probably at an all-time high, White agreed to be a speaker at the Philadelphia NNC Congress in October. In the fall of 1937, Wilkins, as editor of *The Crisis*, put Randolph on *The Crisis* cover after the BSCP's victory over the Pullman Company's paternalistic labor relations. The issue included an article by George Schuyler attacking "old-guard" black leaders who did little or nothing to assist black workers. Black labor's new position within the New Unionism movement came about, he argued, despite the "indifference, hostility and open opposition" of the "old leadership."[91] Late in 1937, when the Garland Fund failed to renew a $10,000 educational fund White had counted on, choosing instead to support the United Canning, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (CIO), White decided that labor organization was the "type of work that displaced our educational program."[92]

By 1939, White and Wilkins were convinced that they should alter the NAACP's agenda and tactics. Wilkins urged expanding the "association's program in a popular manner to reach the masses of the people" and noted that the "people" want to fight, and as long as we "fight they will be with us." White told Wilkins that it was probably true, "as you say, that 'our cautious conservatism has kept us standing still'" and that people were "demanding a leadership of uncompromising action instead of the temporizing of the past." Daisy Lampkin knew change was imminent when Wilkins confided that the "seriousness of the present situation" was going to bring some "radical revisions all down the line."[93]

By then, several changes within the association increased White's freedom to change its agenda. First, the death of NAACP president Joel Spingarn in 1939 left a void in white liberal leadership that never was filled. Although Arthur Spingarn succeeded his brother as president, the office reverted to a "largely honorary post," which it had not been since the tenure of Moorefield Storey in the 1920s.[94] Second, the Internal Revenue Service inspired a major change in the NAACP's financial

[90] Lampkin to White, December 27, 1938, I-C-69; see also Lampkin's itinerary in her correspondence with White, I-C-69, NAACP Papers.

[91] *Crisis* (November 1937): 328; see also article by G. James Fleming in the same issue, "Pullman Porters Win Pot of Gold," 332–33, 338, 346–47. For evidence that Wilkins and White considered a change in direction, see Joseph W. Givens to White, February 24, 1937; White to Givens, March 2, 1937; Memo, White to Wilkins, March 2, 1937, I-C-322; "NNC Bulletin," 1937, File: NNC, I-C-383, NAACP Papers. For White at the 1937 NNC Congress, see Meier and Bracey, "NAACP as a Reform Movement," 18.

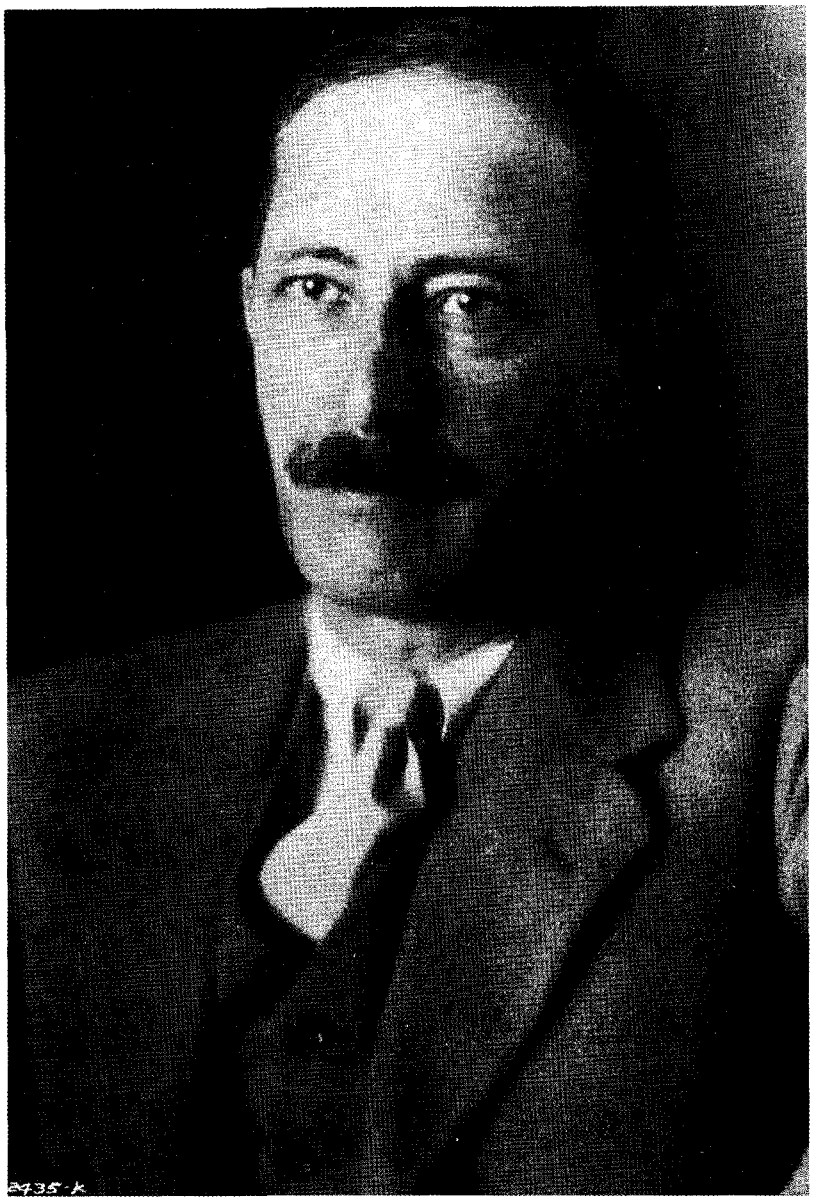
[92] Quote from White to Wilkins, March 22, 1938, I-C-323, NAACP Papers. This was a radical shift from the early 1930s, when the association won Garland money at the expense of the black workers and, in particular, the BSCP, which it dismissed, advising the Garland Fund that to put money into the salaries of union organizers would be "like pouring money down a sink." Reported in Harris, *Keeping the Faith*, 166.

[93] Memo, Wilkins to White, March 11, 1939; Wilkins to White, May 1, 1939; Memo, White to Wilkins, March 24, 1939; White to Charles H. Houston, May 2, 1939; Wilkins to Lampkin, December 14, 1939, all in Box 80, NAACP Papers.

[94] Ross, *J. E. Spingarn*, 244.



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Joel E. Spingarn, a progressive reformer and former professor of comparative literature at Columbia University, began his long association with and leadership of the NAACP in 1910. Spingarn was elected president of the association in 1930 and board chair in 1932. He held the two posts simultaneously until 1934, when Dr. Louis T. Wright was elected the first black chairman of the board. Box Lot: #x61980: 213, Box 1, Folder 1, n.d., item ICHi-26898. Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.

structure when it disallowed deductions of contributors on the grounds that NAACP funds were used for propaganda and lobbying. The NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF), a charitable organization designed to perform non-propaganda, non-lobbying activities, arose out of this problem with the IRS. However, incorporation of the LDF as a separate tax-exempt entity was held up until 1940. In the interim, several large contributions were canceled, increasing the



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pressure on White to look elsewhere for a solution.[95] Eventually, separation of legal and educational activities from other protest activities gave both White and Wilkins more freedom to explore mass-action strategies of a labor-oriented, civil rights agenda, no longer hobbled by opposition from contributors who favored a moderate approach using legalistic tactics.

Pushed by the decline of funding from liberal philanthropists and attracted by the large number of citizens and workers organizing around labor issues in northern cities, White made up for some funding lost from liberals with contributions from labor unions.[96] He convinced the Board of Directors to take over a $25,000 debt owed by the ILGWU to the Garland Fund. As an added inducement, White suggested that the NAACP "knock off $5,000" from the debt for the benefit of the ILGWU, thereby demonstrating its pro-CIO stance in a concrete way. By 1940, several CIO unions gave substantial contributions to the NAACP.[97] In January 1940, A. Philip Randolph was made a member of the NAACP Board, four months before he resigned as president of the NNC.[98] While Randolph's presence on the board represented a major endorsement of the NAACP by the person commonly known as Mr. Black Labor, an imprimatur that was, no doubt, cherished by White and Wilkins, it also sent a message to the black community about the association's interest in linking labor issues with civil rights. Acceptance by the board did not mean, however, that the association embraced collective action and mass-based protest. Randolph had to educate the NAACP on the issues and tactics of union organizing.[99]

The resignation of Randolph from the presidency of the NNC in April 1940 weakened the NNC's claim to speak for the interests of black workers, expanding, at the same time, Randolph's support among the black middle class. Although the NNC remained active until 1947, when it merged with the Civil Rights Congress, it lost its place as the organizing hub for black workers after Randolph left. But NNC's grass-roots activity may have diminished as much as a result of the success of the local councils as the departure of Randolph, particularly as black workers shifted their focus to strengthening their place in the very unions around which the NNC had mobilized new crowds. Some of the sting in the rivalry with the NNC was removed when Randolph joined the NAACP Board, but the icy edge White reserved for his private comments about John Davis did not disappear until Davis moved on, in the early 1940s, to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and then joined the staff of the *Pittsburgh Courier*.[100]

[95] White to William Rosenwald, September 26, 1939; White to Arthur B. Spingarn, October 5, 1939; White to Rosenwald, October 10, 1939; White to Rosenwald, November 22, 1939; White to A. B. Spingarn, October 5, 1939, re: cancellation of $1,000 contribution because of IRS ruling; all in Box 80, NAACP Papers. See Greenberg, *Crusaders in the Courts*, 19–21, for background on NAACP LDF.

[96] Compare with Meier and Bracey, "NAACP as a Reform Movement," 18.

[97] White to A. B. Spingarn, March 3, 1939, Reel 13; Labor File, April–June 1940, II-A-335; Memo, White to A. B. Spingarn, Hastie, Houston, Wilkins, Marshall, and Murphy, April 3, 1940, II-A-335, NAACP Papers.

[98] Wilkins to Randolph, January 10, 1940, Board of Directors Files, II-A-143, NAACP Papers.

[99] For example, see Committee on Discrimination in Labor Unions, 1940–1941, June 9, 1941, II-A-128, NAACP Papers, for Randolph taking a stand for collective action with committee of NAACP Board.

[100] Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, 232–38; Bunche, "Extended Memo on the Programs," 319–71; Pittsburgh *Courier*, September 16, 1944; Kirby, *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era*, 155, 164, 166;



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Organizers for the United Automobile Workers meet with new Ford union recruits, April 1941. Second from the left is Kirby Jones and fifth from the left is Leon Bates. Courtesy of the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan.

WHILE MANY OF DETROIT'S BLACK INDUSTRIAL WORKERS and local leaders, including several prominent members of Detroit's NAACP, maintained their allegiance to Henry Ford, whom they considered a friend of black workers and the community,[101] voices from the new crowd grew louder. When collaborations between the NNC local and the Detroit branch of the NAACP formed around labor and civil rights issues, NAACP memberships increased. Between 1938 and 1939, for example, memberships jumped from 3,283 to over 6,000.[102] Perhaps the impressive increase, during a year when the Detroit branch of the NAACP considered its work with the NNC important enough to highlight in an official report to headquarters, silenced objections by Detroit's old guard. One black newspaper, not willing to let the NAACP rest on its recent success, pointed out that the branch might do even better if it stopped acting like a "mere club of the so-called upper crust of the town" leaving "the dispossessed masses . . . to feel ill at ease."[103] Meanwhile, the NNC local worked with black auto workers for the United Auto Workers (UAW-CIO),

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Streater, "National Negro Congress, 1936–1947," 157. For continuation of icy tone, see White to Houston, May 6, 1941, II-A-333, NAACP Papers.

[101] Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 5–22; Richard W. Thomas, *Life for Us Is What We Make It: Building Black Community in Detroit, 1915–1945* (Bloomington, Ind., 1992), 271–312.

[102] Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 79.

[103] Michigan *Chronicle* (June 19, 1939): 10. Also see John Davis to C. LeBron Simmons, June 7, 1938, Box 15, NNC Papers. NAACP Detroit Branch membership figures, *Crisis* 45 (December 1938): 400. Financial Statement for the Year Ending December 31, 1939, Detroit, Michigan Branch, p. 2, File:



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The Reverend Horace White (center) attempting to persuade a worker to join the United Automobile Workers, during a drive to organize Ford in 1940. To the right is Leon Bates. Courtesy of the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Reuther Library, Wayne State University.

developed community-wide networks, and talked with black workers in small groups in their homes. Still, recruiting was not easy in a community that had depended on recommendations from ministers for getting jobs with Ford Motor Company at River Rouge near Detroit.[104]

Branches: Detroit, I-G-98, NAACP Papers. For collaboration, see interview with Snow Grigsby, March 12, 1967, pp. 5–6.

[104] C. LeBron Simmons, interview by Norman McRae, 1969, pp. 3–5; also LeBron Simmons, pp.



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Walter White entered the contested arena during the UAW-CIO Ford strike at the River Rouge plant, which employed over 9,000 black workers, in April 1941, worrying about whether the UAW would deliver on its promise not to discriminate against black Americans. If it did not deliver, he said, "the NAACP and I are going to be on the spot." But he was willing to risk his reputation and speak from a union sound truck because he knew the Ford strike went beyond union representation. When White observed that "Negro Ford workers . . . cannot afford to rely on the personal kindness of any individual when what the workers want is justice," he showed he understood that new circumstances demanded forging new relationships.[105] As he called for collective action, he also sought a place in the new crowd, out from under the shadow of liberal benefactors. From his chronicle of events during the strike at River Rouge, written for his autobiography and the NAACP's files, it is clear that White hoped the large population of black auto workers would notice his activities. He understood well the link between a union victory in Detroit, the NAACP's participation in that strike, and the credibility of the association in the eyes of black labor. For, as White observed, the Ford strike represented "the new order of things," in "the eyes" of African-American Detroit.[106]

The new order of things was predicated on a new relationship between old-guard leaders and new-crowd citizens and workers, fusing their interests and looking to the power of collective action to make demands. In shepherding the association from an organization that in 1933 largely ignored the interests of black workers to one that by 1941 had adopted a labor-oriented agenda and made demands by employing the power of collective organization, White had come a long way, and so had the NAACP. The strike at River Rouge represented a turning point in terms of the protest politics of the major civil rights organization and marked the beginning of a new partnership between the NAACP and organized labor as well as between the NAACP and the demands of new-crowd leaders. Thus the legacy of new-crowd networks, such as those formed by the NNC at the local level, may lie as much in the influence they had reordering priorities of the old guard within the NAACP as in contributing to a realignment of power relations in black communities.

White changed his approach as a result of several influences—including the activism and success of citizens and workers operating beyond the orbit of the NAACP's old guard. While the failure of the old guard to address the demand for a broader, more inclusive agenda inspired the formation of new-crowd networks,

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9–11, Folder 15, Box 33, Nat Ganley Collection, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University; Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 6–10.

[105] First quote, White to A. J. Muste, April 15, 1941, in File: Ford Strike, II-A-333, NAACP Papers. See also Minutes, NAACP Board, April 14, 1941; NAACP press release, April 5, 1941; White to James J. McClendon, April 5, 1941, NAACP Papers. Second quote in White's Notes from Ford Strike, n.d., File: Ford Strike, II-A-334. The Detroit *Free Press* (April 10, 1941): 3, reported that White, "speaking from a union sound car in front of Gate 4" at the River Rouge Ford plant, advised workers to leave the plant in order to "best serve their own cause, and that of democracy." On understanding new circumstances, see Rev. Charles Hill, interview by Roberta McBride, May 8, 1967, p. 5, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University; Meier and Rudwick, *Black Detroit*, 91–103.

[106] White to McClendon, April 12, 1941, II-A-334, NAACP Papers. For link between union victory and reputation of NAACP, see White to Muste, April 15, 1941, File: Ford Strike, II-A-333, NAACP Papers. See White's autobiography, *A Man Called White: The Autobiography of Walter F. White* (New York, 1948), 214–16.



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Walter Francis White, executive secretary of the NAACP during the 1930s, helped guide the civil rights association through one of its more challenging decades. Courtesy of the Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USF-34–13343-C, Library of Congress.

the interests of black workers that emerged from the process spurred the association to change its agenda and tactics. However, important as black workers were in transforming the NAACP agenda, White's participation in the Ford strike should not be viewed as merely opportunistic. When White looked beyond liberal reformers and into the black community for support and solidarity, he not only revitalized the association and increased memberships,[107] his actions also gave notice to white liberals that the balance of power in the larger black community had

[107] Between 1940 and 1946, the NAACP grew from 355 branches and a membership of 50,556 to 1,073 branches and a membership of around 450,000. See Dalfiume, "'Forgotten Years' of the Negro Revolution," 99–100.



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shifted. The old guard was no longer recognized as the sole guardian of the civil rights agenda in negotiations with the white community. Increasingly, decisions concerning the agenda and direction of protest politics would reside in the domain of new-crowd leaders. In the future, when White approached the Roosevelt administration, as he did in June 1941 along with A. Philip Randolph, his voice was one among many threatening mass action. Nevertheless, the threat to carry out a massive march on Washington to protest discrimination in the defense industry carried the added weight of the NAACP's stand at River Rouge when it helped to mobilize the community around the interests of black workers.

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# *AHR Forum*
# Rethinking Race and Class in African-American Struggles for Equality, 1885–1941

KEVIN GAINES

A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION OF THESE ESSAYS on African Americans' struggles for civil rights in Chicago is their sophisticated treatment of class in an African-American context. Ironically, it is the uniqueness of Chicago's turbulent history of labor strife and racial conflict that, to my mind, poses larger issues of the relationship between race and class within African-American leadership and movements. Known as "Sweet home" and, more caustically, "Up South" to generations of black migrants, and thus emblematic in its unfulfilled promise, Chicago offered African Americans opportunities for social advancement amidst ample proof of pervasive racism. The essays by Elizabeth Dale and Beth Tompkins Bates reinforce this image of Chicago as more paradox than paradise for African Americans. Even as they portray that city as an ideal setting for the exploration of the northern phase of civil rights struggles, their essays offer insights on race and class that transcend region as they apply to the study of the history and origins of civil rights.

While the essays in this forum, and my remarks on them, focus on African-American history, I read them as not only transcending their particular location but also gesturing even more broadly toward other fields of inquiry. In their concern with elite oppositional strategies against overwhelming institutional and cultural forces of racism, they are also relevant for scholars of colonialism and ethnic studies. For scholars of the subaltern, the essays raise vital issues: the significance of elites; the need to address the complexity of race, gender, class, and sexuality within systems of domination and oppositional strategies alike; and how one understands resistance in its subtler, even compromised, aspects, when it must confront pervasive regimes of power backed by violence.[1] The application of analytical contributions from related or analogous fields is not to be confused with a facile approach to comparative history. Rather, its utility reflects the extent to which the elites and peoples produced by slave societies, colonial systems, and

I am indebted to Penny Von Eschen and the editors of the *AHR* for their comments and suggestions, and to the National Humanities Center, whose generosity enabled the completion of this essay.

[1] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York, 1995); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish, and Jewish Immigrants in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995); Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham, N.C., 1996). See McClintock for a trenchant discussion of the debates among scholars of empire and colonialism around the question of how race, gender, and resistance are theorized.



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racial state formations were forged in that crucible of modernity represented by the expansionist projects of the West.[2]

From this standpoint, conventional approaches to African-American elites' legal struggles over civil rights and citizenship during the late nineteenth century can be greatly enhanced by discussions of the social marginality of racialized colonial and immigrant elites. And in turn, recent work in African-American history that foregrounds gender and sexuality, as well as political economy, in accounts of the reinvention of American systems of racial domination, yields its own insights for scholars of colonialism and ethnic studies. One cannot really understand the genesis of those systems of domination, or the multifaceted and nuanced character of resistance, without first coming to terms with the complicated processes by which race, gender, sexuality, and class constitute and construct each other. While these essays achieve varying degrees of success in pursuing this interpretive agenda, they have much to teach us in their welcome challenges to conventional thinking about race, class, and black leadership.

SINCE THE 1970s, works of twentieth-century African-American history that invariably address the origins of the civil rights and black freedom movements have fallen into roughly two approaches. The first, the study of elites, ranges from contributionist accounts of black intellectuals and professionals, to pioneering biographies of major figures in black letters and leadership, to institutional histories of black middle-class reformers and their organizations.[3] More recently, these attempts to situate the black intelligentsia within a broader American history have been enriched by the influence of women's history and black feminist studies.[4] The second approach focuses on issues of working-class resistance, mass mobilization, and labor politics as crucial for an understanding of African-American activism and

[2] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (New York, 1986); for treatments of the pitfalls of comparative approaches to the study of systems of racial domination, see Frederick Cooper, "Race, Ideology, and the Perils of Comparative History," *AHR* 101 (October 1996): 1122–38; and Stuart Hall, "The After-Life of Frantz Fanon: Why Fanon? Why Now? Why *Black Skin, White Masks*?" in *The Fact of Blackness: Frantz Fanon and Visual Representation*, Alan Read, ed. (Seattle, Wash., 1996), 12–37.

[3] A representative sample of this large body of work includes August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880–1915* (1963; rpt. edn., Ann Arbor, Mich., 1971); Willard B. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880–1920* (Bloomington, Ind., 1990); Louis Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901–1915* (New York, 1983); Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *The American Negro Academy: Voice of the Talented Tenth* (Baton Rouge, La., 1981); John Hope Franklin, *George Washington Williams: A Biography* (Chicago, 1985); Theodore Kornweibel, *No Crystal Stair: Black Life and the Messenger, 1917–1928* (Westport, Conn., 1975); David Levering Lewis, *When Harlem Was in Vogue* (New York, 1982); Wilson J. Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850–1925* (1978; rpt. edn., New York, 1989).

[4] Gerda Lerner, ed., *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York, 1972); Angela Davis, *Women, Race, and Class* (New York, 1981); Hazel Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist* (New York, 1987); Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York, 1984); Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York, 1985); Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); Darlene Clark Hine, *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890–1950* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989); Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, a Symbol* (New York, 1996).



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modern social movements. These community-oriented studies of collective organizing or labor politics range from assessments of post–Reconstruction era black leadership and its relation to the group aspirations of blacks for land ownership, literacy, and equal rights to examinations of the origins of, as well as the constraints imposed upon, modern civil rights struggles.[5]

That these two approaches reveal the problem of class in the study of African-American struggles for racial and social justice seems only natural where the question of the character and significance of black leadership and movements has been, and remains, an urgent concern.[6] It is striking, nonetheless, that despite the profusion of studies of black elites, we know more (though still not enough) about black working-class consciousness and its political impact and implications than about black middle-class ideology and consciousness. Inasmuch as so many studies of black elites have been works of intellectual history, they have often left the social foundations of African-American privileged status uninterrogated. And, ironically, while ostensibly foregrounding class, earlier interpretations of black elites often adopted a presentist and reductive racial framework of integrationism versus nationalism that often failed to elucidate not only the complicated operations of race and class in social and power relationships but their gendered dimension, as well.

The essays by Dale and Bates on black politics in Chicago address this need for more sophisticated approaches to the study of black elites and social movements, and the relationship between the two. Dale's essay reconstructs a civil rights suit challenging segregation in a Chicago theater in the 1880s. Bates offers a new assessment of popular challenges to old-guard NAACP leadership during the 1930s, highlighting the conflicts between the Chicago branch's involvement in labor organizing and direct-action protests and the national office's emphasis on opposing segregation in the courts and through lobbying and moral suasion. In their respective analyses of black middle-class ideology and the role of elites, both essays encourage an understanding of race and class more intricate than that allowed solely within "top-down" or "bottom-up" approaches.[7]

In "'Social Equality Does Not Exist among Themselves, nor among Us': *Baylies*

[5] Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (1976; rpt. edn., New York, 1992); Gerald David Jaynes, *Branches without Roots: Genesis of the Black Working Class in the American South, 1862–1882* (New York, 1986); William H. Harris, *The Harder We Run: Black Workers since the Civil War* (New York, 1982); Thomas C. Holt, *Black over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Urbana, Ill., 1977); Robin D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990); Peter Rachleff, *Black Labor in Richmond, 1865–1890* (1984; Urbana, Ill., 1989). On labor politics and the modern civil rights movement, see Michael K. Honey, *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights: Organizing Memphis Workers* (Urbana, 1993); Robert Korstad and Nelson Lichtenstein, "Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals and the Early Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of American History* 75 (1988): 786–811.

[6] Harold Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (New York, 1984); Clayborne Carson, "African American Leadership and Mass Mobilization," *Black Scholar* 24 (Fall 1994): 2–7.

[7] Of course, there are exemplary contributions whose analytic frameworks combine elite and popular approaches, articulating elites to broader social movements and developments. See, for example, Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden, 1898–1903* (Urbana, Ill., 1975); Robert Hill, ed., *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983– ); Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (London, 1983); David Levering Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868–1919* (New York, 1993).



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*vs. Curry* and Civil Rights in Chicago, 1888," Elizabeth Dale gives an imaginatively researched account of the suit brought by Josephine Curry, a middle-class African-American woman, against Josiah Baylies, a white theater manager, for excluding Curry and her party from the theater in violation of the Illinois Civil Rights Act of 1885. Reading Curry's arguments for her civil rights closely against the background of race relations in Chicago, Dale foregrounds the class considerations that complicate what a more conventional approach might treat as simply a racial narrative about civil rights and equal treatment. The more refined and nuanced kind of storytelling Dale practices here lends great force to her critique of examples of legal and African-American history that effectively enshrine and perpetuate the reification of legal formalism, namely, its separation of law from society. Dale's essay, following recent trends in legal history and critical race theory,[8] understands the law itself as a terrain of social struggle. Within *Baylies vs. Curry*, this struggle was inevitably shaped by ideologies and narratives intertwining race and class, through which its parties articulated competing visions of equality. Dale's close reading of "the divergent narratives of civil rights" that were argued within the case allows us to account for a contradictory moment during which Curry could prevail in her suit against Baylies' theater even as "ideas of equality and integration began to separate," culminating in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* and the establishment of "separate but equal" as rationalization of de jure segregation.

The background for Curry's lawsuit was the ambiguous state of race relations in Chicago, marked by the unpredictability of de facto segregation typical in the urban North throughout the nineteenth century. In Chicago, blacks enjoyed a measure of integration in jobs, housing, public accommodations, and reform institutions, but insult and exclusion were constant realities. Black middle-class spokespersons' arguments for civil rights were shaped by these quotidian experiences of discrimination in supposedly accessible public accommodations. Dale cites an editorial in an African-American newspaper in Chicago that insisted that blacks were uninterested in "social equality" with whites, arguing instead for the saliency of class distinctions over white supremacy's assertion and practice of racial caste subordination. Following from this conviction that class should trump race, the staunchly middle-class Currys, Dale argues, based their claim for integration on an economic view of equality predicated on their ability to pay for first-class accommodations, thus entitling them to facilities equal to those enjoyed by whites of comparable middle-class standing.

Dale's contextual reading of this particular articulation of equality shows that arguments for civil rights were hardly straightforward in an era in which deeply racialized notions of class and urban public space framed the issues. She demonstrates that civil rights struggles are seldom just about race but invariably involve class identities and conflicts as well. Dale persuasively shows the limits of Curry's oppositional strategy, noting the similarity of her economic claim for integration, based on her membership in "the better class" of African Americans, with the

[8] See, for example, Mary Frances Berry, *Black Resistance, White Law: A History of Constitutional Racism in America* (1971; rpt. edn., New York, 1994); William E. Forbath, Hendrik Hartog, and Martha Minow, "Introduction: Legal Histories from Below," *Wisconsin Law Review* (1985): 759–66; Patricia J. Williams, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).



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opposing defense of segregation made by Baylies. For his part, the theater owner claimed the right to exclude the Currys and other African Americans, testifying that their presence in his theater might prove violently disruptive, causing him economic injury.

Respectability was a crucial component of the economic terms by which Curry and Baylies asserted their diametrically opposed conceptions of rights. Where the Currys invoked their middle-class status as the symbolic ticket to the theater, along with their paid admission, Baylies, whose establishment abutted the notoriously disreputable Levee district, drew on popular sentiment pathologizing integrated public space to support his contention that segregating blacks was necessary for the survival of his business. Since she formulated her claim to equal access in the unegalitarian language of bourgeois respectability, nothing in Curry's logic prevented Baylies and his lawyer from arguing that Baylies' own property interests outweighed African Americans' entitlement to equal treatment in the public sphere. Dale performs an exemplary service in showing how supposedly universal values and ideals such as equality can be contested and, in the process, rendered insidiously ambiguous, according to the distinct social positions of the opposing parties.

Through her discussion of the arguments made by Curry's attorney, Edward Morris, Dale also shows how profoundly different arguments can be made on behalf of the same objective, namely, the plaintiff's claim for equal treatment. Morris, a black civil rights activist and, later, an outspoken opponent of Booker T. Washington's compromises with segregation, based his argument on a vision of equality rooted in an idea of inalienable rights, rather than the notion of property, or bourgeois status-based rights, implied in Curry's testimony and in the defendant's segregationist argument. Moreover, Dale contrasts Morris's activist view of civil rights law as upholding principles of integration and equal rights and ameliorating anti-black antagonism with the judge's philosophy, which, though he ruled in favor of Curry, stopped well short of interpreting the Civil Rights Act as a manifesto of racial equality.

From her thick description of *Baylies vs. Curry*, with its careful rehearsing of the arguments, social circumstances, and lived experiences of its participants, Dale emphasizes the contingency of the legal process, its actors negotiating the choices available to them. At first glance, as Dale contends, the circumstances of the case render suspect the tendency to subsume legal history within a dispiriting narrative of worsening race relations. Certainly, the relative fluidity of race relations in Chicago at the time, the case's complicated and varied visions of equality, and ultimately, Curry's eventual victory all militate against our intuitive notion of a deeply entrenched Jim Crow order.

Yet I find myself not quite convinced by Dale's assertion of contingency. For, in highlighting the contradictory implications of Curry's economic claim for civil rights and the contending visions of equality articulated within her case, Dale has also demonstrated a slippery slope by which the logic and language of civil rights law is eroded within a changing political and ideological climate and is found to contain the very seeds of its negation. In fact, Dale provides evidence for the contention that African Americans, even in their legal challenges to segregation, unintention-



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ally acquiesced to an inexorably worsening anti-black climate. Rather than demonstrating that civil rights challenges were more contested, or open to contingency, than we might think, Dale documents one instance of a widespread but ultimately highly ineffective and counterproductive black middle-class strategy of claiming entitlement to citizenship rights by stressing class stratification.[9]

Such nuanced readings of a particular case study as Dale's, however valuable, tell us less than we need to know about socio-historical change as the background for such cases and for the origins of segregation. Evidently, the judges who upheld Curry's suit under the Illinois Civil Rights Act found her class-based assertion of respectability, as well as her economic conception of equality, more compelling than Baylies' socially marginal claims of economic harm. But Curry's suit did not establish anything remotely resembling a precedent on which subsequent black plaintiffs could rely. The courts would eventually reject such status-based claims by middle-class African Americans, expressing more sympathy with the property interests and status aspirations of whites in increasingly attenuated interpretations of civil rights law, consigning the citizenship rights of blacks to dead-letter status. By 1911, a New York City jury could acquit one Harry Ulrich, a working-class white man, of having committed a vicious and bloody assault against Booker T. Washington, undeniably the most powerful and influential black leader of his time.[10] On what basis? What changes, not only in Chicago but within national race relations as well, in the interval between *Baylies vs. Curry* and *Plessy* and its aftermath, might further illuminate the onset of de jure segregation?

In order to engage such questions, historians and legal scholars must continue to embrace the unwieldy task of historicizing race, making sense out of the irrational, pseudo-scientific, and even pathological justifications for segregation and the violence that enforced it.[11] Compared to the suffocating repression of the post-Reconstruction South, Chicago afforded African Americans and black elites a modicum of freedom in mobility, expression, and possibilities for political action, a range of possibilities yielding significant changes by the 1930s. Nevertheless, it remains useful to regard Chicago in the late nineteenth century as a national entity as much as a regional one, its distinctiveness compromised by the influence of southern ideologies of race. And, given the convergence of local conditions with national discussions of race, we also need a clearer sense of the interaction between formal law-making and the informal processes represented by the explosive political controversies around race. Legal historians of segregation must be alert, as well, to the extent to which ideologies of race are embedded within political economy and class relationships and, furthermore, to the centrality of narratives about sexuality within the ideological underpinnings of de jure segregation and disfranchisement.[12]

[9] For an extended discussion of this phenomenon, see Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996).

[10] Ulrich testified that he assaulted Washington in New York's Tenderloin district, believing him to be an anonymous intruder engaged in suspicious behavior. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee*, 379–404.

[11] Two noteworthy recent examples are Thomas C. Holt, "Marking: Race, Race-Making, and the Writing of History," *AHR* 100 (February 1995): 1–20; and Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," *Signs* 17 (Winter 1992): 251–74.

[12] Nell Irvin Painter, " 'Social Equality,' Miscegenation, Labor, and Power," in *The Evolution of Southern Culture*, Numan V. Bartley, ed. (Athens, Ga., 1988), 58–67; Peggy Pascoe, "Miscegenation



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Evidence of the reproduction in the North—and at the national level—of racial theories and customs seemingly peculiar to the South can be seen in the attention of the African-American press in Chicago to the controversy over "social equality." Such appropriations of dominant ideas about race by black elites can tell us much, not only concerning the political significance of black middle-class ideology but also about the process by which irrational cultural narratives of white supremacy are reinscribed and presented anew in the more authoritative codes of law. If Dale is correct in her suggestion that middle-class African Americans' economic arguments for civil rights were crafted partly in response to hostile white accusations that blacks were making intolerable demands for "social equality," a term fraught with moral panic directed against the miscegenation of black men and white women, then sexual racism might well explain a great deal in the undermining of civil rights laws. From this standpoint, one imagines a scenario within which Josephine Curry's middle-class claim of entitlement to access to integrated public venues might elicit more sympathy in the courts than, say, that asserted by even an unimpeachably bourgeois gentleman of color. Given that the respectability and prosperity of black men in the flesh was as likely to provoke white suspicion and antagonism as the ideological specter of Negro criminality, one wonders whether the Currys had anticipated this fear of black men as potential economic and sexual competitors by choosing to have Josephine, rather than her husband John, represent the aggrieved party in court.[13]

WHERE DALE USEFULLY CONFRONTS intra-racial class divisions and mines the contradictions inherent in the Currys' claim of bourgeois respectability to affirm their civil rights, Beth Bates surveys an altogether different period in the 1930s when class identities and solidarities among African Americans were much more fluid and complementary. In "A New Crowd Challenges the Agenda of the Old Guard in the NAACP, 1933–1941," Bates documents the conflict in strategy and tactics between middle-class black leadership and those favoring mass-based mobilization efforts. Engaging the vast literature on the NAACP and its relationship to the Left, Bates describes a moment during which the association's struggle for racial equality in the courts met sharp challenges from a "new crowd" of activists who were convinced that mass mobilization and protest politics were more appropriate responses to inequalities in jobs and housing. By 1941, Bates argues, the strategies of grass-roots activism, labor organizing, and direct action pursued by new-crowd leaders around the Chicago branch had won over a pragmatic Walter White, erstwhile "old-guard" African-American leader and executive secretary of

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Law, Court Cases, and Ideologies of 'Race' in Twentieth Century America," *Journal of American History* 83 (June 1996): 44–69; Martha Hodes, "The Sexualization of Reconstruction Politics: White Women and Black Men in the South after the Civil War," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3 (1993): 402–17.

[13] For an instructive assessment of the role of gender politics in the legal challenges to segregated railroad facilities waged by middle-class African Americans in the decade preceding *Plessy*, see Kenneth W. Mack, "Complicating the Career of Jim Crow: Railroad Segregation and Citizenship in Late Nineteenth-Century Tennessee," paper presented at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the American Studies Association, Kansas City, Missouri.



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the NAACP, who threw his support and that of his organization behind the United Auto Workers' strike at a Ford plant near Detroit.

Challenging assumptions of intra-racial class conflict that erroneously presume the black bourgeoisie to be essentially indistinguishable from its Anglo-American counterpart, Bates describes the contingency of class identity, seen in the social ambidexterity of important members of the new crowd of leaders who were equally at home in bourgeois institutions and labor unions. The crisis of the Depression and the new spaces for interracial labor organizing created by the New Deal go far in explaining the collective consciousness and group solidarity espoused by such educated African Americans as Thelma McWorter (Wheaton). Hired by the Chicago YWCA African-American branch as industrial secretary in charge of teaching and training female workers, Wheaton held a position that heralded a profound shift in intra-racial class politics dating from the 1930s. This shift made it possible for a traditionally middle-class, philanthropic institution such as the YWCA to provide a base for labor organizing and a culture of working-class opposition.

In this connection, it is well worth noting that class identities and relationships throughout the era of segregation were defined and determined by racial caste subordination. This is a crucial point that often escapes those students of black life and politics who, perhaps overly respectful of the avowed middle-class status of their subjects, are all too willing to gloss over the fundamental marginality and precarious status of even the most privileged blacks. That African-American landowners and political leaders were prime targets for white violence since Reconstruction, and well into the modern civil rights era, has been well documented.[14] Middle-class respectability proved equally useless in protecting many African-American women from rape and other physical violence.[15] In addition, there was the pervasive and longstanding phenomenon of well-educated African Americans forced by racial exclusion, or economic contraction, into working-class occupations.[16] Under such conditions, one readily imagines how work like the organizing performed by new crowd leaders such as Wheaton and those others mentioned by Bates might offer a security and even prestige rare among the circumscribed black occupational options during the Depression.

For Bates, the mass-protest tactics of local networks were instrumental in reshaping the NAACP's stance toward unions and thus in the forging of cross-class alliances between middle-class institutions and workers. More than this, these local campaigns, as she writes, "contributed to reconfiguring the range and direction of national protest politics." In this regard, Bates's treatment of the 1930s builds on scholarship stressing the alliance between labor and civil rights organizations during the 1940s.[17] By documenting the origins of the progressive politics of the World

[14] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York, 1988); Foner, *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders during Reconstruction* (New York, 1993).

[15] Darlene Clark Hine, "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West: Preliminary Thoughts on the Culture of Dissemblance," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz, eds. (New York, 1990), 292–97.

[16] Gaines, *Uplifting the Race*, 15–16.

[17] Penny Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997); Korstad and Lichtenstein, "Opportunities Lost and Found"; Honey, *Southern Labor*;



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War II era, Bates provides a much-needed supplement to narratives of civil rights written from the top down, confined to mainstream organizations and messianic leadership.[18]

Bates's analysis of the origins of shifts in national politics in militant, local collective organizing initiatives is strengthened by her discussion of the NAACP's vulnerability, its very survival threatened by the Depression. Hampered by its "old-guard" style of black leadership characterized by paternalism and a preoccupation with respectability, the association seemed unwilling to capitalize on the increase in political potential and assertiveness represented by Chicago's growing black community, as shown in Bates's astute discussion of White's fund-raising strategy during the early 1930s of targeting liberal whites. While the NAACP slept, so to speak, the working-class initiatives of the Chicago division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Communist Party, the National Negro Congress, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations paralleled the confrontational protest tactics of Chicago branch members. Although White and the national office initially sought to impose its discipline on the branch, forcing it to call off a boycott of Sears, criticism of the association mounted from several quarters, appealing for a positive program of direct action. If White could afford to dismiss withering internal criticism from such radicals as W. E. B. Du Bois and Abram Harris, and purge these messengers, he had to take seriously the misgivings of middle-class branch leaders like Chicago's Daisy Lampkin, whose criticism was backed by the considerable influence of the National Association of Colored Women, which lent its support to anti-discrimination protests against Sears.

Bates's main achievement is her richly detailed rendering of new-crowd activist networks resulting from the productive cooperation between the National Negro Congress and the CIO, under whose umbrella flourished an astonishing range of black community institutions and activists. The value of her insightful account of the fluidity of class identities and relationships within Chicago's vibrant black politics of the 1930s cannot be overemphasized, for this phenomenon is essential to the comprehension of the origins and aspirations of black social movements throughout the civil rights era. Black Chicago's old guard was swept along by the momentum established by the NNC organizers, trade unionists, radical intellectuals, churches, fraternal orders, and reform institutions. Moreover, these campaigns were grounded in the black community while they simultaneously nurtured new subcultures of interracial labor radicalism. Unlike the black elites of previous generations, who, against the ubiquitous pressures of racism, constantly asserted their moral and cultural distance from the majority of African Americans, the black elite that Bates describes exchanged, through its civic-minded impulses, the older paternalism of racial uplift for a new receptivity to working-class politics.

Amid the failure of White's efforts to rally executive and legislative backing for

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Manning Marable, *Race, Reform and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945–1982* (Jackson, Miss., 1984).

[18] David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1955–1968* (New York, 1986); Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–1963* (New York, 1988); Juan Williams, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954–1965* (New York, 1987).



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his anti-lynching campaign, orchestrated from the national office as a bid to shore up white liberal support, the executive secretary was hearing similar complaints from several branches of the NAACP's marginalization and virtual irrelevance to the concerns and needs of African-American workers. Indeed, contrary to the view that the leftist agenda of the National Negro Congress exerted a divisive, and potentially destructive, influence on civil rights politics, Bates suggests that the NNC's militancy may well have enabled the expansion of membership of the NAACP's largest branches in Chicago, Detroit, and Baltimore. Eventually, White and Roy Wilkins grew weary of hearing the NAACP called to account within the rising denunciations of conservative old-guard leadership. With the establishment of the Legal Defense and Education Fund, the association was freed to pursue a dual strategy in its fight against segregation, lending its support to the labor–civil rights coalition that culminated in both A. Philip Randolph's 1941 March on Washington protest movement and White's own intervention in the UAW-CIO strike against Ford.

Despite their divergent emphases, Dale and Bates have written essays that complement each other. Where Dale is describing the construction of the master's house, as it were, of de jure segregation, from the foundation of racial ideologies and customs, Bates elucidates the groundswell of grass-roots politics and the emerging cross-class coalition between labor and civil rights groups that mobilized to dismantle legal structures of racial and social inequality. Their respective analyses of the role of black elites are enhanced by their juxtaposition in this forum. The contrast between Josephine Curry's circumscribed, bourgeois, and effectively exclusionary notion of equality and Edward Morris's comprehensive vision of equality predicated on a universalist idea of inalienable human rights is mirrored in the contrasting styles and assumptions of staid, old-guard black leadership and the labor solidarities and mass-mobilization tactics encouraged by the more democratic new-crowd leaders. Both essays affirm the inescapably ambiguous status of black elites and leadership in a society structured in racial dominance, witnessed in the historical tension between accommodationist elite visions of racial uplift and more egalitarian, social visions of uplift and emancipation.

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*Review Essay*

# History and Imperialism:
## A Century of Theory, from Marx to Postcolonialism

PATRICK WOLFE

IMPERIALISM RESEMBLES DARWINISM, in that many use the term but few can say what it really means. This imprecision is encouraged by a surfeit of synonyms. Two stand out: imperialism is taken to be interchangeable with colonialism and reducible to the word "empire." Add to these the compounding effects of elaborations such as hegemony, dependency, or globalization and the definitional space of imperialism becomes a vague, consensual gestalt.

In its stricter Marxist-Leninist applications, the word "imperialism" dates from the end of the nineteenth century and minimally connotes the use of state power to secure (or, at least, to attempt to secure) economic monopolies for national companies. On this basis, imperialism is not necessarily an extranational project, which would appear to distinguish it from colonialism. Moreover, the monopoly criterion excludes open-door policies, relegating "U.S. imperialism" and "cultural imperialism" to the realm of rhetoric but seeming to leave "Soviet imperialism" with at least a leg to stand on.[1] Since the term "imperialism" has been so closely associated with Left opposition to U.S. foreign policy, it is apparent that later usage of the term has not been too respectful of Marxist technicalities.

In what follows, I shall not presume to dispense a received definition of imperialism. Rather, the term will be used heuristically to group together a somewhat disparate set of theories of Western hegemony (including Marxism, dependency, postcolonialism, globalization, etc.).[2] Although these theories have most often been discussed in relative isolation from each other, taken together, as they will be here, they make up a multifaceted debate that continued for most of the

For their advice and criticism, I am very grateful to Tracey Banivanua Mar, Phillip Darby, Simon During, Leela Gandhi, and Stuart Macintyre. I would also like to thank Prasenjit Duara and the *AHR* staff for their helpful comments and Mike Grossberg for the opportunity.

[1] For informed and pointed comments on contemporary uses of the term "imperialism," see two of the contributions to *Radical History Review*'s (no. 57, 1993) forum, "Imperialism—A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?": Bruce Cumings, "Global Realm with No Limit, Global Realm with No Name," 46–59; and Carl P. Parrini, "The Age of Ultraimperialism," 7–20, esp. 13–14 and n. 16. For a thorough and somewhat skeptical account of the concept of cultural imperialism, see John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction* (London, 1991). For discourse analysis of a range of examples, see Amy Kaplan and Donald Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, N.C., 1993).

[2] For reasons of space, Japanese imperialism will not be discussed. A good account that concludes with World War II is W. G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism 1894–1945* (Oxford, 1987). Though published in 1973, Jon Halliday and Gavan McCormack's remarks on 224–31 of their *Japanese Imperialism Today: "Co-Prosperity in Greater East Asia"* (New York) remain suggestive.



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twentieth century. I shall attempt to characterize and criticize some of the more influential contributions to this debate. To give a sense of the theoretical contexts to which authors have been responding, the account will generally proceed in chronological order. This should not be taken to suggest a teleology in which theories of imperialism have progressively improved (or, even worse, approximated more closely to reality). As should become clear, these theories have varied so widely in terms of emphases and problematics that they are not necessarily even commensurable. Moreover, they have been enunciated under different historical conditions. This notwithstanding, a reasonable degree of coherence can be achieved by organizing discussion around two oppositions that, though misleading, have demonstrably structured debates about imperialism. The first of these is between the internal and the external, variously manifesting as European versus colonial, core versus periphery, developed versus developing, etc. Although this opposition is false because its two terms co-produce each other, accounts of imperialism are comparable on the basis of the ways in which they have distributed emphasis between the two. The second opposition is between the ideal and the material, whose alternatives include ideological versus practical, cultural versus economic, discursive versus instrumental, etc. Even though this opposition overlooks the obvious fact that consciousness is inseparable from practical activity, the majority of the theories that we will consider stress one at the expense of the other. These two oppositions are meant as implicit guides and should not be imposed too rigidly on the material. I intend to show that, at different times, in different political situations, and with different strategic intentions, they have been differently emphasized and configured. The interplay between theories of imperialism and the varied contexts within which they have been framed will, I hope, be more informative than an attempt to rank them on their merits. To this end, we will start with Marx.

ALTHOUGH KARL MARX PRECEDED THE DEBATE ON IMPERIALISM and did not use the term, the majority of theorists of imperialism have claimed to be furthering his ideas. While Marx saw capitalism's need for endless expansion as producing a Malthusian struggle for survival between an ever-dwindling group of monopolies, it is important to recognize that this vision was thoroughly positive, in the nineteenth-century sense. Rather than simply decrying capitalism, Marx admired its achievements, which were historically prerequisite to the transition to socialism. Moreover, the dialectical process ensured that, before a given mode of production was transcended, the class struggle would have scoured out its full historical potential. Historical development was, in short, as much qualitative as quantitative.

Although the "internal" dialectic of class conflict largely accounted for the historical preeminence of Europe, other societies were a different matter, for the simple reason that, unlike the European case, their historical development was not unprecedented. Rather, Europe was already there, a coexistent future whose impact was bound to be transformative.[3] Hence Marx's famous assertion—which

[3] In the case of the United States, this situation was reversed, since, unlike Europe, it lacked a



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was to prove so embarrassing to Marxist liberation movements in the following century—that England had a double mission in India. While colonial intrusion and the reorganization of native society to serve the requirements of European capital had certainly occasioned untold destruction, the corollary was that capitalism itself—with its railroads, industrial infrastructure, and communication systems—had introduced a dynamic historical germ that would rouse Indian society from the timeless stagnation of the Asiatic mode of production and set it on its own course of historical development, a course that would eventually lead through capitalism to an Indian transition to socialism.[4]

In the decade following Marx's death in 1883, capitalist monopolization did indeed gain rapid momentum, only the consequences were not as he had foreseen. For, rather than carving up each other, monopolies began to carve up the market, with cooperative trusts, oil cartels, and, on the other side of the Atlantic, empire-wide closed shops becoming the order of the day.[5] Given the inconsistency between this trend and some of Marx's predictions,[6] it is not surprising that the most developed initial responses to it should have come not from within Marxism but from the world of liberal capitalism itself. Even though the English liberal J. A. Hobson's *Imperialism: A Study*, which appeared in 1902, was to shape subsequent debates about imperialism as a result of the formative influence it had on the thinking of V. I. Lenin, Hobson was not the first in the field. As Norman Etherington has shown, in the United States, with the possibilities of frontier expansion exhausted, the era that saw John D. Rockefeller's formation of the Standard Oil Trust, the recession of the 1890s, and the Spanish-American War produced a range of American proposals for exploiting the opportunities that imperialism held out. Not for the first time, description lagged behind prescription,

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feudal past ("a country where bourgeois society did not develop on the foundation of the feudal system, but developed rather from itself; where this society appears not as the surviving result of a centuries-old movement, but rather as the starting-point of a new movement." Karl Marx, *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*, Martin Nicolaus, trans. [New York, 1973], 884).

[4] Karl Marx, "The Future Results of the British Rule in India" (1853), rpt. in Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The First Indian War of Independence, 1857–1959* [*sic*] (Moscow, 1959), 29–35. For concise discussions of Marx's views on Asia (his attitude to colonized Ireland was different), see Anthony Brewer, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*, 2d edn. (New York, 1990), 48–56; Hélène Carrère d'Encausse and Stuart R. Schram, *Marxism and Asia* (London, 1969), 7–10; A. James Gregor and M. H. Chang, "Marxism, Sun Yat-sen and the Concept of Imperialism," *Pacific Affairs* 55 (1982): 58–61.

[5] For U.S. trusts and the new economic thinking associated with them, see Carl Parrini and M. J. Sklar, "New Thinking about the Market, 1896–1904: Some American Economists on Investment and the Theory of Surplus Capital," *Journal of Economic History* 43 (1983): 559–78. For Chamberlain's "social imperialism," a radical departure from Victorian Britain's commitment to laissez faire in favor of a combination of tariffs and colonial trade compacts designed to strengthen the empire while assuaging unrest at home, a formula that rendered the weary imperial Titan ingloriously reliant on the good will of its dominions, see Peter J. Cain and Anthony G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688–1914* (New York, 1993), 204–13; Bernard Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social-Imperial Thought, 1895–1914* (London, 1966); John Eddy and D. M. Schreuder, eds., *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa First Assert Their Nationalities, 1880–1914* (Sydney, 1988), 19–20; compare Richard Jebb, *Studies in Colonial Nationalism* (London, 1905), 240.

[6] Though, in a corpus as tactically heterogeneous as that of Marx, it is often possible to find countervailing possibilities, as H. Gaylord Wilshire did in reaching the conclusion that Marx had anticipated the rise of trusts. See Norman Etherington, *Theories of Imperialism: War, Conquest and Capital* (London, 1984), 27.



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or, as Etherington phrased it: "Hobson did not invent the idea that capitalism would benefit from imperialism. Capitalists invented that idea."[7]

For canonical purposes, though, the terms of the post-Marxian debate on imperialism were definitively set by Hobson, whose views were prompted by opposition to the Boer War.[8] Hobson's starting point, which was to become axiomatic to the entire debate on imperialism, was the problem of the economic surplus that capitalism generated. The downsizing and new technologies that an increasingly competitive domestic market generated boosted productivity beyond the market's capacity to consume its output, leaving a glut of both commodities and, since reinvestment was thus rendered pointless, of profits (the "underconsumptionist" thesis). The solution lay in immature markets overseas. Hence imperialism as an outlet for surplus. Since it only benefited a plutocratic few and directed national expenditure toward warfare and away from socially beneficial undertakings, Hobson recommended that imperialism be discontinued in favor of an income redistribution that would produce a more equitable and domestically viable form of capitalism.[9]

The details of Hobson's analysis need not concern us here. The crucial feature—which, apart from presaging World War I, distinguishes the "technical" imperialism that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century from earlier forms of colonial or imperial hegemony—is the element of compulsion that arose at the point where productivity exceeded the consumptive capacity of a metropolitan market conceived as finite and contained.[10] Co-conditioned by this imperative, monopoly trusts—which maintained domestic profits by fixing prices—and imperialism—which displaced the pressure of domestic limits—were two sides of the same coin.[11]

[7] Etherington, *Theories of Imperialism*, 7. For a different view, see James Sturgis, "Britain and the New Imperialism," in C. C. Eldridge, ed., *British Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1984), 85–105; compare A. M. Eckstein, "Is There a 'Hobson-Lenin Thesis' on Late Nineteenth Century Colonial Expansion?" *Economic History Review* 44 (1991): 297–318.

[8] He was also reacting more generally to Britain's post-1872 economic decline. Hobson's polemic on propaganda and the Boer War, *Psychology of Jingoism* (London, 1901), is a neglected gem that substantially anticipated cultural studies and amply rewards a contemporary reading. See also Hobson, *The War in South Africa: Its Causes and Effects* (London, 1900).

[9] Hobson's assessment was to receive laborious cliometric validation in Lance E. Davis and Robert A. Huttenback, *Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire: The Political Economy of British Imperialism, 1860–1912* (Cambridge, 1986), which concluded that, from 1880 on, empire did not provide the ordinary investor with better returns than the domestic economy.

[10] For obvious reasons, Hobson himself did not accept that domestic capitalism had no alternative. Within the Marxist tradition, N. I. Bukharin would systematically elaborate the element of compulsion in his influential 1917 work, *Imperialism and the World Economy* (London, 1972).

[11] In view of the constraint of space, I have decided not to discuss Karl Kautsky's "ultra-imperialism" (or Hobson's "inter-imperialism") thesis, important though it is for appreciating the implications of market-apportioning compacts between nation-states. Even though, as is well known, Kautsky had the misfortune to have an article explaining why wars between imperial powers were unlikely to happen published in *Die neue Zeit* on September 11, 1914, as the battle of the Marne was getting into full swing, his prediction that the capitalist states would cooperate rather than engage in internecine destruction has clearly had more purchase on the long term than it had on the immediate term. See Kautsky, "Ultra-imperialism" (original German title "Der Imperialismus"), *New Left Review* 59 (January–February 1970): 39–46, but ignore the introduction. For the same reason, I will not be discussing either Joseph Schumpeter or the Wisconsin school of Cold War revisionism associated with the name (and authority) of William Appleman Williams, which one might see as having much in common with Kautsky, especially insofar as it stressed the role of U.S. diplomacy in preventing political rivalries between the leading industrial democracies from hindering the international advancement of corporate



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The classical Marxist debate on imperialism shuffled the foregoing concepts and derived varying strategic implications from them. Given the emancipatory aspirations of the Communist movement, however, it could hardly remain just a view from above. Initially surfacing at the Amsterdam and Stuttgart congresses of the Second International, in 1904 and 1907 respectively, but achieving full expression a decade of so later in the 1920 Comintern theses of M. N. Roy, founder of the Communist Party of India, the view was expressed that, rather than leading the rest of the world, the revolution in Europe was contingent on revolution in the colonies. Briefly, this conclusion followed from the observation that the bourgeoisie could buy off the metropolitan proletariat, and thus postpone the revolution in Europe, by intensifying exploitation in the colonies.[12] This consequence of imperialism was widely accepted, not only by prominent Marxist theoreticians such as Karl Kautsky,[13] Rudolf Hilferding,[14] and Rosa Luxemburg[15] but by arch-imperialists such as Cecil Rhodes[16] and Joseph Chamberlain.[17] Although the strategic implications that these varied figures derived from their common perception differed widely, for our purposes the perception itself is significant for its negation of a barrier between the metropolitan and the colonial, which emerged as integrated aspects of a systemic whole.[18] This theme would be considerably elaborated in later twentieth-century thinking on imperialism.

Of perhaps even greater significance for later—indeed, for some of the most recent—writing on imperialism is Roy's conclusion, which the classical theorists of imperialism rejected, that the colonized could be the subjects and authors of revolution. At the 1920 Comintern, Lenin made concessions to Roy's position, a gesture that was enabled by the accommodation to Asia that was built into his own theory of imperialism, an accommodation that a Russian revolutionary could hardly

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interests (the open-door policy as more cost-effective than formal colonization). See Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1959); and *Empire as a Way of Life* (New York, 1980). In this connection, I am grateful to my friend and departmental colleague (and one-time Williams student) Chips Sowerwine for showing me his illuminating unpublished paper, "A Revisionist's Historiography of the Cold War."

[12] Roy's perspective had been prefigured by Marx in 1853: "It may seem a very strange, and a very paradoxical assertion that the next uprising of the people of Europe, and their next movement for republican freedom and economy of government, may depend more probably on what is now passing in the Celestial Empire [China],—the very opposite of Europe,—than on any other political cause that now exists . . . But yet it is no paradox . . . [I]t may safely be augured that the Chinese revolution will throw the spark into the overloaded mine of the present industrial system and cause the explosion of the long-prepared general crisis [in England], which, spreading abroad, will be closely followed by political revolutions on the Continent." Karl Marx, *On Colonialism* (Moscow, n.d.), 15, 21.

[13] Karl Kautsky, *Sozialismus und Kolonialpolitik* (Berlin, 1907).

[14] Rudolf Hilferding, *Finance Capital: A Study of the Latest Phase of Capitalist Development*, Tom Bottomore, ed. (1910; London, 1981).

[15] Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital* (1913; London, 1951).

[16] As Lenin recounted it, Rhodes said to his journalist friend Stead: "My dearest wish is to see the social problem solved: that is to say that in order to save the forty million inhabitants of the United Kingdom from bloody civil war, we colonial politicians must conquer new lands to take our excess population and to provide new outlets for the goods produced in our factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said, is a question of bread and butter. If you do not want civil war, you must become imperialists." V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916; Moscow, 1970), 76.

[17] Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform*. See also E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875–1914* (London, 1987), 69.

[18] Marx and Engels had observed that the expansion of capitalism across the globe would result in a unified economic system; *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1888 edn.; London, 1983), 18–19.



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avoid. Even though Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest* [or should it really be the latest?] *Stage of Capitalism* (1916) enjoys unrivaled status in the annals of theories of imperialism, apart from its Asian dimension, the work's originality was strategic rather than analytical. In arguing that the small but politically conscious Russian proletariat could sustain a revolutionary vanguard that would lead the feudal masses of Russia's Asian empire to skip over the capitalist mode of production and proceed straight to a socialist revolution, Lenin was not only revising the Eurocentric orthodoxy of classical Marxism.[19] Where the dialectic of history was concerned, his theory was also premised on the contention that, in extending the life of capitalism, imperialism enabled it to expand quantitatively but without the qualitative compensation. Lenin was an activist. In the lived exigencies of the practical struggle against imperialism, life had become too short to wait for Europe.

That Asia should figure at all was a fateful sign of things to come. Mao's peasants, agents and bearers of their own revolution, gathered just over the historical horizon, while, further on, Frantz Fanon would declare Europe to be so corrupting that the natives whom it touched could but betray the anticolonial movement. In the crucible of the struggle against imperialism, Eurocentrism would shift from program to problematic. This occurred in a world that had changed utterly since the late nineteenth century, when Marx had been fresh in his grave and the scramble for Africa was proceeding apace. In the post–World War II era of decolonization, neocolonialism, and development, dependency theory would insist that economic backwardness in the Third World resulted from the presence rather than the absence of capitalism, thus turning Marxism on its head. This was despite the fact that the theory's proponents (the *dependencistas*) either styled themselves as Marxists or closely aligned themselves with Marxism in theory and in practice. In turning to dependency theory, then, we turn to a new style of theory for a new style of imperialism, one that increasingly dispensed with the formality of colonial rule.[20]

A DUAL PROVENANCE is conventionally ascribed to *dependencia*, giving the doctrine a combined North and South American pedigree. In the United States, long-time collaborators Paul A. Baran and Paul M. Sweezy first formulated the contention that monopoly capitalism had stultifying rather than dynamic consequences for economic development. Third World markets were not so much profitable in their own right as on account of the massive state expenditure that safeguarding them triggered: "The loans and grants to so-called friendly governments of dependent countries, the outlays on the military establishment . . . all assume prodigious magnitudes."[21] In this early theorizing of the military-industrial complex, the Third World functioned as an alibi for ever-increasing levels of state patronage of domestic corporations. Since indigenous enterprise obstructed this arrangement, it

[19] Though it should perhaps be noted that, in a letter written toward the end of his life, Marx had referred to the Russian peasant commune as "the fulcrum of social regeneration in Russia." This letter was not, however, published until 1924. Karl Marx to Vera Zasulich, March 8, 1881, *Karl Marx, Frederick Engels: Collected Works* (London, 1992), 46: 71–72.

[20] In most of Latin America, neocolonialism had been prefigured, since this formality had not applied since the nineteenth century.

[21] Paul A. Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* (New York, 1957), 118.



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was either incorporated or disabled. Accordingly, the only areas outside the West where indigenous enterprise could be expected to flourish were those that had escaped Western domination. Hence Baran's famous contrast between the modernizing achievements of uncolonized Meiji Japan and India's abject failure to develop.[22] Somewhat later, and from the hemisphere below, Silvio Frondizi, Sergio Bagú, Luis Vitale, André Gunder Frank, Theotonio Dos Santos, and others asserted that underdevelopment in Latin America was not a frustration but an outcome of capitalist development.[23]

Though complementary, the two theories emerged in quite different contexts. Within European Marxism, Leon Trotsky notwithstanding, theories of imperialism had received little development since the death of Lenin. Not only had Stalinism constrained theoretical innovation within the Soviet Union, but, in the rest of Europe, the success of fascism had provided Marxists with a major distraction from external concerns. As U.S. dominance was consolidated in the wake of World War II, the Cold War, and McCarthyism, on the other hand, it was understandable that, in 1957, a beleaguered American Marxist such as Baran should recall the Great Depression and warn that all was not as it seemed, that monopoly capitalism was bound to produce stagnation in both the domestic and foreign economies. In contrast to Baran, the Latin American *dependencistas* of the 1960s and 1970s did not have the problem of explaining away the reality of a domestic boom. Rather, their immediate historical experience was dominated by an appalling mutuality between development programs and popular immiseration. As Arturo Escobar has recounted, the era of Third World development that was inaugurated along with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund at Bretton Woods in 1944 produced and systematized a new regime of deprivation in Latin America, one that differed in quality and extent from the modes of exploitation that had characterized European domination of the subcontinent.[24] Dependency theory formalized its proponents' anger at the gap between the rhetoric of modernization and the reality of exploitation.

A basic premise of *dependencia* was that of historicity: European history was transcended and unrepeatable.[25] Ignoring this, the theory and ideology of modern-

[22] Baran, *Political Economy of Growth*, 149–50.

[23] Published in Buenos Aires in 1947 and 1949 respectively, Silvio Frondizi's *La integración mundial, ultima etapa del capitalismo (respuesta a una critica)* and Sergio Bagú's *Economia de la sociedad colonial* appeared well before Paul Baran's *Political Economy of Growth* (1957). All the same, Bagú and Frondizi were unrepresentatively (not to say presciently) early. In any event, Paul Sweezy, *The Theory of Capitalist Development: Principles of Marxian Political Economy* (New York, 1942), can be seen as a bridge between classical Marxism and later work, as Brewer does (*Marxist Theories of Imperialism*, 137). Latin American *dependencia* generally emerged in the mid to late 1960s, in the decade after Baran and generally after Paul A. Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order* (New York, 1966).

[24] Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 70–94.

[25] The following is intended to express some of the central characteristics of dependency theory. Although individual theorists differed in matters of detail, it is contended that most would accept these basic premises. In view of his prominence, I have generally expressed them in the language of André Gunder Frank, though this should not be taken to imply endorsement of his oddly amateurish, nineteenth-century style of presentation, which involves tacking together extended verbatim quotations from a range of sources to an extent that can make it difficult to discern whether Frank himself has anything to add. For a judicially balanced collection on dependency theory as a whole, see Dudley



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ization held out capitalist development as a process of catching up, forgetting that, when the West had been undergoing its own momentous development, there had not been another "West" already there. Rather, there had been colonies, whose exploitation had historically produced—and, in changing ways, continued to produce—the paramountcy of the West. In other words, the great global fact that modernization theory obscured in representing Western history as autochthonous and repeatable was that development and underdevelopment were not two distinct states but a *relationship*. Underdevelopment was not, as modernization theory's dual thesis would have it, external to capitalism, a condition that prevailed in backward regions that had yet to develop.[26] Rather, it was of the essence of capitalism, being both precondition to and corollary of the developed status of the dominant countries. In a fundamental break with Marxist temporality, therefore, underdevelopment did not figure as a residue or survival from a superseded mode of production—usually, from feudalism—but as an integral component of modernity. (In this respect, the theory prefigured a key feature of the thinking of the Subaltern Studies group.) Underdevelopment was, in short, a transitive condition (to put it in Foucauldian terms, a positivity)—something that capitalism produced.[27] If there were any areas of the globe that had yet to be touched by capitalism,[28] their independence of the international division of labor was *un*development, an intransitive historical separateness, rather than *under*development.[29]

Focusing primarily on unequal exchange, dependency theory provoked controversy in orthodox Marxist circles for seeming to privilege distribution over production.[30] Though employing geopolitical units of analysis (nation, colony,

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Seers, ed., *Dependency Theory: A Critical Reassessment* (London, 1981). For particular viewpoints both critical and appreciative, see, for example, Theotonio Dos Santos, "The Structure of Dependence," *American Economic Review* 60 (May 1970): 231–36; Adrian Foster-Carter, "From Rostow to Gunder Frank: Conflicting Paradigms in the Analysis of Underdevelopment," *World Development* 4 (March 1976): 167–80; Colin Leys, "Conflict and Convergence in Development Theory," in Wolfgang Mommsen and Jürgen Osterhammel, eds., *Imperialism and After: Continuities and Discontinuities* (London, 1986), 315–24; Tony Smith, "Requiem on New Agenda for Third World Studies," *World Politics* 36 (1985): 532–61; John G. Taylor, *From Modernization to Modes of Production: A Critique of the Sociologies of Development and Underdevelopment* (London, 1979); and Charles K. Wilber's collection, *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment* (New York, 1973), especially the two essays by Celso Furtado.

[26] The best-known example of modernization theory, and a prime target of *dependencia* critique, was Walt (W. W.) Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge, 1960). A comparably modernist optimism could still find Marxist expression in 1980, in Bill Warren's contention that capitalism would eventually develop the areas that it penetrated (eventually, the entire world). See Warren, *Imperialism: Pioneer of Capitalism* (London, 1980).

[27] This is not to say that capitalism simply modeled dependent societies at will, as if on some behaviorist tabula rasa. It means that, within a given country, a particular infrastructure of dependency was conditioned—encouraged, maintained, and modified in a delegated or indirect manner through the agency of the coopted national elite. See Baran, *Political Economy of Growth*, 194–98; Susanne Bodenheimer, "Dependency and Imperialism: The Roots of Latin American Underdevelopment," *Politics and Society* (May 1971): 337–38.

[28] *Dependencistas* had differing views as to the discreteness of the Second World.

[29] Despite the analytical centrality of this distinction, undevelopment received scant attention in *dependencia*, principally because areas that seemed to furnish good examples usually turned out to have been early mercantile growth centers of the colonial economy that had subsequently fallen into decline.

[30] Though attracting considerable attention for its critique of Frank, Ernesto Laclau's "Feudalism and Capitalism in Latin America," *New Left Review* 67 (May–June 1971): 19–38, principally confined itself to establishing a charge of heresy in relation to Marxist orthodoxy. Robert Brenner's aptly



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country), the theory simultaneously problematized and, implicitly at least, subverted them (a feature to be elaborated in world-systems theory). A distinctive characteristic of dependency was a hierarchically replicated cyclopean structure whereby a metropolis (also known as "center," "core," etc.) dominated a number of (usually surrounding) satellites (the "periphery").[31] In addition to dominating its satellites, a metropolis was itself satellite to a higher-order metropolis further up the chain of dependency, say a state or regional capital, and so on up to the final metropolis, the colonial center. Apart from the very lowest and the very highest links in the chain, therefore, each level had a dual aspect, functioning both as metropolis and as satellite. A crucial difference was, however, that, as metropolis, it monopolized a number of satellites, whereas, as satellite, it served only one metropolis.

Though static, the model was not balanced. Rather, it was emphatically unidirectional. Power traveled downward: to depend was to subserve. In consequence, the theory was disappointingly undialectical. There was little sense of the metropolis' own dependence on the compliance of its satellites, little sense of the possibilities of contradiction. Above all, there was little sense of ideology, little evidence of Gramscian perspicacity concerning the crucial calculus of force and consent in the maintenance of hegemony, with the result that collaboration figured as crudely utilitarian. Yet it did not have to be thus. At various points, dependency theory was potently suggestive in regard to such matters, only to hurry back to economism as if questions of culture or consciousness were a frivolous indulgence. It has been suggested that Frank's theory was more influential than the sterner stuff that Baran dispensed because it fortuitously coincided with the Western radicalism of the 1960s.[32] While there may be some truth in this, we should not overlook the appeal of what lay between the lines, implicit but profound, in *dependencia*. This applies particularly to the client or *comprador* role of local elites, whom Frank deftly disparaged as *lumpenbourgeoisie*. They were the agential linchpin of the whole system, acquiescing in their own exploitation from above in return for the balance left over from what they had expropriated from below—including, of course, the military, political, and economic support that the metropolis committed to maintaining them in power. This deeply ambivalent condition confounds dualistic schemes of domination in a way that is particularly vulnerable to ideological critique. Indeed, Dos Santos seemed to lay some of the ground for Homi Bhabha's psychology of colonialism, though with greater economic and geopolitical substance, when he observed, "Domination is practicable only when it finds support

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subtitled "The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism," *New Left Review* 104 (July–August 1977): 25–92, offered a wider challenge. For an analogous critique emerging from a concrete empirical case-study, see N. S. Chinchilla, "Interpreting Social Change in Guatemala: Modernization, Dependency, and Articulation of Modes of Production," in Ronald H. Chilcote and Dale L. Johnson, eds., *Theories of Development: Mode of Production or Dependency?* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1983), 139–78.

[31] Surprisingly perhaps, the terms "center" and "periphery" were coined by Raúl Prebisch, the first director of the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL). See Ronald H. Chilcote, "Introduction: Dependency or Mode of Production? Theoretical Issues," in Chilcote and Johnson, *Theories of Development*, 12; and Escobar, *Encountering Development*, 90.

[32] Hamza Alavi, review of Wallerstein's *The Politics of the World-Economy*, *Race and Class* 27, no. 4 (1986): 87–88.



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among those local groups which profit by it. Thus we see the irrelevance of the concept of alienation which claims that our elites are alienated because they look upon themselves with alien eyes."[33]

Shying away from its discursive dimension, however, the theory failed to account for the extent to which *lumpenbourgeois* leaderships could deploy the rhetoric of national independence to mobilize popular support for programs that actually intensified national dependency. Inattention to this paradox of liberalism rendered utopian the remedy (autocentric or independent development) that *dependencistas* advocated, a consequence that was exacerbated by the fact that, for all its radicalism, *dependencia* never questioned the concept or value of development per se.[34] Rather than imagining alternatives to development, it sought to orchestrate a takeover bid. Having so stressed the limits of local agency in the face of the enormous power of international capitalism, however, the theory subverted in advance its own commitment to enabling satellites to break free and keep their surpluses to themselves.[35]

AS NOTED, DEPENDENCY WAS CONCEIVED AS UNIDIRECTIONAL—spreading out from Europe, it reduced the whole periphery (the singular is significant) to undifferentiated subordination.[36] Small wonder that other schools of thought have since stressed heterogeneity and particularity. In the 1970s and 1980s, Marxist anthropologists and economic historians influenced by Louis Althusser employed structuralist methods to map the complexities of social (including colonial) formations. A Western communist reacting against Stalinist iron laws, Althusser amended the teleology that had characterized much Marxist thought to that point, insisting that modes of production were ideal abstractions not to be found empirically. Actual social formations conjoined (articulated) a number of modes of production. (Even in Europe, feudalism persisted locally in subordinate relations to capitalism.) Rather than simply instantiating (however awkwardly) a predetermined stage of unilinear development, a given social formation comprised a particular configuration of modes of production, articulated together in unpredictable ways that had to be reconstructed anew in each particular case. Of these modes of production, one predominated—that is, it subordinated the others to the requirements of its own historical reproduction. In keeping with Marxist fundamentals, economic factors were determinant, but only in the last instance.[37] They were not necessarily

[33] Dos Santos, "Structure of Dependence," 78. Although he did not specify a particular target, Dos Santos must have had in mind Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Constance Farrington, trans. (New York, 1966, first French edn., Paris, 1961).

[34] Such questioning is the principal concern of Escobar's profoundly thought-provoking *Encountering Development*.

[35] Frederick Cooper has argued along comparable lines in relation to dependency theory's application to African contexts. See Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History," *AHR* 99 (December 1994): 1524–25.

[36] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Goals of Development" in Myron Weiner and Huntington, eds., *Understanding Political Development* (Boston, 1987), 283–322, noted that the *dependencistas*' failure to acknowledge cultural differences prevented them from accounting for obvious counterexamples such as Korea and Taiwan.

[37] This premise is more clearly associated with Emmanuel Terray than with Althusser himself, whose



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dominant as well, as in the case of capitalism, although they did determine which sphere was dominant (for instance, the political in the case of feudalism or kinship in the case of hunter-gatherer societies[38]).

The concept of social formation provided a powerful tool for analyzing the structural dynamics of complex societies in a manner that both preserved their historicity (inscribed in the power balance between the component modes of production) and identified points of tension around which historical transformations could occur. In the course of a long-running and celebrated French debate involving ethnographic and archival data from West Africa, for instance, Emmanuel Terray took issue with Claude Meillassoux's use of technological criteria to define the "lineage" mode of production, arguing that, since the same technologies occurred in different social systems, it was necessary to employ social criteria.[39] Terray instanced the Abron kingdom of Gyaman, in which the peasants (lineage mode of production agriculturalists) were dominated by slave-holding Abron aristocrats. Even though the peasants were only liable for the most token of agricultural tributes, they were obliged to be available constantly for the warfare that maintained the supply of slaves.[40] Thus the low level of tribute was explained on social criteria, the dominance of the slave mode of production, whose reproduction was the primary determinant of the social formation. On the basis of their account of Portuguese slave-trading on the west coast of Africa, Georges Dupré and Pierre Philippe Rey contended that Terray's model was too static. To account for historical change, it was necessary to bring out the tensions and contradictions between the articulated modes. According to Rey and Dupré, the slave trade had hooked into a chain of indigenous exchanges (slaves for prestige goods) that had obtained in the political sphere of indigenous society and predated the Portuguese. Since the political sphere had been the dominant sphere, and since the Portuguese trade had intensified rather than conflicted with it, indigenous society had remained intact. Upon the abolition of the European slave trade, however, the capitalist

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commitment to structural causality rendered such formulations problematic. As elsewhere in this review, I am presenting an overview of the salient characteristics of the general approach.

[38] I use the term "societies" rather than "modes of production" to avoid controversy as to whether "hunter-gatherer," "lineage," "hoe," etc., constitute valid criteria for categorizing modes of production, a controversy that I cannot enter into here.

[39] See (in order of debate) Claude Meillassoux, "'The Economy' in Agricultural Self-Sustaining Societies: A Preliminary Analysis," and "The Social Organization of the Peasantry: The Economic Basis of Kinship," in David Seddons, ed., *Relations of Production: Marxist Approaches to Economic Anthropology* (Totowa, N.J., 1978), 127–69; Emmanuel Terray, "Classes and Class Consciousness in the Abron Kingdom of Gyaman," in Maurice Bloch, ed., *Marxist Analyses and Social Anthropology* (London, 1975), 85–135; Pierre Philippe Rey, *Colonialisme, néo-colonialisme et transition au capitalisme: Exemple de la Comilog du Congo-Brazzaville* (Paris, 1971); Georges Dupré and Pierre Phillipe Rey, "Reflections on the Pertinence of a Theory of the History of Exchange," in Harold Wolpe, ed., *The Articulation of Modes of Production* (London, 1980), 128–60; Claude Meillassoux, *Maidens, Meal, and Money: Capitalism and the Domestic Community* (Cambridge, 1981). See also the other articles in Seddons' and Wolpe's collections. For secondary accounts, see Adrian Foster-Carter, "The Modes of Production Controversy," *New Left Review* 107 (January–February 1978): 47–78; Bridget O'Laughlin, "Marxist Approaches in Anthropology," in *Annual Review of Anthropology* 4 (1975): 341–70: Janet Siskind, "Kinship and Mode of Production," *American Anthropologist* 80 (1978): 860–72.

[40] Slaves were emancipated into the peasantry in the second generation to prevent them from developing a potentially disruptive class solidarity on the basis of the shared language and culture that their parents, captured from a variety of different groups, had lacked.



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mode of production had sought new sources of profit, penetrating the subsistence realm of indigenous society (that is, articulating to the economic rather than to the political sphere), which it rapidly dominated and subverted, engendering socioeconomic chaos and encouraging colonial occupation.[41]

For all its dated mechanicism, the social-formation model brought a welcome leaven of specificity to historical-materialist accounts of complex social structures. In contrast to dependency theory, it paid due heed to local determinations. It also conclusively invalidated the illusory but pervasive anthropological (functionalist/relativist) image of the contained and homogeneous culture, replacing it with a fissured, unstable composite that did justice to the fact that few if any human societies have developed in isolation. And yet, in suggesting that contingent features of a social formation could be inferred automatically once the dominant mode of production had been identified, the model failed to break with the predictive scientism that has so dogged the career of Marxism. By the same token, it failed to pay due attention to ideological and discursive factors, which were bypassed in the mechanical play of final determinations.[42] These deficiencies were not, however, essential to the model, whose deep structural strengths remain recuperable in an era preoccupied with rhetorical form. In particular, the concept of articulation enables us to distinguish between different modes of colonialism (settler, franchise, internal) and, accordingly, to gain insight into the different types of discursive regime that they respectively subtend.[43]

IF THE SOCIAL-FORMATION MODEL paid due heed to local determinations, Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher's distinctively British theory of "excentric" development, framed in the context of decolonization and the Nasserite revolution in Egypt, tended to make local determinations a law unto themselves. Although Robinson and Gallagher acknowledged that European imperialism had been partly motivated by economic and political factors internal to Europe, in their writings these factors were overwhelmed by the efficacy of local pressures that emanated from outside Europe and threatened imperial interests.[44] In this, their rejection of

[41] This aspect of Rey and Dupré's analysis shares ground with Peter J. Cain and Anthony G. Hopkins, "The Political Economy of British Expansion Overseas, 1750–1914," *Economic History Review* 33 (1980): 483–85. A number of other historians, usually reacting to Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher's theory (see below), have pointed to the consequences for West African society of the abolition of the slave trade, which led to the development of more "legitimate" commerce between Africans and Europeans—in particular, the vegetable oil trade—which favored groups of a lower status than the aristocratic ruling class that had benefited from trading slaves to Europeans. The rapid decline in vegetable oil prices after the 1860s is argued to have contributed to the circumstances that encouraged the scramble for Africa. See Perry Anderson, "The Figures of Descent," *New Left Review* 161 (January–February 1987): 42–44: Robin Law, "The Historiography of the Commercial Transaction in Nineteenth Century West Africa," in Toyin Falola, ed., *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi* (London, 1993), 91–115; but compare R. A. Austen, "The Abolition of the Overseas Slave Trade: A Distorted Theme in West African History," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 5, no. 2 (1970): 16–28.

[42] In Althusser's original formulation, the ideological realm ("instance") had been co-determinate with the political and the economic. See Louis Althusser, *For Marx*, Ben Brewster, trans. (New York, 1970); and Althusser and Etienne Balibar, *Reading "Capital,"* Brewster, trans. (London, 1970).

[43] This point will be developed below.

[44] "Historically European imperialism might be defined as a political reflex action between one



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the Marxist tradition was explicit, as was their privileging of political and diplomatic considerations over economic ones.[45] Their case was built on a rereading[46] of the scramble for (or partition of) Africa, a historical phenomenon that, in keeping with Marxist premises, had been represented as a contest between the major European powers for formal control of markets that capitalism had already, at least initially, opened up. Robinson and Gallagher reversed this schedule, placing colonial annexations before the development of markets: "It was not the businessmen or missionaries or empire-builders who launched the partition of Africa, but rather a set of diplomats who thought of that continent merely as a function of their concerns elsewhere . . . Only at the end of the process did the businessmen arrive . . . Imperialism was not the cause of the partition. It was the result."[47]

According to Robinson and Gallagher, throughout the nineteenth century, British imperial policy was consistently minimalist ("informal control if possible, formal rule if necessary"[48]), a strategy that relied crucially on the offices of native or (better still) white-settler collaborators.[49] The sudden rush of formal annexations in Africa during the 1880s and 1890s did not result from a change to this general policy but from a fear that nationalist successes in Egypt and South Africa might jeopardize wider imperial interests, specifically trade routes to India (the Suez Canal) and to Australasia (the Cape). Fears for the security of the Suez Canal led to the British occupation of Egypt, which, in turn, prompted France to annex large portions of West Africa so as to prevent the British from achieving cross-continental domination. Franco-British rivalry spiraled across the African interior, a situation that Bismarck was not slow to exploit. In this fracas, the strategic priorities that the contending parties displayed were not consistent with economic motivations. For instance, in order to keep the French out of Egypt, Lord Salisbury sacrificed West Africa, whose commercial potential was considerable, in favor of securing the Nile Valley, whose light soil was largely unproductive. Robinson and Gallagher concluded that the European powers had scrambled *in* rather than *for* Africa, their primary concern being to deny each other rather than aggrandize

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non-European, and two European components. From Europe stemmed the economic drive to integrate newly colonised regions and ancient agrarian empires into the industrial economy, as markets and investments. From Europe also sprang the strategic imperative to secure them against rivals in world power politics. As the stock-in-trade of the old masters, these may be taken for granted, although of course they were indispensible to the process. Their role however has been exaggerated. They did not in themselves necessitate empire . . . There was nothing intrinsically imperialistic about foreign investment or great power rivalry." Ronald Robinson, "Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration" (1972), rpt. in Wm. Roger Louis, ed., *Imperialism—The Robinson and Gallagher Controversy* (New York, 1976), 128–51, quote p. 130.

[45] D. K. Fieldhouse significantly qualified Robinson and Gallagher's understatement of economic factors. See *The Theory of Capitalist Imperialism* (New York, 1967); and *Economics and Empire, 1830–1914* (London, 1973).

[46] The archives had only recently become available under the fifty-year rule.

[47] Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, "The Partition of Africa" (1962), rpt. in Louis, *Imperialism*, quote p. 117.

[48] Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *Economic History Review* 6 (1953): 13. This much-cited article launched their theory.

[49] In Robinson's memorable phrase, the white settler was the "ideal prefabricated collaborator" ("Non-European Foundations," 134).



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themselves. Once they had acquired their African possessions, however, they were obliged to make them pay their way. Hence trade followed the flag.[50]

Robinson and Gallagher's scheme, which they presented in some detail, attracted criticism on empirical and even documentary grounds.[51] For contemporary purposes, however, it is more revealing to consider its implications for subsequent scholarly alignments than to rehearse what are now ageing controversies. For instance, its emphasis on the significance of local collaborators was consistent not only with Baran's, Frank's, and Fanon's analyses of the role of *comprador* elites but also with Benedict Anderson's and Partha Chatterjee's more recent critiques of the derivativeness of colonial-nationalist discourse.[52] In this light, it is notable that Robinson and Gallagher's reversal of Eurocentrism, congenial as it now seems to postcolonialist sensibilities, should have been welcomed in conservative circles as providing a refutation of Marxism. Whether or not the theory did offer a challenge to Marxism is, however, another question. As Eric Stokes pointed out nearly quarter of a century ago, Lenin's definition of imperialism as dating from the point at which the capitalist powers had finally divided the world up between them is hardly affected by Robinson and Gallagher's thesis.[53] Indeed, when it is recalled that they were not denying either intra-European or economic factors but (ostensibly at least) were merely arguing about relative emphases, it is surprising how little they were actually saying. After all, no self-respecting Marxist dialectician would deny the relative determinacy of a wide range of factors.[54]

[50] See, in particular, Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (with A. Denny) (London, 1961); and "Partition of Africa." Numerous accounts of their theory have been published. The following are clear and reliable: A. E. Atmore, "The Extra-European Foundations of British Imperialism: Towards a Reassessment," in Eldridge, *British Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*, 106–25; D. K. Fieldhouse, "Imperialism: An Historiographical Revision," *Economic History Review* 14 (1961): 187–209; Eric Stokes, "Imperialism and the Scramble for Africa: The New View" (1963), rpt. in Louis, *Imperialism*, 173–95. See also the articles in Andrew N. Porter and R. F. Holland, eds., *Theory and Practice in the History of European Expansion Overseas: Essays in Honour of Ronald Robinson* (London, 1988).

[51] For instance, C. W. Newbury and A. S. Kanya-Forstner contended that French policy in Africa had already shifted before British activities in Egypt could have occasioned the crisis that Robinson and Gallagher attributed to them. See "French Policy and the Origins of the Scramble for West Africa," *Journal of African History* 10 (1969): 253–76. See also A. Adu Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism* (Baltimore, Md., 1987), esp. 28–57. Cain and Hopkins stressed how the post-1870 disparity between Britain's relative industrial weakness and the continuing financial strength of the City of London prompted a drive for new colonial markets. See Peter J. Cain and Anthony G. Hopkins, "Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas, II: New Imperialism, 1850–1945," *Economic History Review* 40 (1987): 1–26; and *British Imperialism*, 181–99. Newbury, "Victorians, Republicans, and the Partition of West Africa," *Journal of African History* 3 (1962): 493–501, also asserted that French ministerial papers for the period made no connection between West Africa and Egypt. For a general survey, see John M. MacKenzie, *The Partition of Africa 1880–1900 and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1983).

[52] Though their analyses are subtler, in that, by stressing the European provenance of the models of nationhood made available to colonial nationalists, they avoided problematizing the bona fides of committed nationalists. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983); Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (London, 1986); and *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J., 1993).

[53] Stokes, "Imperialism and the Scramble for Africa," 189.

[54] Various scholars have criticized Robinson and Gallagher on the grounds that their distinction between the political and the economic does not withstand scrutiny. See, for instance, Geoffrey Barraclough, *An Introduction to Contemporary History* (1964; Middlesex, 1967), 58; Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century 1815–1914* (London, 1976), 373; Robin Law, "Imperialism and Partition,"



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In view of its bearing on contemporary debates over postcolonialism, Robinson and Gallagher's emphasis on extra-European factors invites consideration. It should be noted that the enthusiasm with which some proclaimed their theory to be "Afrocentric" was misplaced.[55] The imperial interests that motivated British takeovers in Egypt and southern Africa were not internal to Africa, which merely functioned as an arena for the European powers to fight out wider imperial concerns. Moreover, Robinson and Gallagher's "collaborator" category grouped white settlers together with tribal federations, Muslim *mujahideen*, and other indigenous entities, a conflation achieved by treating those who resided in a sphere of colonial influence as undifferentiatedly belonging there.[56] In many cases, white settlers were not so much collaborators as delegates. In other words, Robinson and Gallagher's departure from Europe was merely geographical. In social, economic, and political terms, their purview remained resolutely Eurocentric, a quality reflected in their fondness for colonial boys'-club rhetoric.[57]

IN POSITING FOUNDATIONS that, though external to Europe, were not internal to anywhere in particular but were, rather, empire-wide and systemic, Robinson and Gallagher's theory begged the basic question of globalization: how are we to conceive of a system that lacks exteriority? This question grows ever more insistent in a decentered era that we might term virtual imperialism, when radically de-territorialized forms of capital flash around the globe at fiber-optic speed, seeking out low wages, tax and tariff advantages, currency disparities, and innumerable other opportunities that presuppose the very nation-state boundaries that their exploitation transcends. Although it would be unrealistic to deny the profound impact of cyberspace and satellite communications, we should resist the techno-

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*Journal of African History* 24 (1983): 101–04; John Lonsdale, "The European Scramble and Conquest in African History," in Roland Oliver and G. N. Sanderson, eds., *The Cambridge History of Africa 1860–1905*, vol. 6 (Cambridge, 1985), 694. A number of historians both Western and African have argued that the scramble for Africa resulted from an interplay between African and European factors. See Cain and Hopkins, "Gentlemanly Capitalism"; Ian Phimister, "Africa Partitioned," *Review* (Fernand Braudel Center) 18 (1995): 355–81; G. N. Uzoigwe, "European Partition and the Conquest of Africa," in A. Adu Boahan, ed., *Africa under Colonial Domination 1880–1935*, UNESCO General History of Africa, vol. 7 (London, 1985), 19–44.

[55] For example, A. S. Kanya-Forstner judged their article "The Partition of Africa" to be "the most Afrocentric interpretation ever advanced." See "A' Final Comment on the Value of Robinson and Gallagher," in Louis, *Imperialism*, 231. In Phimister's less generous assessment, Gallagher and Robinson "succeeded in combining anti-Marxist prejudice with the appearance of Africanist [*sic*] agency"; Phimister, "Africa Partitioned," 356. For a review of some subaltern theories of imperialism up to 1972 (but not Roy's), see Thomas Hodgkin, "Some African and Third World Theories of Imperialism," in Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe, eds., *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism* (London, 1972), 93–116.

[56] In contrast to "indigenes oscillating between collaboration and conflict," John Benyon has emphasized the significance of the proconsular "man on the spot." Benyon, "Overlords of Empire? British 'Proconsular Imperialism' in Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 19 (1991): 164–202.

[57] Consider one example from scores: "the starveling colony of the Congo, the theocracies around Tchad, the petty Muslim oligarchies of Ubanghi-Shari, the wanderers in the marshes of the Bahr al-Ghazal, the Coptic state of Ethiopia, the stone-age men living around the sand-bank at Fashoda"; Robinson and Gallagher, "Partition of Africa," 107. A reading of their individual publications would suggest that this regrettable tendency was principally encouraged by Robinson.



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logical determinism that credits them with effecting a wholesale historical rupture. Throughout the twentieth century, imperialism has been theorized as a global category cross-cut by the discontinuously intersecting dimensions of class, nation, race, and, more recently, gender. Moreover, Lenin's dating of imperialism from the end of the nineteenth century has by no means stood unchallenged, with writers such as Eric Wolf stressing the global significance of the late eighteenth century (the Industrial Revolution), ones such as Immanuel Wallerstein and Samir Amin stressing the late fifteenth century (Columbus) and the renovated Frank plumping (at the last count) for 2,500 B.C.[58] The choice of late fifteenth, late eighteenth, or late nineteenth century correlates, of course, with the emergence of mercantile, industrial, and monopoly/finance forms of capital respectively. Whichever one prefers, the point is that globality is not merely a postmodern condition.

A world system dating from the end of the fifteenth century had been prefigured in dependency theory, in which capitalism had rapidly and contagiously converted undevelopment into underdevelopment—for instance, in the Latin American case, had converted Amerindian economies into dependencies whose exploitation was subsequently to prove indispensible to the development of, first, Iberian (mercantile), then British (industrial), and, most recently, U.S. (monopoly/finance) capitalism. This scheme involved spatial and historical considerations that conflicted with the abstract concept of mode of production as theorized in the Marxist tradition. In particular, they were inconsistent with the definition of capitalism as being constituted on the basis of wage (that is, commodified) labor. The issue is similar to that noted in relation to Althusser: actual social formations do not manifest as pure theoretical types. In the case of world-systems theory, though, heterogeneity was (is) not conceived as obtaining *between* different modes of production as they were articulated together. Rather, it is conceived as obtaining *within* a single capitalist world-system. To cite two instances favored by Wallerstein, capitalism in urban northwestern Europe required as a concomitant condition of its development non-wage systems in eastern European wheat production (the so-called "second serfdom") and in American plantations.[59] Empirically, such considerations had been familiar to Marx.[60] As an inherent (as opposed to incidental) feature of capitalist expansion, however, non-wage labor lacked the flexible capacity for surplus production that "free" alienated labor alone enabled.[61] On the basis of this

[58] Samir Amin, *Accumulation on a World Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment*, Brian Pearce, trans. (New York, 1974); and *Imperialism and Unequal Development* (New York, 1977); Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System* (New York, 1974–89). For André Gunder Frank, see "A Theoretical Introduction to 5,000 Years of World System History," *Review* (Fernand Braudel Center) 13 (1990): 155–248. On page 185, Frank states that "in his self-designated Marxist book, *Europe and the People Without History*, Eric Wolf (1982) takes a giant theoretical step backward by dating the beginning of the world capitalist system in 1800." For an account that breaks the barrier of the fifteenth century without going as far back as Frank would have us go, see Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York, 1989).

[59] Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, Vol. 1: *Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1974), 301–05; Vol. 2: *Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600–1750* (New York, 1980), 137–38, 174–75.

[60] "The veiled slavery of the wage-workers in Europe needed, for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the new world," Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1954), 711.

[61] To simplify a complex set of considerations, the proportion of the working day that labor takes up in ensuring its own reproduction is reducible by improvements to the efficiency of the means of production, which improvements require the reinvestment of accumulated surplus, one of the



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and related questions, world-systems theory was driven by the force of its own logic to depart from orthodox Marxism to the extent of arguing that world capitalism had been shaped by the development of systems of distribution and accumulation as much as by the system of production.[62]

Defining capitalism as "the full development and economic predominance of market trade" and a world economy as "a single division of labor but multiple polities and cultures," Wallerstein held that the two were "obverse sides of the same coin," different ways of representing the same indivisible phenomenon, the capitalist world-economy.[63] On this basis, the unit of analysis ultimately becomes the world itself,[64] a level at which there is no separating internal from external factors, as in Robinson and Gallagher, since all factors are internal to the system. For Wallerstein, nation-states, which are crucial to the unequal exchanges whereby center ("core"), periphery, and "semi-periphery" relations are constituted, are cut across by the axial division of labor. Although the regional distribution of wealth and power shifts over time, the *dependencia*-style linkage between development at the core and underdevelopment in the periphery (uneven development) remains integral to the system and persists through alternating periods of growth and contraction.[65] The problem with taking the world as the unit of analysis is, of course, the dispersal of agency that almost inevitably follows. Lacking a stable location, "the core" is hard to track down and threatens to degenerate into a reified abstraction. This tendency is exaggerated in globalization theory, where the global system becomes so decentered that it can figure as a kind of disenchanted Gaia that looks for all the world like a hidden hand.[66]

Defined as a single division of labor with multiple polities, a world system need not, however, cover the whole globe. Nor need it be capitalist. Developing this aspect of the theory, Samir Amin has contended that the notion of a universal

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hallmarks of capitalist development. See Marx's discussion of relative surplus value and the intensification of labor, *Capital*, 1: 380–92.

[62] Frank goes further: "I vote for replacing the focus on mode of production with a focus on the modes of accumulation in the world system"; "Theoretical Introduction to 5,000 Years," 177.

[63] Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis" (1974), rpt. in Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World-Economy* (New York, 1979), 6.

[64] In this regard, histories of the world (e.g., Arnold Toynbee, Charles Tilly) should be distinguished from world-histories (e.g., Fernand Braudel, Christopher Chase-Dunn). To exemplify the latter, it seems fittingly ecumenical to cite the sentence with which the anthropologist Eric Wolf introduced his magisterial *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982), 3: "The central assertion of this book is that the world of humankind constitutes a manifold, a totality of interconnected processes, and inquiries that disassemble this totality into bits and then fail to reassemble it falsify reality."

[65] Extending Wallerstein, Christopher Chase-Dunn has argued that military/political competition between states is as fundamental to the capitalist world-system as economic competition over markets. See Chase-Dunn, *Global Formation: Structures of the World-Economy* (Oxford, 1989). I cannot do justice here to the many modifications and elaborations that Wallerstein and others have added to the basic theory. For a good recent account of the current state of play in world-systems theory (one that evinces a promising sensitivity to the approach's shortcomings insofar as cultural issues are concerned), see W. G. Martin, "The World-Systems Perspective in Perspective: Assessing the Attempt to Move Beyond Nineteenth-Century Eurocentric Conceptions," *Review* (Fernand Braudel Center) 17 (1994): 145–85. See also Peter Worsley, "Models of the Modern World System," *Theory, Culture and Society* 7 (1990): 83–96.

[66] For Gaia, see Brett Fairbairn, "History from the Ecological Perspective," *AHR* 99 (October 1994): 1205.



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history originating in European capitalism's unprecedented unification of the globe is misleading and Eurocentric.[67] Prior to the sixteenth century, groups of societies were linked by trade into regional and perhaps world systems. Of a number of proto-capitalist regional systems (Indian, Arab-Islamic or Mediterranean, Chinese, barbarian-Christian), all operating on a tributary basis (power was the source of wealth), barbarian Christendom was distinguished by its relative lack of administrative centralization.[68] In combination with the colonization of the Americas, this produced wage-labor based European capitalism (wealth became the source of power), which, though a qualitatively novel phenomenon, established itself on proto-capitalist foundations that were not unique to Europe. Once European capitalism had emerged, however, it stifled further development on the part of the other proto-capitalist systems.

Amin's analysis combines Marxist rigor in relation to wage labor with the postcolonial sensibility of an Egyptian scholar based in Paris. Compared to the dependency/world-systems tradition as a whole, his theory is refreshingly attuned to cultural and ideological questions, situating the discursive politics of the Western academy (as in the critique of Eurocentrism) in the context of the historical development of world systems. Observing that the philosophico-religious movements that culminated Antiquity and inaugurated universal history (Hellenism, Oriental Christianity, Islam, Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, Buddhism) emerged in concert with the consolidation of the great tributary societies, Amin locates the break between Antiquity and the Middle Ages, not, as the Eurocentric scheme of things would have it, at the end of the Roman Empire in the West but from the time of Alexander's unification of the Hellenic East. ("The choice of the conventional division at the end of the Roman Empire betrays a deeply rooted preconception that the Christian era marks a qualitative decisive break in world history, when in fact it does not."[69])

AT FIRST SIGHT, AMIN'S MARXIST BLENDING of cultural and material factors might seem to distinguish his approach from critiques of Eurocentrism that have been couched in the idiom of discourse analysis. Before dismissing poststructuralism as an idealist perspective that overlooks the material consequences of the international division of labor, however, we should recall that Marx himself was unfailingly attentive to questions of ideology and consciousness. Analogously, the fact that Michel Foucault appropriated the term "discourse" from linguistics should not lead us to forget that, in his hands, the concept encompassed institutional configurations

[67] A comparable polemic by a geographer recently attracted a withering *AHR* review. See J. M. Blant, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York, 1993), compare Dane Kennedy in *AHR* 101 (February 1996): 148–49.

[68] Samir Amin, *Class and Nation, Historically and in the Current Crisis*, Susan Kaplow, trans. (New York, 1980).

[69] Samir Amin, *Eurocentrism*, Russell Moore, trans. (New York, 1989), 58. It is instructive to compare Amin with Marshall Hodgson: "In sum, the whole Afro-Eurasian Oikumene was the stage on which was played all civilized history, including that of Islamicate civilization, and this stage was set largely by the contrasts and interrelations among the great regional cultural complexes"; Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, Vol. 1: *The Classical Age of Islam* (Chicago, 1977), 114.



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as solid as the prison or the asylum. (As practices go, few can be more material than architecture.) Despite this, postcolonial writing has too often excluded historical, economic, and material factors. In terms of the second of our guiding oppositions, it is fair to state that, with the advent of poststructuralist methods, the dominant focus in scholarly discussions of imperialism shifted dramatically from material to representational phenomena. While it is easy enough to lament this development, as many have,[70] it should be noted that the introduction of a Saussurian concern with the operation of difference within fields of signification has produced an illuminating discussion of race, an issue that, bizarre as it may seem, had largely been left uninterrogated in traditional accounts of imperialism.[71] Thus it is worth considering the historical conditions under which issues of race and representation should have come to acquire a hold on scholarly debates.

One of the major determinants of contemporary global discourse is the significant (albeit limited) extent to which imperialism has been de-territorialized. This is, of course, an extremely complex and still emergent phenomenon. All the same, it is increasingly apparent that the escalating volume, speed, and intensity with which capital, information, commodities, technologies, and people move about the globe constitutes a situation that confounds stable categories of class and location, necessitating more labile, situational, and opportunistic modes of analysis than the repertoire of oppositional modernism makes available.[72] As imperialism came

[70] The charge that postcolonial criticism understates the materiality of imperialism and rarefies or aestheticizes oppression is a fairly common one. It is carefully put in Benita Parry, "Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse," *Oxford Literary Review* 9 (1987): 27–58. See also Anne McClintock, "The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term 'Post-Colonialism,'" *Social Text* 31–32 (1992): 84–98, revised as the conclusion to her *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York, 1995); Elazar Barkan, "Post-Anti-Colonial Histories: Representing the Other in Imperial Britain," *Journal of British Studies* 33 (1994): 180–202; Ella Shohat, "Notes on the 'Post-Colonial,'" *Social Text* 31–32 (1992): 99–113; Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London, 1992); and "The Politics of Literary Postcoloniality," *Race and Class* 36 (1994): 1–20. Anyone who has ever wished that he or she was Aijaz Ahmad might be glad not to be after reading Parry's measured and deadly response to Ahmad's *In Theory*, a sting that is all the crueler for Parry's own well-known reservations concerning Ahmad's targets. See Benita Parry's review in *History Workshop Journal* 36 (1993): 232–42.

[71] Phillip Darby and Christopher Fyfe have both made this point. See Darby, *Three Faces of Imperialism: British and American Approaches to Africa and Asia* (New Haven, Conn., 1987), 84–87; and Fyfe, "Race, Empire and the Historians," *Race and Class* 33, no. 4 (1992): 15–30.

[72] Such modes of analysis should accommodate—and, perhaps, be informed by—identitarian and social-movement politics, as distinct from, but not necessarily opposed to, traditional "organized" politics. I agree with Prasenjit Duara, though, that social movements need to move beyond the "politics of the wronged" to develop understandings of the historical conditions of their own emergence. See Duara, "The Displacement of Tension to the Tension of Displacement," *Radical History Review* 57 (1993): 60–64. A collection that offers a promising start in this direction is Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez, eds., *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy* (Boulder, Colo., 1992). See also Escobar, "Imagining a Post-Development Era? Critical Thought, Development and Social Movements," *Social Text* 31–32 (1992): 20–56; and "Reflections on 'Development': Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics in the Third World," *Futures* 24, no. 5 (1992): 411–36; compare Samir Amin, Giovanni Arrighi, André Gunder Frank, and Immanuel Wallerstein, eds., *Transforming the Revolution: Social Movements and the World-System* (New York, 1990). A comprehensive and accessible introduction to globalization theory is Frederick Buell's *National Culture and the New Global System* (Baltimore, Md., 1994). This endorsement should not be taken to extend to Buell's comments (252–54) on my "On Being Woken Up: The Dreamtime in Anthropology and in Australian Settler Culture," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 33 (1991): 197–224, though this is not the place to argue the point, but see Patrick Wolfe, "Should the Subaltern Dream? 'Australian Aborigines' and the Problem of Ethnographic Ventriloquism," in S. Humphreys, ed., *Cultures of Scholarship* (Ann Arbor, Mich., forthcoming 1997), p. 90, n. 50. An entertaining overview that



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home to roost in the form of labor, refugee, and other migrations, the metropolis followed in the demographic footsteps of the periphery, with major Western cities taking on the creolized, multi-ethnic look of a nineteenth-century colonial center.[73] Whereas, in traditional theories of imperialism, race had been redundant as an index of domination when that domination was most obviously constituted by spatial separation, in the post-imperial city the reverse has come to apply. Downtown, home addresses are not the main issue—people change neighborhoods more easily than they change races.

Space is not the only material casualty. Marxism's notorious color blindness is symptomatic of economic thinking as a whole, which simply lacks the categories to specify racial, ethnic, or cultural differences. When it comes to difference, the sovereign paradigm is phonology, which is exclusively given over to the refinement of discriminations. In poststructuralist hands, then, domination became a kind of language, with race figuring as an aestheticized construct that belied the physicality of its conventional signs. As we shall see, though, this did not need to be the case and has not always been the case. In turning to the controversial topic of postcolonialism, therefore, my argument is very simple. As noted at the outset, the distinction between the discursive and the instrumental is a false one; representations dialectically inform the (mis)understandings that permeate practical activity. Postcolonial theory offers suggestive ways for historians to open up some of the discursive and ideological dimensions of the complex field of imperialism, but this should not be allowed to suppress other dimensions.[74] Our goal should be a unified historical field.

The linkage of Marx and Foucault in this context is not accidental. Though appealing to kindred political instincts, their epistemologies are axiomatically incompatible. A consequence has been an uneasy division of radical loyalties in the Western academy. Within Europe, the circumstances of the late 1960s (in particular, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the events of May 1968) undid the revolutionary credentials of a dour master-narrative of labor and class. In the Third World, on the other hand, Marxism's role in decolonization—and, above all, the

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succinctly communicates a good feel for the discourse as a whole is Simon During, "Post-Colonialism," in K. K. Ruthven, ed., *Beyond the Disciplines* (Canberra, 1992), 88–100. Seminal articles in globalization theory include Roland Robertson, "Mapping the Global Condition: Globalization as the Central Concept," *Theory, Culture and Society* 7 (1990): 15–30; and Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Public Culture* 2 (1990): 1–24. A lively critique of traditional Marxism's incapacity to escape its own entrapment within the structuring logic of global capitalism is Arif Dirlik, *After the Revolution: Waking to Global Capitalism* (Hanover, N.H., 1994).

[73] "[T]he culture, society and space of early twentieth century Calcutta or Singapore pre-figured the future in a much more accurate way than did that of London or New York. 'Modernity' was not born in Paris but rather in Rio"; Anthony D. King, "Introduction," King, ed., *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1991), 8.

[74] Thus I concur with the attitude recommended by Dane Kennedy, "Imperial History and Post-Colonial Theory," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 24 (1996): 345–63. I also agree with Kennedy that postcolonialism's promise need not warrant impenetrable terminology: "Let us agree that the non-Western world remains in thrall to the discursive system of the West, to the system that Said identifies as Orientalism. How do the post-colonial theorists propose to liberate these hostages? By writing in a manner that is utterly inaccessible to most of them? By writing as the acolytes of Western theorists? By writing to mainly Western audiences from mainly Western academies about mainly Western literature? By writing? [!]" (p. 350).



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triumph of the Viet Cong—gave it continuing vitality in oppositional discourse. Unlike many of their Western counterparts, therefore, Third World intellectuals who embraced poststructuralism were unlikely to see this as requiring them to renounce Marxism. This was the case even though most of those involved were based in the West.[75] Rather than viewing the incompatibility between Marxism and poststructuralism as necessitating a choice between them, diasporan postcolonialism has derived much of its disruptive energy from a strategically provisional juggling of the two.[76] Edward W. Said's *Orientalism* (which, along with Fanon, enjoys ironically foundational status in postcolonialism[77]) is a case in point. A prefatory quotation from *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* dramatizes Marx's own complicity in Orientalism: "They cannot represent themselves; they must be represented." Yet no sooner has the introduction gotten under way than Foucault's concept of discourse is yoked to Antonio Gramsci's thoroughly Marxist concept of hegemony, as if the problem of the humanist subject did not present an

[75] The diasporan status of many (but by no means all—let us be fairer to Partha Chatterjee, Shahid Amin, Gyan Pandey, *et al.*) of these intellectuals has made them a soft target for critics such as Aijaz Ahmad (ex-Rutgers) and Arif Dirlik (Duke). Dirlik is wickedly effective: " 'When exactly . . . does the "post-colonial" begin?' [he quotes Shohat, and answers] . . . When Third World intellectuals have arrived in First World academe"; Dirlik, "The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism," *Critical Inquiry* 20 (1994): 328–29.

[76] Trained in Paris, Marxist to the core, Ranajit Guha prefigured this conjuncture, to which Bhabha is a notable exception, by some two decades. The conjuncture itself has been variously criticized on epistemological grounds. See, for example, Dennis Porter, "Orientalism and Its Problems," in Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, and Margaret Iversen, eds., *The Politics of Theory* (Colchester, 1983), 179–92 (in reference to Said); and Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook, "After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism, and Politics in the Third World," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34 (1992): 141–67 (in reference to Gyan Prakash). Various Western scholars have effected the same conjuncture. See, for example, Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London, 1986), 7–8. See also Florencia E. Mallon, "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," *AHR* 99 (December 1994): 1515.

[77] From the point of view of the history of ideas, an epidemiology of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (New York, 1978) could cast light on the conditions of academic receptivity. Despite its extraordinary impact, Said's thesis was by no means unprecedented. In significant ways, it had been anticipated by, among others, Maxime Rodinson, "The Western Image and Western Studies of Islam," in Joseph Schacht, with C. E. Bosworth, ed., *The Legacy of Islam*, 2d edn. (Oxford, 1974), 9–62; Mohammed Arkoun, "L'islam vu par le professeur G. E. V. Grunebaum," *Arabica* 11 (1964): 113–26; and Hichem Djait, *L'Europe et l'Islam* (Paris, 1974). More is involved here than the fact that Said's book was in English or that it employed French theory. Consider, for instance, the following representative passage from a critique of the "neo-orientalism of western Europe" which appeared fifteen years before *Orientalism* in a journal (*Diogenes*) that is hardly obscure or lacking international credibility (excuse the length, but it is surely striking): "According to the traditional orientalists, an essence should exist—sometimes even clearly described in metaphysical terms—which constitutes the inalienable and common basis of all the beings considered; this essence is both 'historical,' since it goes back to the dawn of history, and fundamentally a-historical, since it transfixes the being, the 'object' of study, within its inalienable and non-evolutive specificity, instead of defining it as all other beings, states, nations, peoples and cultures—as a product, a resultant of the vection of the forces operating in the field of historical evolution. Thus one ends with a typology—based on a real specificity, but detached from history, and, consequently, conceived as being intangible, essential—which makes of the studied 'object' another being, with regard to whom the studying subject is transcendent: we will have a *homo Sinicus*, a *homo Arabicus* (and, why not, a *homo Aegypticus*, etc.), a *homo Africanus*, the man—the 'normal man' it is understood—being the European man of the historical period, that is, since Greek antiquity. One sees how much, from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, the hegemonism of possessing minorities, unveiled by Marx and Engels, and the anthropocentrism dismantled by Freud are accompanied by europeocentrism in the area of human and social sciences, and more particularly in those in direct relationship with non-European peoples"; Anouar Abdel-Malek, "Orientalism in Crisis," *Diogenes* 44 (1963): 108. Malek goes on to implicate one of Said's prime targets, Louis Massignon, who had died the previous year.



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obstacle. In terms of scholarly outcomes, however, it seems safe to say that it has not presented an obstacle. Moreover, using Foucault without (say) Gramsci would have entailed an erasure of subjecthood that would have taken the colonizer out of colonialism. In this as in other respects, Said knew what he was doing.

In contrast to Marxist thought—which, with varying degrees of subtlety, posits a gap between reality and (mis)representation—Foucault's notion of discourse is constitutive (or, as he put it, "positive"). As opposed to a distortion put about by the powerful, discourse produces realities—regulating, ordering, and conditioning the possibilities of practical existence. Thus discourse is not simply ideational. Rather, it operates (though not homogeneously) through all the institutions and routines of social life. This basic distinction has crucial implications for postcolonialism.[78] In particular, it means that, when Said termed Orientalism a discourse, he meant much more than that the Western academy had disseminated misleading ideas about the Islamic Middle East: "Orientalism [is] a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient . . . [an] enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period."[79] In underwriting Orientalism, the Western academy was, in a very wide sense, *making* the Middle East, a scenario that credited certain academics with extraordinary power. This consequence flowed from Said's harnessing Foucauldian positivity to a Marxist sense of hegemonic ideology. As a result, rather than a collaborative or dialogic process, discourse became unidirectional, something that the colonizers wielded. It would be hard to imagine a more fertile flaw.

In Said's account, Orientalism has a distinctly Cartesian quality. In producing its other as an object of thought and acting upon it, colonial discourse reproduces the familiar priority of mind over matter. The final object of colonial thought, a category that emerged in concert with Europe's encompassment of the rest of the globe, was the world itself (a historical achievement that Mary Louise Pratt termed "planetary consciousness"[80]). This dioramic purview was exemplified in cartography, a "projection" that reduced *terra incognita* to order, banishing the monsters and converting space into place.[81] As Paul Carter has observed, Captain Cook did not give New Island its name because it had only recently emerged from the Pacific

[78] In view of the constraints of space, I shall use the term postcolonialism loosely to refer to a generic body of work that brings poststructuralism to bear on colonial questions.

[79] Said, *Orientalism*, 3.

[80] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York, 1992), 134.

[81] For Said's "imaginative geography," see *Orientalism*, 49–73. For suggestive discussions of the colonial functions of cartography, see, for example, Terry Cook, "A Reconstruction of the World: George R. Parkin's British Empire Map of 1893," *Cartographica* 21 (1984): 53–65; J. B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge and Power," in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge, 1988), 277–312; Graham Huggan, "Decolonizing the Map: Post-Colonialism, Post-Structuralism, and the Cartographic Connection," in Ian Adam and Helen Tiffin, eds., *Past the Last Post: Theorizing Post-Colonialism and Post-Modernism* (New York, 1991), 125–38; Chandra Mukerji, "Visual Language in Science and the Exercise of Power: The Case of Cartography in Early Modern Europe," *Studies in Visual Communication* 10 (1984): 30–45. See also Michel Foucault, "Questions on Geography," in Colin Gordon, ed., *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings of Michel Foucault, 1922–1977* (Brighton, 1980), 63–77.



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Ocean but because, as Cook noted in his journal, "it is not laid down in any chart."[82] In the discourse of discovery, to chart was to call into existence.

If mapping fixed the world for European statesmen, museology brought it home to the European masses. It also went beyond visuality, rendering the spectacle of empire a performative experience that democratically and pansensorily involved the whole body. One of the key features of museums (in common with imperial exhibitions, world fairs, and theme parks) is the fact that people walk through them; they are shaped and shaping experiences. Their immediacy makes them key sites of subject-construction, as evidenced in their openness to all classes and their incorporation into school pedagogies.[83] As various analyses have shown, the two most important discourses in which nineteenth-century museums involved their publics were those of citizenship and empire.[84] Moreover, the two were inseparable. Given evolutionary anthropology's all-encompassing phylogenetic hierarchy, any ethnological display was necessarily a statement about rank. For instance, commercial fairs that provided competing industrial nations with opportunities to demonstrate the superior efficiency of their products typically included anthropological displays that illustrated the world-historical development of the advanced technologies in question.[85] These displays conflated what we would today distinguish as archaeology and ethnography on the evolutionist premise that "their" present was "our" past—that non-European peoples differentially occupied the series of developmental niches through which European society had progressively raised itself. Thus space and time were collapsed; to travel beyond the bounds of European civilization was to travel back in time.[86] This global narrative was reenacted by the museum- or fair-going public when they moved between stands, pavilions, or model villages—a sensation that, at the larger fairs, was cemented by the provision of railways and other atmospheric devices designed to popularize imperial subjecthood.

In positioning the European spectator at the apex of universal history, "ethnological showbusiness" potently articulated nationalism and imperialism.[87] The

[82] Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay* (London, 1987), 8.

[83] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (New York, 1995), 73–74; Annie E. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture, and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven, Conn., 1994), 111.

[84] See Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions 1876–1916* (Chicago, 1984). As Curtis M. Hinsley observed of the mesas and cliff-dweller sites of the American Southwest, a kind of archaeological outdoor museum, "Constructions of both the moundbuilders and the cliffdwellers suggest that the prehistory of America was inarticulately but intimately associated with the extension of national manhood: contact with the ancients' earthly ruins would serve as a medium of lineage from American fathers to sons." Hinsley, "The Promise of the Southwest," in Hinsley and David R. Wilcox, eds., *The Southwest in the American Imagination: The Writings of Sylvester Baxter, 1881–1889* (Tucson, Ariz., 1996), 185. See also Hinsley, "The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893," in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington, D.C., 1991), 344–65.

[85] The pattern was set by the Crystal Palace exhibition of 1851, evoked in the pen picture with which George W. Stocking, Jr., opens his definitive *Victorian Anthropology* (New York, 1987), 1–6.

[86] On temporality in colonial discourse, see particularly Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York, 1983).

[87] The phrase comes from Bernth Lindfors, "Ethnological Show Business: Footlighting the Dark Continent," in Rosemarie G. Thomson, ed., *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body* (New York, 1996), 207–18. Lindfors deals with the limit of ethnological showbusiness attained in the



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performative dimension, which is crucial here, eludes traditional approaches in which ideology figures as a species of misinformation that leaves reality continuing in parallel. Thus many recent analyses have turned to Foucault for ways to express the fuller discursive production of imperial subjects.[88] This is not to say that what Tony Bennett has called the "exhibitionary complex" was semantically monolithic. Display practice is inherently polyvocal and, accordingly, contested. To cite an obvious example, a skull in a museum might speak to an ethnologist of evolutionary taxonomy and to an Aboriginal person of grave robbery.[89] Even within ostensibly unitary paradigms, as Annie Coombes has noted of British images of Africa, heterogeneity and discontinuity prevail.[90] Coombes might have mentioned Timothy Mitchell's *Colonising Egypt*, which counterposed the European metaphysic of representation informing the "world-as-exhibition" to the differently framed cultural responses of Egyptian visitors to the Egyptian exhibit. Not only did the Egyptians confront simulacra of themselves within the exhibition; once back outside in the "real" world of nineteenth-century Paris, they found themselves immersed in

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display of native peoples for the entertainment of European audiences. His subject is the infamous treatment of Saartjie Baartman, the San woman who was exhibited in London in 1810–1811 as the "Hottentot Venus," a topic he discusses without replicating the prurience of the gaze at which the display was directed (compare Sander Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies," in *Critical Inquiry* 12 [1985]: 204–42). Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett notes how, in the "tomb with a view," human exhibits, whether alive or dead, are subsumed into the economy of display objects: "The semiotic complexity of exhibits of people, particularly those of an ethnographic character, may be seen in reciprocities between exhibiting the dead as if they are alive and the living as if they are dead, reciprocities that hold as well for the art of the undertaker as they do for the art of the museum preparator"; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," in Karp and Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures*, 398. On the display of human ethnological "specimens" generally, see Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*; Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, *Ota: The Pygmy in the Zoo* (New York, 1992); Christian F. Feest, ed., *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Aachen, 1987); C. A. Vaughan, "Ogling Igorots: The Politics and Commerce of Exhibiting Cultural Otherness, 1898–1913," in Thomson, *Freakery*, 219–33.

[88] A brilliant example is Tony Bennett's argument that nineteenth-century museums performed a function complementary to Foucault's carceral prisons and asylums, which only operated in cases where the museum's (and related civic institutions') production of a docile and self-regulating citizenry failed. In the museum, the crowd is not so much subject to a controlling view from above, à la Foucauldian panopticon, as exchanging looks between themselves, a "self-monitoring system of looks" that forms "a technology of vision which served not to atomize and disperse the crowd but to regulate it, and to do so by rendering it visible to itself, by making the crowd itself the ultimate spectacle"; Bennett, *Birth of the Museum*, 68. The possibilities of this approach for analyzing the construction of racial subjectivities in contexts like that of the museum, where anthropological displays incite glances across, between, and within "races," seem to me to be considerable.

[89] Bennett, *Birth of the Museum*, 59. A great deal has been written on the vexed topic of cultural property. A recent comparative discussion is Moira G. Simpson, *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era* (New York, 1996), which, despite the title's postmodernist resonance, is a conventional (albeit effective) work of reformist advocacy. For opposing views on the issue of the repatriation of Aboriginal skeletal remains in Australia, see Ros Langford, "Our Heritage, Your Playground," *Australian Archaeology* 16 (1983): 1–6: and D. J. Mulvaney, "Past Regained, Future Lost: The Kow Swamp Pleistocene Burials," *Antiquity* 65 (1991): 12–21. The issue is addressed internationally by "concerned" archaeologists in Robert Layton, ed., *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions* (London, 1989). For an evocative account of the world view of nineteenth-century amateur collectors, museums' principal source of supply, see Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia* (Cambridge, 1996), esp. 28–54. Lynette Russell has recently made an interesting attempt to counterpose European representations of Aborigines and Aboriginal self-representations within the museum context. See her "Focusing on the Past: Visual and Textual Images of Aboriginal Australia in Museums," in Brian L. Molyneaux, *The Cultural Life of Images: Visual Representation in Archaeology* (New York, 1997), 230–48.

[90] Coombes, *Reinventing Africa*, 2–3.



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a sea of signification ("exotic" commodity displays[91] in shopping arcades, etc.) that was continuous with the self-consciously staged space of the exhibition. Reciprocally, when Europeans who had been to the exhibition visited the "real" Egypt, they found a disorderly confusion that challenged them to establish a commanding vantage point for themselves, to impose European form on the unruly oriental content.[92]

Mitchell's inclusion of the Egyptian visitors' reactions emphasizes the Eurocentrism of analyses that present the colonial encounter monologically, as a narcissistic projection of the Western will to power. As noted above, domination is a relationship. Europe became what it was through its unequal exchanges with the rest of the world; the Englishman's sweet tooth required the slave triangle.[93] Within the field of visuality itself, modernism's debt to colonial museology is well known.[94] Fifteen years after *Orientalism*, Said moved to remedy the book's one-sidedness by demonstrating that the development of European culture—right down to the genteel provincial reaches of Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*—had presupposed imperialism as a condition of its possibility.[95] Whether or not an effective antidote

[91] The question of exotification in theme parks, shopping malls, department stores, etc., is, clearly, continuous with that of museology. Walter Benjamin's arcades project remains influential. See Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990). See also Marianna Torgovnik, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* (Chicago, 1990).

[92] Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (1988; rpt. edn., Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 1–33.

[93] As Benjamin put it, "There is no document of civilization that is not at the same time a document of barbarism"; Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, Harry Zohn, trans. (New York, 1968), 256.

[94] Primitivism and surrealism are obvious cases in point. See, in particular, James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Surrealism," in Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 117–51. Raymond Roussel's *Impressions d'Afrique* (Paris, 1910), English trans. by Lindy Foord and Rayner Heppenstall (1966; London, 1983), is a classic source in this regard. See also Hal Foster, "The 'Primitive' Unconscious of Modern Art, or White Skin Black Masks," in Foster, *Recodings: Art, Spectacle, Cultural Politics* (Port Townsend, Wash., 1985), 181–207.

[95] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London, 1994). A growing number of studies have brought out metropolitan culture's indebtedness to colonialism. For instance, Vron Ware and Moira Ferguson have both argued that British feminist thought from Mary Wollstonecraft to John Stuart Mill borrowed language and imagery from the campaign to abolish slavery. See Ware, *Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism, and History* (New York, 1992); Ferguson, *Colonialism and Gender Relations from Mary Wollstonecraft to Jamaica Kincaid: East Caribbean Connections* (New York, 1993). More subversively, Antoinette Burton argues that British feminism in the late nineteenth century was deeply complicit in the ideological work of empire, particularly in orientalizing Indian womanhood. See Burton, *The Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865–1915* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994). Javed Majeed, *Ungoverned Imaginings: James Mill's "The History of British India" and Orientalism* (New York, 1992), has shown how British Orientalism around the turn of the nineteenth century was concerned with British as much as with Asiatic society, providing a means for philosophical radicalism to fashion its critique. More generally, Linda Colley has argued, in "Britishness and Otherness: An Argument," *Journal of British Studies* 31 (1992): 309–29, that possession of the empire united British society, an argument that is more fully developed in John M. MacKenzie's work on empire and British popular culture. See MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester, 1984); and the introduction to his *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester, 1986), 1–16. See also Bill Schwarz's collection, *The Expansion of England: Race, Ethnicity, and Cultural History* (New York, 1996), in particular the articles by Couze Venn, "History Lessons: Formation of Subjects, (Post)colonialism, and an Other Project," 32–60; and Catherine Hall, "Imperial Man: Edward Eyre in Australasia and the West Indies, 1833–66," 130–70. The anthropologists Richard Handler and Daniel A. Segal have cogently argued that European nationalism was a product of the colonial project. See R. Handler and D. A. Segal, "How European Is Nationalism?" *Social Analysis* 32 (1992): 1–15; and Handler and Segal, "Introduction: Nations, Colonies and Metropoles," *Social Analysis* 33 (1993): 3–8 (this whole special edition is interesting). See also Shula Marks, "History, the Nation and Empire: Sniping from the Periphery," *History Workshop Journal* 29 (1990): 111–19.



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to Eurocentrism is more Eurocentrism, Said's shift reflects the development, largely in response to *Orientalism*, of a widespread concern with Europe's reciprocal dependence on those whom it subordinated. Ideologically, the production of the European bourgeois self relied significantly on the colonized (savage or barbarian) not-self in a manner congruent with the way in which the productivity of Manchester cotton mills relied on the coercion of labor in Louisiana, India, and Egypt.[96] In one sense, this brings us back to M. N. Roy. When stressing Europe's dependence on colonialism, however, Roy had refused any dilution of its spatio-racial specificity. Colonial and metropolitan labor regimes were not homogeneous. On the contrary, colonialism had enabled the relative cossetting of a domestic aristocracy of labor, whose quiescence reflected its status as colonialism's beneficiary. Roy's view maintained the structure but reversed the value of Hobson's liberal fear "that the arts and crafts of tyranny, acquired and exercised in our unfree Empire, should be turned against our liberties at home."[97] The operative difference between Roy and Hobson was, of course, their antithetical positioning in relation to the colonial divide. The clarity of this distinction has regularly been called into question. It has already been observed, for instance, that imperialism could be conceived without reference to spatial separation. Hybridity also undermines colonial boundaries, as do synthetic analyses in which race, gender, and class figure as distinct but mutually encoding (in Anne McClintock's formula, as "neither separable from nor reducible to" each other[98]). In more direct relationship to Hobson's concern, the colonies have been seen as a laboratory in which ideological and disciplinary regimes have been developed before being brought back home to regulate metropolitan society.[99] Roy, however, remains provocative. After all, fingerprinting may have been pioneered in Bengal, but Englishmen were immeasurably more likely to be cautioned of their rights first.[100]

QUESTIONS OF BALANCE ASIDE, the fact remains that Europe and its others were co-produced in and through their unequal interactions. Discursively, this meant that, in constructing its other as an object of thought, Europe constructed itself as subject. From the Enlightenment on, this was a curiously unstated, transparent type

[96] This mutuality was expressed in the title of the 1984 Essex symposium "Europe and Its Others," whose published proceedings have had a major influence on postcolonial theorizing. See Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, and Margaret Iversen, eds., *Europe and Its Others: Proceedings of the Essex Conference on the Sociology of Literature, July 1984*, 2 vols. (Colchester, 1985). See also the same editors' *Colonial Discourse/Postcolonial Theory* (New York, 1994). Ann Laura Stoler recurrently addresses this issue in her *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, N.C., 1995).

[97] J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (New York, 1902), 160.

[98] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 361.

[99] Bernard S. Cohn has recently cited the development of fingerprinting in British India by the civil servant William Herschel. See Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), 11.

[100] To put it in Gramscian terms, the balance between civil and political hegemony (ideologically elicited consent and direct repression) shifted radically between the metropolis and the colonies. For a developed argument ("how professions of bourgeois democracy were violated in the practice of imperialism"), see Ranajit Guha, "Dominance without Hegemony and Its Historiography," *Subaltern Studies* 6 (1989): 210–309.



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of subjectivity, a universal taken-for-grantedness in relation to which difference could only constitute default. In *Writing Degree Zero*, Roland Barthes provided a model for this elusive concept, associating the first cracks in bourgeois hegemony with the emergence of a concern with style—a concern which, in conceding that writing was not simply "white," a neutral medium for the copying of reality, conceded the disruptive possibility of alternatives.[101] Like nature itself, white writing is just there[102]; its power lies in its authorlessness (hence the embarrassing egotism of some postmodernist writing). To resist this kind of power—to tackle the Mercator behind the projection—it is first of all necessary to denaturalize it, to bring out the idiosyncracy of universal categories. Thus the concerted poststructuralist assault on Reason, Progress, the Nation, the Citizen, etc.

So far as historians are concerned, this assault would seem to have reached an end of sorts in Dipesh Chakrabarty's disconcerting conclusion that Europe is the subject of history—that the very historical project itself, regardless of its contents or emphases, is inherently and inescapably Eurocentric.[103] At first sight, Chakrabarty might seem to have mistaken history for geography. After all, as should be clear by now, Europe may occupy a fixed portion of the map, but its history is ubiquitous. But this (I think) is Chakrabarty's whole point—through inscribing its creole genealogy, we begin to undo Europe's arrogation of universal subjectivity.[104] In its positive or critical aspect, therefore, his ostensibly pessimistic thesis enjoins an invigorating politics, the project of provincializing Europe. Chakrabarty's position is informed by the Subaltern Studies collective's longstanding aversion to the prosopopoeia that replaces active consciousness with prefabricated scripts rehearsing the teleological Mission of the class or institution that historical actors are deemed to represent.[105] The other side of this coin is the problematic of exteriority: what can evade European discourse, and how to recover it?[106] Hence the labor of recovering subalternity from between the lines of colonial

[101] Roland Barthes, *Writing Degree Zero*, Annette Lavers and Colin Smith, trans. (London, 1976).

[102] In Jacques Derrida's influential variation on this theme, white mythology, "an invisible design covered over in the palimpsest," deftly combines race and the metaphysics of presence: "the white man takes his own mythology, Indo-European mythology, his own *logos*, that is, the *mythos* of his idiom, for the universal form that he must still wish to call Reason"; Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy*, Alan Bass, trans. (Chicago, 1982), 213. For a sustained and very stimulating series of analyses of the racial politics of the disinterested subject of judgment in Kant (the "Subject without properties"), see David Lloyd, "Analogies of the Aesthetic: The Politics of Culture and the Limits of Materialist Aesthetics," *New Formations* 10 (1990): 109–26; "Race under Representation," *Oxford Literary Review* 13 (1991): 62–94; and (for the prehistory of the argument) "Arnold, Ferguson, Schiller: Aesthetic Culture and the Politics of Aesthetics," *Cultural Critique* 2 (1986): 137–69. Analogously, Uday Mehta, "Liberal Strategies of Exclusion," *Politics and Society* 18 (1990): 427–54; and Etienne Balibar, *Masses, Classes and Ideas* (London, 1994), 194–96, have pointed to the racial coding of liberal universalism. Exegetically, Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (New York, 1990), provides a good author-by-author account of the key postulates of some of the more prominent postcolonial thinkers.

[103] Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts?" *Representations* 37 (1992): 1–26. For a radical precedent for this perspective, see Oliver Cromwell Cox, *The Foundations of Capitalism* (New York, 1959), 19.

[104] The term creole genealogy is taken from Handler and Segal, "Introduction," 4.

[105] "What, however, the practitioners of the gentle art of prosopography have not sufficiently emphasized in their writings on Indian history, is that the 'human ants' were also thinking animals"; Ranajit Guha, *A Rule of Property for Bengal: An Essay on the Idea of Permanent Settlement* (Paris, 1963), 19.

[106] Since well before *Orientalism*, scholars writing on India have been doing forms of discourse analysis on the modernity of tradition, generally focusing on the codifications of Hindu law that were



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and nationalist discourse. Hence, too, Chatterjee's project of claiming "for us, the once-colonized, our freedom of imagination."[107]

The notion of exteriority is, of course, unsatisfactory here, since exteriority is not freestanding but is a determinate residue of interiority. Yet it is extremely difficult to find a better word. This difficulty itself illustrates the depth of the problem, which is one of the starting points of deconstruction. Subaltern discourse is not simply a mirroring negation of colonizing discourse. Hindu-Muslim communalism, for instance, is not some feudal survival, a transcendent essence that repetitively recruits human agents to frustrate postcolonial modernity. Rather, communalism is an integral component of modernity, concretely and specifically grounded in the complex modern consciences of those who participate in it. (The point recalls the distinction between undevelopment and underdevelopment.) To narrate the phenomenology of practical historical consciousness (in this case, of the subaltern), it is necessary to confound the essences and teleologies that colonial discourse ceaselessly disseminates; in Gyan Prakash's phrase, it is necessary to write "post-foundational" histories.[108]

To adopt Homi Bhabha's much-adopted terminology, the modern condition that includes but also exceeds colonialism's binomial categories can be expressed as hybridity. In Bhabha's theory, which represents a high point in the aestheticization of race, the concept of hybridity registers the (post)colonial co-production of Europe and its others, going beyond notions of colonial discourse as a unilateral projection to open up the reciprocal complexities of the colonial encounter. Hybridity confronts colonial discourse with the threat of recognition; the other is like, but only partially like, self—"almost the same but not quite/white."[109] With an unerring eye for contradiction, Bhabha repetitively points to the effort that colonial discourse was obliged to put into rehabilitating stereotypes that, though meant to be eternal, were constantly subject to historical change. In its anxious renovation of the racial essences that underpinned domination, colonial discourse betrayed a

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drawn up by Orientalists in consultation with Brahmin pandits around the turn of the nineteenth century. See, for instance, J. D. M. Derrett, "The Administration of Hindu Law by the British," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 4 (1961): 10–52; Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, "Barristers and Brahmans in India: Legal Cultures and Social Change," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 8 (1965): 24–49. With the benefit of Foucault, such studies have proliferated, though the essentialized notion of a "real" tradition that was distorted by the process of codification has proved resilient. It is certainly discernible in Bernard Cohn, "The Command of Language and the Language of Command," *Subaltern Studies* 4 (1985): 276–329. See also Lata Mani, "Contentious Traditions: The Debate on SATI in Colonial India," *Cultural Critique*, no. 7 (1987): 119–56; Ashis Nandy, "Shamans, Savages and the Wilderness: On the Audibility of Dissent and the Future of Civilizations," *Alternatives* 14 (1989): 263–77; David Ludden, "Orientalist Empiricism: Transformations of Colonial Knowledge," in Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer, eds., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia* (Philadelphia, 1993), 250–78.

[107] Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*, 13.

[108] Gyan Prakash, "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32 (1990): 383–408. Prakash has written a number of expositions of the Subaltern Studies collective's approach. See also his "Postcolonial Criticism and Indian Historiography," *Social Text* 31–32 (1992): 8–19, as well as his more recent contribution to the *AHR Forum* on subaltern studies, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," *AHR* 99 (December 1994): 1475–90.

[109] Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse" (1984), rpt. in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York, 1994), 89.



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profound ambivalence. On the one hand, it strove to domesticate—to assimilate—the native; on the other, it was undone—deauthorized, disavowed—by the partial resemblance, the "difference between being English and being Anglicized" that was thus produced.[110] Sincere or not, sly or not, imitation was a profoundly threatening form of flattery. The scornful stereotype of the Indian mimicking Englishness attested to the colonizer's fear of that which was held back in mimicry, of the recalcitrant brownness that mocked even as it mimicked. Recognizable in a brown skin, Englishness broke down.

IN ITS BASIC FORM, HYBRIDITY is, of course, a palpably material outcome of the primary subversion of the colonial divide. Wherever they have gone, male colonizers have impregnated native women.[111] This notwithstanding, issues of gender and sexuality (especially homosexuality) have until relatively recently been marginalized in scholarly discussions of imperialism.[112] Over the past decade or so, however, our understanding of the complexities of the colonial encounter has been enriched and transformed by an emergent body of work whose significance can hardly be overstated. To survey this work would require an article on its own. I shall merely indicate a few directions here.

As in so many areas, feminist scholars of imperialism have been obliged to labor the most elementary of points before being able to move on to more demanding questions. Thus they have had to remind us (or, at least, too many of us) that women were there too and that women have colonized and been colonized in different ways to men. Much of this work has been recuperative, rereading the imperial archive to disclose its female dimension.[113] White women in the colonies have emerged in all their variety, exploding the stereotypical opposition that James Buzard has characterized as "the Spinster Abroad and the Memsahib, the eccentric

[110] Bhahba, "Of Mimicry and Man," 89–90.

[111] The anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler's treatment of this and related topics is enlightening. See her "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th-Century Colonial Cultures," *American Ethnologist* 16 (1990): 634–60; "Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender, Race and Morality in Colonial Asia," in Micaela di Leonardo, ed., *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in a Postmodern Era* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 55–101; and "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34 (1992): 514–51. By contrast, despite the title and suggestive cover illustration, Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (New York, 1995), is disappointingly thin, consisting mainly of literary criticism and hardly touching on the material processes of colonialism. (Chapter 6, for instance, "White Power, White Desire: The Political Economy of Miscegenation," has no economics and, if it can be called politics, only of the most genteel variety.)

[112] Ronald Hyam regularly broaches this topic, though not in any great depth, in *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (Manchester, 1990). Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995), falls ironic victim to one of its own claims, since the repression of detailed reportage on homosexuality, even among the Amerindians of whom it was routinely and formulaically reported, repeatedly reduces the author to guesswork.

[113] This ever-growing literature is much too extensive for representative citation. Some of the many notable contributions not already mentioned include Napur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, eds., *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington, Ind., 1992); Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (London, 1989); Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1989); Margaret Strobel, *European Women and the Second Empire* (Bloomington, 1991).



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traveler and the pampered Hill Station denizen."[114] Attempts by female scholars from the West to recover Third World women's experiences from against the grain of patriarchal discourse have, however, provoked controversy. A number of scholars, mainly from the Third World, have objected that the sharing of gender does not entitle Western women to claim a sharing of experience substantial enough to transcend the colonial divide from which they themselves have historically benefited.[115] Moreover, in taking up the cudgels on behalf of brown women against brown men, Western feminists have resuscitated a stock justification for colonialism. As Gayatri Spivak and, following her, Lata Mani have argued (their common example is *sati* in British India), the championing of native women's rights provided colonial authorities with a pretext for imposing their own order on native society.[116] Who, then, can speak for subaltern women who lack access to the academy? The very existence of an academic discourse on colonial discourse attests to the hazards of ethnographic ventriloquism.[117]

Gender is not, however, restricted to women. Rather, as Joan Scott so influentially stated, it is a way of encoding power relations.[118] Following up some hints in Said's *Orientalism*,[119] a number of scholars have analyzed the inherent genderedness of the colonial project. This has been most apparent when colonialism has functioned as a discourse on land, which, in settler colonies in particular, has

[114] James Buzard, "Victorian Women and the Implications of Empire," *Victorian Studies* 36 (1993): 443.

[115] See Valerie Amos and Pratibha Parmar, "Challenging Imperial Feminisms," *Feminist Review* 17 (1984): 3–19; Chandra T. Mohanti, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses," *Feminist Review* 30 (1988): 61–88; Marnia Lazreg, "Feminism and Difference: The Perils of Writing as a Woman on Women in Algeria," *Feminist Studies* 14 (1988): 81–107; Laura E. Donaldson, *Decolonizing Feminisms: Race, Gender and Empire Building* (London, 1992). See also Julie Stephens, "Feminist Fictions: A Critique of the Category 'Non-Western Woman' in Feminist Writings on India," *Subaltern Studies* 6 (1989): 92–125. Buzard, "Victorian Women," deals effectively with the problems posed for some feminist accounts by the fact that gender cuts across race—white women could be vigorous colonizers.

[116] An early version of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's well-known paper is "Can the Subaltern Speak? Speculations on Widow-Sacrifice," *Wedge* 7–8 (1985): 120–30. Mani, "Contentious Traditions." See also Anand Young, "Whose Sati? Widow-Burning in Early Nineteenth-Century India," in Cheryl Johnson-Odim and Margaret Strobel, eds., *Expanding the Boundaries of Women's History* (Bloomington, Ind., 1992), 74–98; Ania Loomba, "Dead Women Tell No Tales: Issues of Female Subjectivity, Subaltern Agency and Tradition in Colonial and Post-Colonial Writings on Widow Immolation in India," *History Workshop Journal* 36 (1993): 209–27. For a comparable and superbly constructed analysis of the ways in which discourse on the issue of female genital mutilation in between-the-wars Kenya cut across the colonial divide, see Susan Pedersen, "National Bodies, Unspeakable Acts: The Sexual Politics of Colonial Policy-making," *Journal of Modern History* 63 (1991): 647–80.

[117] "The subaltern cannot speak. There is no virtue in global laundry lists with 'woman' as a pious item. Representation has not withered away. The female intellectual as intellectual has a circumscribed task which she must not disown with a flourish"; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds., *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Chicago, 1988), 308 (from which article the brown women/brown men line is also adapted). Though acknowledging the problems, others have adopted more pragmatic approaches. See, for example, two of the contributions to the *AHR Forum* on subaltern studies; Cooper, "Conflict and Connection," 1528–30; Mallon, "Promise and Dilemma," 1507. The phrase "ethnographic ventriloquism" comes from my "Should the Subaltern Dream? 'Australian Aborigines' and the Problem of Ethnographic Ventriloquism."

[118] Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *AHR* 91 (December 1986): 1053–75, rpt. in her *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), 28–52. A powerful forerunner to this style of analysis was the anthropologist Sherry Ortner's "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" in Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds., *Woman, Culture and Society* (Stanford, Calif., 1984), 67–87.

[119] See, for instance, Said, *Orientalism*, 6.



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figured as waiting to be penetrated, opened up, made fertile, and so on ("Guiana . . . ," as Walter Raleigh remarked, "hath yet her maydenhead").[120] As gender provides a model and precedent for the dominated, so, by the same logic, does it construct the dominator as male—or, in Catherine Hall's more complete formulation, which restores race as well as gender to the account, as white, male, and middle class.[121]

To begin to evoke the multifaceted fullness of imperialism, then, we not only have to bring it home, wherever that may be. We also have to trace its complex discursive intersections—not just around the triptych of race, class, and gender but, as noted, around (homo)sexualities and, it seems to me, the psychology of violence. Synecdoche—a cat massacre perhaps, or a Balinese cockfight—would seem to be favored. In her remarkable study of imperialism, which encompasses all these intersections, McClintock homes in on a filthy leather wrist-strap worn defiantly by Hannah Cullwick, working-class wife, servant, and cross-dressing partner in transgressive fantasy to a prominent Victorian lawyer. Cullwick's "slave-band," the imperial leather of McClintock's book title, functions as a fetish, a nodal point for the intersection of imperialist discourses: "The cross-cultural experiences marked by the fetish fuse in the slave-band: in the triangular relations among slavery as the basis of mercantile capitalism; wage labor as the basis of industrial capitalism; and domestic labor as the basis of patriarchy."[122]

A DIMENSION THAT DOES NOT SEEM TO CONVERGE on Cullwick's slave-band is that of territory, a precondition for any system of production. As a historian of European/indigenous relations in Australia, I find that, suggestive though recent writing on imperialism can be, much of it is irreducibly heterogeneous with Australian conditions, for the simple reason that, unlike Bhabha's India (though like Said's Palestine), Australia is a settler colony. For all the homage paid to difference, postcolonial theory in particular has largely failed to accommodate such basic structural distinctions.[123] To register them, and to trace their discursive ramifications, I suggest that Althusser provided a starting point, one that could be greatly

[120] See, for example, Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery," *Representations* 33 (1991): 1–41, quote p. 12. The well-known feminization of the Bengali was class-specific, applying to the Anglicized clerical *babu* but not, say, to Muslim plantation labor in East Bengal. Compare Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester, 1995). It is hard to resist the suspicion that contemporary resentment of clever-clever postcolonialist Bengalis in the Western academy is cognate with this deeply imperialist trope. For an insightful analysis of the gendering of the American colonial landscape, see Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphors as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1975); and *The Land before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630–1860* (Chapel Hill, 1984). See also Ella Shohat, "Gender and the Culture of Empire: Toward a Feminist Ethnography of the Cinema," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 13, nos. i-iii (1991): 45–84. An early (but still suggestive) example of gender analysis is Clare Le Corbeiller, "Miss America and Her Sisters: Personifications of the Four Parts of the World," *Bulletin* (Metropolitan Museum of Art) 19 (1961): 209–23.

[121] Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge, 1992).

[122] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 151.

[123] A recent, though hardly postcolonial, exception is Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis, eds., *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class* (London, 1995). See also



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enhanced by bringing poststructuralist rigor to bear on materialist approaches to ideology. (Neo)structurally, the concept of social formation enables us to specify material conditions that favor the currency of particular colonial discourses. For instance, the narrative of the dying race, which harmonizes with the project of removing natives from the land, is congenial to settler colonization. It is incompatible with franchise colonization, where native labor is at a premium. Though black, therefore, Australian Aborigines have discursively figured as dying rather than as being endowed with a natural sense of rhythm. On the same basis, the colonization of Native Americans has been structurally distinct from the colonization of African Americans. In the main, Native (North) Americans were cleared from their land rather than exploited for their labor, their place being taken by displaced Africans, who provided labor to be mixed with the expropriated land, their own homelands having yet to become objects of colonial desire. Thus the two colonial relationships were (are) fundamentally opposed. The ramifications of this distinction extend to the present, particularly insofar as they affect the different constructions of "miscegenation" that have been applied to the two communities.[124] Briefly, while the "one-drop rule" has meant that the category "black" can withstand unlimited admixture, the category "red" has been highly vulnerable to dilution.[125] This is consistent with a situation in which, while black labor was commodified (so that white plantation owners fathered black children), red labor was not even acknowledged (so that white fathers generated "half-breeds" whose indigeneity was compromised). In Australia, the structural counterparts to African-American slaves were white convicts, which has meant that racial coding and questions of emanci-

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Donald Denoon, *Settler Capitalism: The Dynamics of Dependent Development in the Southern Hemisphere* (Oxford, 1983).

[124] In other colonial situations, where native (as opposed to imported) labor is at a premium, people with combined ancestry can be counted as settler-become-native, as in the case of Latin American *mestizaje*. See, for example, Roger Bartra, *The Cage of Melancholy: Identity and Metamorphosis in the Mexican Character*, Christopher J. Hall, trans. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992); Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds., *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Princeton, N.J., 1987): Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston, 1967): Mörner, ed., *Race and Class in Latin America* (New York, 1970); Jose Klor de Alva, "The Postcolonization of the (Latin) American Experience: A Reconsideration of 'Colonialism,' 'Postcolonialism' and 'Mestizaje,'" in Gyan Prakash, ed., *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (Princeton, 1995), 241–75, or something separate from either native or settler, as in Colette Guillaumin's sharp specification of South African "coloreds" as a "class formed by people belonging in fact to one *and* the other group [which] is declared to belong to neither one nor the other but to itself"; "Race and Nature: The System of Marks; The Idea of a Natural Group and Social Relationships," *Feminist Issues* 8, no. ii (1988): 25–43.

[125] The most comprehensive and systematic account of the one-drop rule is F. James David, *Who Is Black? One Nation's Definition* (University Park, Pa., 1991). See also Virginia R. Dominguez, *White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1994); Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South since Emancipation* (New York, 1984). For official classifications of Native Americans, see M. A. Jaimes, "Federal Indian Identification Policy: A Usurpation of Indigenous Sovereignty in North America," in Fremont J. Lyden and Lyman H. Legters, eds., *Native Americans and Public Policy* (Pittsburgh, 1992), 113–35; Jack D. Forbes, *Black Africans and Native Americans: Color, Race, and Caste in the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (Oxford, 1988); Native American Consultants, Inc., *Indian Definition Study* (Contracted Pursuant to PL 95–561, Title IV, s. 1147, Submitted to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Education, Department of Education, Washington, D.C., January 1980). For a remarkable example of the contingencies of these classifications in juridico-bureaucratic practice, see James Clifford, "Identity in Mashpee," in Clifford, *Predicament of Culture*, 277–346.



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pation have operated quite differently between the two countries. Where the respective indigenous populations have been concerned, however, there are substantial similarities between the racial calculations on which official policies toward them have been predicated. Such discursive distinctions, which survive the de-territorialization of imperialism, are clearly of considerable historical significance. They only make sense in relation to the material conditions that historically shaped the different colonial relationships concerned.[126] If we wish to produce histories that tell us enough about imperialism to suggest ways of resisting it, we should start with these conditions.

[126] I have attempted a historical reconciliation of official discourses on Australian Aboriginal people on the basis of the settler-colonial relationship in my "Nation and MiscegeNation: Discursive Continuity in the Post-Mabo Era," *Social Analysis*, no. 34 (1994): 93–152. For official constructions of Aboriginality more generally, see Tom Clarke and Brian Galligan, "'Aboriginal Native' and the Institutional Construction of the Australian Citizen, 1901–48," *Australian Historical Studies* 26, no. 105 (1995): 523–43; Jeremy R. Beckett, "The Past in the Present, the Present in the Past: Constructing a National Aboriginality," in Beckett, ed., *Past and Present: The Construction of Aboriginality* (Canberra, 1988), 191–217. Gerald M. Sider has perceptively traced discursive continuities (in particular, the Indian as lone warrior/tracker) from seventeenth-century dispossessions of sedentary agriculturalists through to Native American enlistment patterns for the Vietnam War. See Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories: Race, Ethnicity and Indian Identity in the Southern United States* (New York, 1993), 177–246. In *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Cambridge, 1994), Nicholas Thomas stresses and illustrates the heterogeneity of colonialism.

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# Reviews of Books

## GENERAL

JEAN DELUMEAU. *Une histoire du paradis*. Volume 2, *Mille ans de bonheur*. Paris: Fayard. 1995. Pp. 493. 150 fr.

For three decades, Jean Delumeau has been universally recognized as one of the pioneers in the study of popular religion, without whose seminal works the field could never have flourished as it has done. In his two volumes in the "Nouvelle Clio" series, *Naissance et affirmation de la Réforme* (fifth edition, 1988) and *Le Catholicism entre Luther et Voltaire* (fourth edition, 1987), and in his remarkable collection of early essays, *Le Christianism va-t-il mourir?* (1978), Delumeau provided a sweeping vision, sympathetic understanding, and profound insight to topics in religious history too often marred by either polemic or secular reductionism.

More recently, he has turned to a series of volumes on human misfortunes (sin, fear, death, guilt) and their remedies (pardon, confession, a sense of security). As the back cover of this book proclaims, Delumeau now contines the third part of this massive effort: "his great inquiry into the dreams of happiness in the Christian West."

Imposing though the scholarship in these recent volumes may be, they are—at least from an unapologetic "Anglo-Saxon" perspective—an odd way to do history. The other ones at least had the justification of originality, but here Delumeau is treading familiar ground. The study of ideas of the millennium and their social, political, and intellectual contexts has stimulated historians since the very different but equally important works of E. J. Hobsbawm and Norman Cohn appeared in the late 1950s. Delumeau is meticulous in acknowledging the contributions not only of Hobsbawm and Cohn but of dozens of other scholars as well. The problem is that since his book attempts to survey millenarian ideas from the Old Testament to the present in something over 400 pages, the result is necessarily superficial, with comparatively little attention given either to the rich interaction of millenarian movements with the world around them or to the remarkable tenacity of the idea of the millennium as it evolved over the centuries.

Somewhat less familiar and fuller in their exploration of the contexts for millenarianism are the chapters on Portuguese, Spanish, and Latin American ideas, especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These are not balanced, however, by equal attention to English and American colonial developments. It is somewhat disturbing that in the latter chapters nearly all the footnotes refer to works at least twenty years old, thus missing the major works of people such as John F. C. Harrison and Nathan Hatch (p. 420).

In the fifth and final section of the book, Delumeau abruptly changes the format with little explanation. Instead of any pretense of a systematic treatment of millenarian ideas since the late eighteenth century as they were increasingly absorbed into secular notions of progress, he offers instead what he calls "an anthology of futurist texts" (p. 329). The selections are certainly diverse, ranging from Joseph de Maistre and G. F. W. Hegel through Edward Bellamy and William Morris to student activists in the 1968 Parisian revolution and contemporary New Age gurus. There is an oversupply of deservedly forgotten nineteenth-century French socialists, and too much attention is paid to such intellectually stagnant sects as the Jehovah's Witnesses, but in all it makes a lively and stimulating selection and is definitely the most original part of the book.

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ROSELYNE REY. *The History of Pain*. Translated by LOUISE ELLIOTT WALLACE, J. A. CADDEN, and S. W. CADDEN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. 394. $39.95.

This erudite study traces the history of Western attitudes about and explanations of pain from antiquity to the present, with a major focus on the nineteenth century. Because of its subjective nature, pain, as Roselyne Rey demonstrates, is not an easy concept to define. As with all medical constructions, the meaning and etiology of individual pain reflect the intersection of scientific theory with wider cultural assumptions. The most persistent of these was the contest over the extent to which pain was viewed as beneficial or useful to the sufferer. If ancient Epicurean and Stoic philosophers disagreed about whether one should avoid pain or bear it without complaint, medieval Christianity



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appeared to endorse a stoic approach that "viewed pain as both a form of Divine retribution, or as a sign as having been especially chosen and, as such, deserving of rewards in the hereafter" (p. 48). "Having no remedy, the Church's teachings tried to provide an acceptable meaning for pain" (p. 49). Yet religious attempts to give meaning to suffering were generally unconvincing, for, as Rey points out, individuals' experience was often so intense that sufferers historically would risk death to rid themselves of pain. By the classical age, religion ceased to dictate the behavior of physicians who saw their duty as the alleviation of their patients' pain. By the Enlightenment, like so much else, pain became secularized, but subterranean religious claims about the utility of pain resurfaced, albeit in the guise of medical discourse. Throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, competing schools of thought continued to debate the value of pain. Thus, many physicians, influenced by evolutionary assumptions, were persuaded that pain had a selective value. Rey, however, seems most sympathetic to the claims of pain surgeon René Leriche, who, in the 1930s, insisted that pain had little diagnostic or prognostic value. Pain, wrote Leriche, "reveals only a minute proportion of illness and, often, when it is one of their accompaniments, it is misleading. On the other hand, in certain chronic cases it seems to be the entire disorder which, without it, would not exist" (quoted on p. 322).

Although her subject is attitudes toward pain, Rey also opens up an alternative reading of the history of the central nervous system, which lately has centered on the discovery of hemispheric laterality. Much of Rey's discussion is, of necessity, internalist, and those unfamiliar with neuroscience will find these explorations often difficult to follow. Those familiar with the history of neuroscience and neuropathology will, on the other hand, be amply rewarded. For instance, Rey reviews, in great detail, those physiological experiments aimed at uncovering the role of the central nervous system in the transmission of pain. She shows how the discovery of the anaesthetizing qualities of nitrous oxide, morphine, and ether raised important issues about the functions of the nervous system in the transmission of pain. From this perspective, Rey reexamines the landmark studies of the central nervous system of François Magendie, Marie-Jean-Pierre Flourens, Johannes Peter Muller, Alfred Edme Vulpian, Claude Bernard, Charles-Édouard Brown-Sequard, William Gowers, Charles Sherrington, and others. Thus, her discussion of Bernard's animal experiments with the potent agent curare is employed to expose the deeper scientific cleavages over the specificity theory of pain and the operation of the nervous system itself. Although these discussions do not make for easy reading, they are a tour de force of explanation. Rethinking these classic experiments and debates from the context of what they reveal about pain provides a new perspective on an often-examined past. Inserted throughout the book, but separated from the main text, are Rey's several brief and arresting essays on issues such as the church and pain, pharmaceuticals, and the exaltations of the value of pain in France between the world wars. This English-language translation will prove useful and informative for cultural historians and essential reading for historians of neuroscience.

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JENS BARTELSON. *A Genealogy of Sovereignty*. (Cambridge Studies in International Relations, number 39.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 317. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

Jens Bartelson's "genealogy"—rather than "history"—of sovereignty is actually a study of epistemology. Asserting that the development of ideas proceeds in an intellectual environment of discontinuity, Bartelson seeks to understand "the relationship between sovereignty and knowledge" by writing history from "within" in order to achieve "recontextualization." Following Michel Foucault, he seeks to make history possible and meaningful through the connection between the past and the present. Adhering to the deconstructionist notion of discontinuity, Bartelson organizes his analysis around three permeable periods: Renaissance, classic, and modern. While he views each as "revolutionary" in its conceptual and epistemological foundations, in Bartelson's hands these revolutions always involve transition and evolution.

More unsettling and in contrast to his avowed method, his connections between past and present smack of both presentism and whiggism. Seeing the concept of sovereignty develop in episodic fits and starts, Bartelson concentrates on only that which becomes significant to present forms of sovereignty. Tidying up the past in this manner seems the worst sort of "genealogy." (While I might be able to trace my lineage to George Washington, should I prune from the family tree old Uncle Bart, hanged for his unusual methods of acquiring horses?)

Bartelson identifies three periods in the development of the idea of sovereignty. The Renaissance (which includes the later Middle Ages) focused on the state and conceived of sovereignty only in the context of Christendom and a "heterogeneous outside." The classical period sought the empirical assessment of the interests of states and looked to the locus of sovereignty within these states. In the late eighteenth century, the "order of states" erected on these perceptions was gradually replaced by an international system, a "society of states." Bartelson argues that "discourse" within each period differs, moving from the exemplary to the analytical to the historical. The modern period conceptualizes the state as a whole, "held together by an array of analogical relationships which mediates between the universal and the particular, and between the subject and the object" (p. 241). Throughout the



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book, Bartelson slides between the conceptual and the actual, between the philosophical and the political, out of his conviction that one stands in contingent relation with the other. Indeed, "history," "philosophy," and "ideology" become interchangeable in Bartelson's hands. Correlations between political reality and concepts remain hazy.

He purports to use books "carried in saddlebags" rather than resting on library shelves. Just why remains obscure. If he hopes to reveal some sort of "popular" *mentalité*, why does any assessment of readership or popular influence absent itself? Without a defense of his choices, this seems merely another presentist approach that ascribes to some earlier works a popularity then that they enjoy now. The nature of the connection between past and present becomes crucial, since deconstructionism assumes the singularity of discourses from the past and hopes to analyze such texts. Yet, as Bartelson works his way through his three ages, he refers more often to modern, secondary works than to primary materials. For example, when discussing Aegidius Romanus he relies entirely on Ernst Kantorowicz's analysis. He employs only a handful of primary works and only English translations of these. He gives Niccoló Machiavelli's dedicatory introduction to *The Prince* a strange twist by transforming the sketching of landscapes into cartography and by depicting Machiavelli's insistence on multiple perspectives as an admonition to have but one. While Bartelson gives the date of *The Prince* as 1532, Machiavelli completed the text in 1513 and the dedication by the end of 1516. Bartelson has seized on the moment of its publication, but it had circulated in manuscript much before that, perhaps even in saddlebags.

Bartelson warns his reader that "If this book proves hard reading, it is partly because the nature of its subject matter made it hard to write" (p. ix). Assuredly hard to read. The dense, sometimes impenetrable prose generates a foggy intellectual atmosphere. "I had to impute new meaning to old terms and use new terms to convey old meanings" (p. ix). Caveat lector: deconstruction ahead. For example, Bartelson depends on Jacques Derrida in defining the "parergonality" of sovereignty as "a line of demarcation, an ontological divide, or a geographical or chronological boundary . . . It is neither inside, nor outside, yet it is the condition of possibility of both" (p. 51). Quoting Derrida to clarify this, he adds that a parergon is " 'an outside which is called inside the inside to constitute it as inside' " (pp. 51–52). Bartelson's "genealogical" approach owes much to Foucault, Derrida and Nietzsche. If only the debt had been retired prior to publication.

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Carolyn Steedman. *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780–1930*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 254. $29.95.

This is an ingenious and imaginative book. In it, Carolyn Steedman has managed to bring together such disparate topics as nineteenth-century physiology and psychoanalysis with stories of children on the stage, in the street, and in literature—with Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's fictional figure of Mignon, from *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* (1795–1796), acting as the go-between. It is also a tantalizing book; the range of topics discussed means that each is given only cursory treatment. I came away more stimulated by Steedman's clever juxtaposition than convinced by thoroughgoing demonstrations.

The book falls into two parts, the first dealing with topics that might be fitted under the rubric of history of science, and the second treating those that belong to the history of childhood. In the first part, Steedman explores the "interiorised self": a self understood as internal, with its core conceptualized as the individual's "own lost past, or childhood" (p. 4). Freudian psychoanalysis, she claims, summarized and reformulated these nineteenth-century notions and gave them another name: "'the unconscious' or 'the unconscious mind'" (p. 4).

Leading up to her discussion of Sigmund Freud, Steedman's most arresting insights concern *Naturphilosophie* and cell physiology. Starting with Goethe's idealist morphology, she suggests how his scientific thinking furnished a "series of imaginative and figurative paradigms" for describing living beings (p. 50). "Things-in-themselves," Steedman argues, "things as they already were in essence, the growth of those things and their turning back to what they already were in a former state: these terms provided the rhetorical and poetic structures of the physiology and morphology that was transmitted in Goethe's name in mid-nineteenth-century Britain" (p. 51). This vision made it possible to dehistoricize history, to remove it from time, and in so doing offered a way to resist the evolutionary plot—of growth, development, history, and death—that dominated nineteenth-century thought. Both strands, Steedman argues—the physiological and the evolutionary—came together in Freud, in the idea of the unconscious as "the place where childhood (and individual history) is put and thus released from time" (p. 93).

If, as Steedman claims, "childhood came to be understood as a component of selfhood—perhaps as interiority itself" (p. 7), then social histories of childhood need to be written with this use of childhood in mind. So, in the second part of her book, she sets out to provide "some account of the dynamic and symbiotic relationship between ideas of childhood and ways of perceiving children" (p. 7). More specifically, she focuses on accounts of mid-Victorian street children and children employed in the theatrical professions, particularly as acrobats. Acknowledging that children were social beings who lived in a world of social and



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economic relationships, and recognizing at the same time that they figured as projections of adult desire, she attempts to solder together these two aspects of childhood. Here, Steedman attempts too much: her social history is spotty, and her comments about adults watching children lack coherence.

Throughout Steedman's book, Mignon turns up constantly. At the beginning, she takes pains to tell the story of Goethe's "strange, deformed and piercingly beautiful child-acrobat of Italian origin" (p. ix) and her "extra-textual afterlife," that is, the uses to which she was put in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (p. 21). At the end, Steedman returns to Goethe's text: to the role Mignon plays in the depiction of Wilhelm Meister; to Mignon herself and the circumstances in early childhood that explain her oddness and her death. Steedman treats Mignon as both a projection of Wilhelm's interiorized self and a creature existing in a social world. Throughout, Steedman enlists the figure of Mignon to tie together her disparate topics. Goethe's creation proves not quite up to the acrobatic feat demanded of her.

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HARVEY MITCHELL. *Individual Choice and the Structures of History: Alexis de Tocqueville as Historian Reappraised*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 290. $54.95.

This is an important contribution to the expanding universe of Tocqueville scholarship. Harvey Mitchell has seized upon a major dilemma in the study of Tocqueville: the oft-noted discrepancy between his two major historical works. There is the *Ancien Régime et la Révolution* (1856), where Tocqueville's mastery of abstraction has made him the favorite historian of political scientists and sociologists. But a few years earlier, Tocqueville had, in his *Souvenirs*, created a narrative whose passion has made it one of the great memoirs of the nineteenth century. There is a way to resolve this paradox, and Mitchell takes advantage of it. In a footnote on page 40, he cites two important letters to Louis Kergorlay where Tocqueville reveals that his passionate narrative was intended not for public consumption but for private use. Indeed, in deference to Tocqueville's wishes, these memoirs were not published until 1893, long after his death, and one could therefore conclude that Tocqueville the abstract historian did not want to be remembered or judged by his most private work. The *Souvenirs* were rather intended as a kind of personal history, in Mitchell's telling characterization "a search for some authentic self" (p. 84).

Mitchell clarifies this whole question by demonstrating that the *Souvenirs* was not without guiding abstractions, just as the *Ancien Régime* was not totally devoid of narrative drive, thus restoring Tocqueville as a single, whole historian. There is much else to admire in this work filled with brilliant commentaries on Tocqueville's texts and written in a style worthy of its subject.

One of the special strengths of this work is Mitchell's discussion of those who shaped Tocqueville. In treating classical influences like Montesquieu and Pascal or Tocqueville's reliance on contemporaries like François Guizot and John Stuart Mill, Mitchell is at his very best. There is even a brief, brilliant bit on Edmund Burke. But the person who stalks the pages of this work is, unhappily, Jean Jacques Rousseau. Everywhere Tocqueville reminds Mitchell of Rousseau. The introduction to *Democracy in America* (1835) has Tocqueville announcing his purpose "in terms evocative of Rousseau's concern" (p. 140). He finds Tocqueville anticipated by a Rousseau "who was much concerned with these very same problems" (p. 159). Or he has Tocqueville adopting "a qualified Rousseauian anthropology and embracing as well a Rousseauian sensitivity to the sources of moral decay" (p. 137).

Mitchell believes that he has established Rousseau "as having no inconsiderable influence on Tocqueville's ideas" (pp. 233–234). When conceding differences, he does so reluctantly: "His response to Rousseau though negative was not umambiguous" (p. 267). In this major work on Tocqueville, it is the troubling, obsessive presence of Rousseau that endangers the whole enterprise.

It is troubling first because there is so little explicit reference to Rousseau in the Tocqueville canon (nothing like the Madame de Staël essay on Rousseau recalled by Mitchell), and the scant references are hardly flattering. Tocqueville admits to not having read the complete works of Rousseau and, in a letter to Corcelle, speaks of the "tirades of Rousseau" (Letter to Corcelle May 13, [1852]).

Mitchell is aware of this absence of evidence, but he justifies his invocations of Rousseau nonetheless: "Admittedly Tocqueville's connections with Pascal and Rousseau demand delicate treatment. He carried on, one might say, a silent 'dialogue' with them" (p. 136). But there are further difficulties in choosing Rousseau to occupy so central a place in Tocqueville's mind. Tocqueville's antipathy to the eighteenth century and its philosophical radicals is well known. Tocqueville and Rousseau lived in totally different universes, separated by time and sensibility. There is a divide between the eighteenth-century Genevan watchmaker's son with his anti-aristocratic instincts and Tocqueville, the nineteenth-century post-revolutionary aristocrat deeply ambiguous about his lineage. Mitchell shows that he is fully aware of these difficulties when he writes of a Rousseau "who lived in an ancient monarchy with its associations of divine images" (p. 142).

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MASSIMO MASTROGREGORI. *Il manoscritto interrotto di Marc Bloch: Apologia della storia o Mestiere di storico*. (Piste, number 1.) Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali. 1995. Pp. 139.

For almost a half century since its publication, Marc Bloch's unfinished *Apologie pour l'Histoire ou Métier d'historien* has been one of the world's most widely read history manuals in its successive French editions and a dozen translations. In a slender, learned, and riveting monograph, Massimo Mastrogregori has examined Bloch's life through the prism of this "interrupted" work: its origins, writing, revision, and posthumous editing, as well as the recent recovery of the original manuscripts.

Based on the two French titles, Mastrogregori has analyzed Bloch's work on two levels: as a passionate defense (*Apologie*) of himself and of history and as an exceptional handbook of the historian's craft (*Métier*). In five elegantly written chapters and thirty-one pages of valuable bibliographical notes, Mastrogregori examines Bloch's intellectual world as it merged with his tumultuous life and times. For example, he situates the critiques of traditionalism by Bloch and Lucien Febvre and the foundation of the *Annales* within a larger, longer context of popular disdain for the professional historian as well as that of the better-known challenges of the social sciences. A year after Paul Valéry's scathing attack on history's pretensions to knowledge in *Régards sur le monde actuel* (1931), Bloch proposed to Gallimard a response for the general reader entitled "Historiens à l'atelier," consisting of the revised texts of eight of his previously published articles and a preface detailing the prized techniques of a science "in movement"—the use of comparison, the regressive method, the investigation of collective mentalities, the pursuit of fraud and error—which formed the basis of the *Apologie/Métier* ten years later.

Paradoxically, Bloch's "professor's solution" to constructing a new text, detailed in chapter three, occurred during his and France's darkest times. Using published and unpublished sources, particularly Bloch's evocative notebook "Mea," Mastrogregori traces Bloch's arduous efforts between 1939 and 1944 to uphold his creed and his work. À propos the recent polemics over Bloch's futile struggle with Febvre for the *Annales* and over Febvre's collaborationism, Mastrogregori prefers the nuanced view of a difficult partnership in a terrible epoch over absolutist categories.

In chapter four, titled after Febvre's famous essay, "Vers une autre histoire" (1949), Mastrogregori details the afterlife of Bloch's manuscripts, from the four-year hiatus and first publication of the *Apologie/Métier* in 1949 to the recent recovery and reconstruction of Bloch's texts by Mastrogregori and Marleen Wessel and the 1993 publication of the critical edition by Etienne Bloch.

The final chapter, titled after Bronisław Geremek's tribute to "L'historien et la cité," brings Bloch into the present. Mastrogregori maintains that the *Apologie/Métier*, for decades esteemed because of the author's heroic death and the *Annales*' prominence under Febvre and Braudel, has not exhausted its power and influence. Bloch, whose sensibility and environment placed him at the intersection of those forces that upheld and challenged the legitimacy of history, provides a critical consciousness for comprehending the collisions of tradition and change, power and principles, knowledge and falsehood. From his meticulous studies of the drafts, Mastrogregori has concluded that Bloch had little difficulty defining the *métier*, agonized over the *apologie*, and ultimately chose to interrupt the manuscript and to apply his critical intelligence to a more active defense of the *cité*. This wise reading of Bloch deserves as large an audience as possible.

CAROLE FINK
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ENRIQUE DUSSEL. *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of "the Other" and the Myth of Modernity*. Translated by MICHAEL D. BARBER. Continuum: New York. 1995. Pp. 224. $24.95.

This book proposes to revise some prevailing notions regarding the origins of modernity. According to Argentinian philosopher and theologian Enrique Dussel, modernity is the result of the appearance of a global center-periphery system in which a succession of European states, beginning with Spain, may be construed as axial through their domination and exploitation of different colonized peripheries. Taken in this sense, modernity is born of a global dialectic; it is not an autochthonous European phenomenon as Jürgen Habermas and others would have it, and its birth occurred in the late fifteenth century, on October 12, 1492, rather than in the Enlightenment.

In Dussel's version of the genesis of modernity, Christopher Columbus, not René Descartes, is the "first modern man" (p. 28); his initial voyage marks the birth of modern subjectivity, not the famous shifting of epistemological grounds signed in the phrase *cogito ergo sum*. For Dussel, the Cartesian moment is a deplorable (and profoundly irrational) one. Its claim to rationality disguises what had become by the seventeenth century a powerful myth through which colonial Europe managed to conceal its own "sacrificial violence" against the colonized "Other."

This "myth of modernity" was cultivated by both conquistadors and missionaries, who "never discovered (*des-cubierto*) this Other as Other but covered over (*encubierto*) the Other as part of the Same: i.e. Europe" (p. 13). The conflation of *descubierto* with *encubierto* that lies at the heart of the myth of modernity thus "perpetuates a gigantic *inversion*: the innocent victim becomes culpable and the culpable victimizer becomes innocent" (p. 67). Conquistadors, jurists, theologians, and missionaries elaborated and served this myth. Only the Dominican Bartolomé De Las Casas recognized and resisted the false dichotomy



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between the European and the Other upon which the "gigantic inversion" was founded.

These assumptions underwrite Dussel's provocative but insufficiently developed analyses of critics of modernism ranging from Friedrich Hegel to Richard Rorty (these include Immanuel Kant, the early Friedrich Nietzsche, Martin Heidegger, and Jacques Derrida). Hegel and Habermas are faulted for not recognizing that the "discovery" and conquest of America lay at the heart of the genesis of modernity and so fundamentally miscasting the periodization and dynamics of historical process. Rorty and others make a crucial error in thinking that their critiques of the enduring "sacrificial myth" of European colonialism are critiques of the inherently violent and victimizing nature of reason, when they are in fact but critiques of the "gigantic inversion." Dussel has no quarrel with the imperatives of reasoned discourse, only with what he perceives to be the distortions and misuses that have accrued to that discourse.

Complementing this exposure of the myth of modernity and the lineage of its perpetrators is a proposal for the reconfiguration of world history. Dussel charts a system based on "pillar cultures" and "contact areas," a system that is not inconsonant with approaches taken by some scholars and teachers of global, comparative, and transregional history, although it is surely not identical to them. But the myth of modernity and the Hegelian dialectics that drive it will finally be overcome when the Other is recognized as an equal partner in all of its alterity through a truly rational discourse that transcends "the irrational incommensurability of language-games" (p. 137), that is, the conundrum of postmodernism. This "transmodernity," for so Dussel calls it, is nothing other than a retrieval of the solitary initiative taken by Las Casas in his debates with Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda at Valladolid in 1551–1552 and in writings such as *De unico vocationis modo*. It will liberate both conqueror and conquered from the *encubierto* imposed some five hundred years ago.

What, then, is this book, and what is it not? It is not a work of innovative historical or philosophical analysis; though it knowingly echoes Edmundo O'Gorman's *The Invention of America* (1961) in its title, Dussel's book unfolds according to markedly different criteria and dispenses with O'Gorman's work in a manner so preemptory that it defies comment. The treatment of the many important figures mentioned in the book is consistently cursory and lacking in nuance or attention to the pertinent scholarly literature. It is a work that may interest students of the complicated and varied world of liberation theology and philosophy, particularly in the ways in which it makes use of the modernist and postmodernist debates. It dovetails, for example, in suggestive ways with Gustavo Gutiérrez's *Las Casas: In Search of the Poor of Jesus Christ* (1993). It is, finally, an impassioned exhortation, maybe an exorcism, maybe even a prayer for a deep, mutually humanizing dialogue that has not yet taken place.

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MICHEL-ROLPH TROUILLOT. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon. 1995. Pp. xix, 191. $22.00.

Not so long ago, the debate over the nature of historical knowledge focused on the question of objectivity and its crafts toward that end. Then came the metahistory thesis and the fictionality of narratives. These days, the suspicion and demystification of knowledge have become the agenda. Dismissing both the positivist and constructivist one-sided views of history, this book marks the distance we have come from naïvely trying to recover the objective past. Michel-Rolph Trouillot obliterates any remaining false hope of the latter by asserting that "any historical narrative is a bundle of silences" (p. 27). Focusing on the production of historical knowledge, he elaborates on how the past is silenced in the same process by which history is created.

Trouillot traces the origins of the name of the Sans Souci palace, the monument to the Haitian revolution (1791–1804). Colonel Sans Souci was an African slave who fought against the French and a renowned Haitian revolutionary hero in a complex situation of collaborations and betrayals. His story, which could be trouble to the colonial and anti-colonial histories alike, has been silenced because the scarcity of sources never made it credible. Trouillot then argues that the significance of the Haitian revolution—the first slave revolution in history—has been similarly silenced despite the abundance of facts. The revolution was "unthinkable in the framework of Western thought" in its time (p. 82). Even the French revolutionary public could not believe it really happened. Since then, "formulas of erasure" and "formulas of banalization" (pp. 96–107) have been at work to put the revolution out of memory. Even if the facts are abundant and comprehensible, history and silences are simultaneously created when an event is named and a narrative constructed. Moreover, any production of history is shaped by the relevance and perspectives of the present. History, either the recovered past or the narratives, is partial and retrospective. It is created by silencing the snarls that could disrupt the dominant voices, leaving the silenced past in the shadow of the domain of history.

To probe the historian's craft is to expose the limits of historical knowledge. One difficulty in representing the past may be the moral responsibility imposed by a trauma like the Holocaust. In that case, history must not fail to register what happened. But the limits exposed by this book are in the adjacent domains of incredible sources, incomprehensible facts, unnarratable stories, and irrelevant pasts. In other words, history owes its existence to those silences without



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which it would have no identity. History *exists* by its paradoxical relations to the past. As the identities of modern subjects hinge so much on history, we should be more humble and grateful: without the silenced, we could not survive.

Cogently written with clarity, wit, and style throughout, this book is for everyone interested in historical culture. Nevertheless, I would add that history is a form of knowledge, another modernist project. Among the silences are not only the snarling facts and stories recoverable and deconstructible by a counter-history, as Trouillot suggests, but also various knowledges of the past that were displaced by the post-Renaissance historical culture.

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ROBERT F. BERKHOFER, JR. *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 381. $39.95.

Robert F. Berkhofer's book was, he tells us, inspired by a paradox: that scholars from across the humanities are turning to history just when the discipline's claim to represent the past is being radically called into question. Scholars are finding historical approaches helpful in undermining foundations, calling into question forms of essentialism, or simply shaking up current practices by showing how they are the product of recent invention or coincidence. But in the historical discipline itself, a variety of contemporary theorists and historiographers have attacked the guiding myths of objectivity, realism, and continuity as naive or ideological.

Berkhofer sees this "post-modernist challenge" to traditional history arising out of two crises. The first is a crisis of representation emerging from aesthetic practices early in our century and more recent theories of language. The second is a crisis of authority, calling into question the possibility of stable, universal knowledge and a single perspective from which to grasp it. The first questions how the past can ever be successfully represented in language; the second questions who gets to write history and in whose voice. Together, the two have undermined the legitimacy of professional historical writing. One can still write about the past, but how can the profession defend its modes of evaluation when its traditional criteria have been weakened by theoretical and political critique?

Berkhofer shows early in this study that historians are dependent on what he calls "Great Stories" that implicitly link disparate studies together and "provide the political and ethical grounding for history as text and as discursive practice" (p. 44). Although professionally skeptical of sweeping accounts and generalizations, historians require narrative framing devices that allow them to continue their textual or contextual approaches to the past. This is not really a problem as long as people have their (Great) story straight, but when there is disagreement over what is a legitimate framing device, there is no rational way of choosing one story instead of another. All such choices depend on an even greater story that remains an implicit assumption, not a legitimate ground.

Berkhofer's project is to call attention to the implicit stories, concepts, and practices that allow normal history writing to proceed. He notes that normal history writing depends on a blindness toward these elements because to acknowledge them would open too many destabilizing questions for the profession. If all this sounds familiar, that's because it is. Berkhofer wants the reader to see this blindness as an especially dramatic problem, but shared implicit framing devices are at work in any science or any discursive practice. Any normal science or practice depends on assumptions; that is what makes it normal. In order to have a conversation, or to enjoy a party, or to conduct an experiment in physics, one must ignore a lot. Once in a while, somebody makes us take a look at what we normally ignore. When this happens, we usually want to know how paying attention in this way will make any difference in our conversations, parties or experiments. Why should we care about an epistemological challenge unless by responding to it we are able to accomplish our goals more effectively?

Unlike many in the assumption-revealing game, Berkhofer addresses the question of why we should bother. He calls attention to the poetics, politics, and perspectives of history writing because he wants to open up new possibilities for it and to laud those who are already pushing the envelope of acceptable historical representation. He wants to make history writing less conventional; in the ideological sense, this means less likely to reproduce the status quo; in the aesthetic sense, this means less boring. He champions reflexivity as a mode of writing that would allow the historian to point to, while still employing, the assumptions that go into representing the past (since we cannot do without some assumptions). Reflexivity allows for an acknowledgement of the interaction of present and past in historical representation and in so doing makes room for a multiplicity of viewpoints. Reflexivity is not offered as a way of solving the epistemological and political problems raised by the postmodern challenge, but as a way of coping with them while clearing a space for discursive experimentation.

This is an intelligent and well-researched book. Berkhofer poses many thoughtful questions and presents an excellent guide to theoretical and historiographical debates, with one exception. Not enough attention is given to pragmatism. As a result, we spend too much time reading about epistemological conditions of possibility and not enough about what we want to get out of (and do with) the histories we will construct.

Although his approach to epistemology underscores theoretical problems rather than solutions, Berkhofer manages to avoid the positions of the smug (or the



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scary) skeptic. Instead, he hopes that the theoretical challenges he explicates will stimulate more creative forms of representation that will win a reader's intelligent assent even as they point out to the reader that he or she is being wooed.

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YARON EZRAHI, EVERETT MENDELSOHN, and HOWARD SEGAL, editors. *Technology, Pessimism, and Postmodernism*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1995. Pp. 216. $14.95.

The debate over postmodernity, taking place mostly outside the confines of the historical profession, has had the useful result of making an increasing number of historians rethink their definitions of and opinions about modernity itself. Many of us, I suspect, despite spending our professional lives insisting upon the importance and inescapable nature of history, have unthinkingly assumed that after a neat progression of eras—from prehistoric through early modern—the onset of modernity marked the end of history; from now on, things would only get more modern. Now that we have a way of thinking about the end as well as the rise of modernity, we can begin to be more explicit about the various mechanisms of both.

There can be little doubt that technology is deeply implicated in the rise of modernity. Indeed, to the extent that modernity is the working out of what some call the Enlightenment project, technology has been a definition as well as a measure of "progress," the "inevitable" result of that project. For most of its four decades as a separate historical field, however, the history of technology has been more a captive than a critic of that sort of technological enthusiasm. This collection of essays, however, makes an attempt not only to break out of that ideology, but also to investigate it.

The book contains a selection of papers given at a conference held in Israel in January 1992 and originally published as volume 17 of *Sociology of the Sciences: A Yearbook* in 1994. Several of the contributors are historians while others appear to be political scientists or philosophers (no disciplinary identifications are provided). The general assumption is that the postmodern posture, by giving up on the Enlightenment project and the inevitability of progress, has become pessimistic about technology (although for many it feels more like a healthy skepticism). Everett Mendelsohn, in "The Politics of Pessimism: Science and Technology Circa 1968," documents the antitechnology notions in the "Movement" of the late 1960s, but Howard Segal, in "The Cultural Contradictions of High Tech: Or the Many Ironies of Contemporary Technological Optimism," shows that nevertheless, technological optimism (here represented by futurologists Alvin Toffler and John Naisbit) lives on a generation later. Jeffrey Herf reprises his influential argument (*Reactionary Modernism* [1984]) that Weimar and Nazi Germany were influenced, perhaps decisively, by what he calls "reactionary modernism"; now we learn that this was replaced on the German Right by a technological pessimism after 1945. In all of this, the ghost of technological autonomy, and therefore its immunity to politics and human purpose, is a central issue. Yaron Ezrahi, in his essay "Technology and the Illusion of the Escape from Politics," proposes that any diminished faith in technology as progress comes more from the rising voices of previously marginalized groups in society than from a dawning realization that new technologies always have side-effects.

Part of the indictment of the Enlightenment project is its claim to universality, to knowing what Frederick Winslow Taylor, the founder of scientific management, called "the one best way." The political ability to hide self-interest behind a claim of universal betterment was aided and abetted by the rise of the term "technology" itself. In his essay "The Idea of 'Technology' and Postmodern Pessimism," the one indispensable contribution to this collection, Leo Marx makes the claim that "both the character and the representation of technology changed in the nineteenth century." The change in character was from discrete tools and machines to "large-scale, complex, hierarchical, and centralized systems like the railroad or electric power systems" (p. 13). The change in representation was from the common terms "mechanic," "useful," or "practical arts," with their suggestion of real production and even a smell of the shop floor, to the vague and empty term "technology" which, being devoid of specific meaning, could be filled with any. Improvements in the mechanic arts had been seen as capable of achieving certain agreed-on social goals, but technology and its endless elaboration became its own accepted goal.

The result has been a disastrous weakening of our ability even to think about the way we might link technologically shaped means with socially defined political agendas. New studies historicizing both the character and representations of technology are badly needed if we as citizens are to take back control of the mechanic arts and harness them once again to democratically agreed-on social goals.

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KOSTAS GAVROGLU. *Fritz London: A Scientific Biography*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xxiv, 299. $69.95.

Fritz London (1900–1954) was a theoretical physicist who published more than seventy scientific papers between 1922 and 1955 (the last published posthumously). His career was determined by the development of quantum theory and by world history.

The son of a professor of mathematics at Breslau and Bonn universities, London first studied philosophy but came under the influence of Arnold Sommerfeld in Munich in 1925, just as the quantum mechanical



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revolution was about to occur. Immersing himself in the new physics, London made his mark early in a 1927 collaborative work with Walter Heitler. They applied the new quantum mechanics to the homopolar bond of the hydrogen molecule, in a sense founding the new discipline of quantum chemistry. In Munich, Zurich, and Berlin, successively, he came to know and work with the leading theoreticians of the time. But, as a Jew, although a baptized one, he recognized the impossibility of his continuing to work in Germany.

London was offered and accepted a temporary position at Oxford University in 1933. There, he collaborated with his younger brother Heinz in developing a theory of superconductivity as a macroscopic quantum phenomenon. Later, in Paris, he applied analogous analysis to superfluidity but with little or no prospect of professional advancement. In 1939, he accepted a position at Duke University and thus became one of the generation of émigré physicists joining the scientific community in the United States. A quiet, private man who might have achieved greater renown had the external aspects of his life been more auspicious, London died of heart disease at a relatively early age.

Kostas Gavroglu's biography of London is carefully researched and well written. Originally trained in elementary particle physics, Gavroglu is now a professor of the history of physics. His research interests lie in the history of borderline areas between physics and chemistry in the twentieth century. Researching his biography of London, Gavroglu had access to valuable archival sources and to cooperative members of the London family, enabling him to provide readers with a lively story of an interesting figure in modern physical science.

Of particular interest to me is Gavroglu's account of Heitler's and London's animosity toward American developers of quantum chemistry: Linus Pauling, Robert Mulliken, and John Slater. Another well-covered topic is Bose-Einstein condensation, first achieved experimentally in 1995. An afterword by John Bardeen on the "background leading to the microscopic theory of superconductivity" (pp. 267–272) helps to integrate London's work into later developments.

Historians of science well versed in twentieth-century physics and chemistry will derive the most benefit from this biography of London. It will be unfortunate, however, if others do not read this book. It is organized to be accessible to less scientifically sophisticated readers. It contains much that will interest readers concerned with the public and private aspects of life as a scientist in the early twentieth century. London was talented in important areas of modern physics and chemistry. His life story was deeply influenced by external conditions of society. Gavroglu has successfully interwoven the details that compose the tapestry of London's short life.

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*Four Corners Analytic Sciences*

MICHAEL PARIS. *From the Wright Brothers to* Top Gun: *Aviation, Nationalism and Popular Cinema*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's Press. 1995. Pp. 218. Cloth $69.95, paper $18.95.

From its beginning, aviation attracted film makers whose movies depicted the dangers, drama, and heroes of an emerging aerial world. Besides being a popular subject, aviation in film quickly became an expression of nationalism. "The aeroplane," Michael Paris writes, "has been used, 'consciously or unconsciously,' by the film maker as a metaphor for national achievement—a subject through which scientific, technical and industrial advance can be measured" (p. 205).

Paris organizes his study of aviation, nationalism, and popular cinema topically and chronologically. After a preliminary chapter on early aviation films, he devotes separate chapters to films about the Great War, barnstormers and airlines, nationalism in the latter 1930s, World War II, and the Cold War. Finally, in a chapter titled "Crisis in mid-air," he addresses the staple themes of the B-movie: hair-raisers dealing with bombs on board and other aerial emergencies, hijackings, and plane crashes. Within this topical and chronological framework, Paris examines not only American and British productions but also films made in Europe, Russia, and Japan. He treats fiction films as well as documentaries, including a related sub-genre that he terms the "semi-official" film, a picture produced by a commercial studio but with significant control exercised by a branch of the government, usually an air force but sometimes a national commercial carrier or a state film agency.

Aviation films, Paris suggests, have not provided fertile soil for innovative plots. From the beginning, predictable formulae came to dominate the genre. In one repeated trope, for instance, a young pilot, often a former war "ace" or hotshot flier, takes risks that put him in conflict with his colleagues. They are usually older, wiser, or at least more cognizant of the need for teamwork lest the organization—whether a fighter group, airline, or research facility, the formula works in many settings—fail in its mission. Paris shows how, in the 1930s, this plot-line fastened itself on films. In part, this reflected the reality of maturing aviation, wherein mistakes and accidents proved more costly. Over the years, such plots have continued to be recycled in popular cinema right down to such contemporary films as *Top Gun*.

Part of the reason for repetitive plots lies with the role pilots have played in the making of aviation films. Pilot and millionaire aviation enthusiast Howard Hughes, for example, produced the World War I epic, *Hell's Angels* (1930), while former bomber pilot Jimmy Stewart promoted and starred in *Strategic Air Command* (1955). Paris cites a number of similar examples, concluding his book with the observation that it was "the airmen themselves who, in large measure, created their own cinematic image" (p. 205).

Many films have indeed propagated this image, and



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Paris mentions nearly 600 in a book of barely 200 pages. Such encyclopedic coverage inevitably has a cost, as Paris cannot begin to offer an in-depth analysis of most of these films or consider the wider filmic and cultural contexts to which his aviation pictures might be related. This may limit the audience for what otherwise is a competent and well-written, though somewhat narrowly focused, monograph.

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JEFFREY T. RICHELSON. *A Century of Spies: Intelligence in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 534. $30.00.

Sleuthing has been the theme of countless novels and numerous movies but rarely the subject of a serious work of scholarship. A comprehensive study of the evolution of modern intelligence gathering such as Jeffrey T. Richelson offers is thus a welcome addition to the literature. At over 500 pages with more than 1,000 footnotes, his book provides an overview of virtually every aspect of this complex field. Following a brief introduction on spying in the nineteenth century, Richelson catalogs the whole range of intelligence and counterintelligence activities that unfolded in the West during the twentieth century. He organizes his presentation chronologically, weaving the themes of improving technology and the growth of the centralized state through the work.

Impressive for the sheer volume of material covered, the book offers fascinating accounts of individual espionage episodes as well as salient observations concerning the evolution of intelligence gathering. Richelson traces in detail the expansion of European intelligence gathering from a business conducted by shady characters hired on an ad hoc basis to the elaborate espionage organizations of the Cold War. While concentrating on Europe and the United States, he pauses to consider examples from China and Israel as well. Each chapter begins with a brief summary of the historic period and the developments in intelligence work that occurred within it. The work is based primarily on secondary sources supplemented with interviews for the contemporary period, but this is perhaps inevitable given its scope.

While the student of intelligence would be hard pressed to find any famous spy episode omitted from this comprehensive work, the book's scope limits the amount of analysis possible. Richelson never really articulates a clear analytical framework for his subject. As a result, he covers spying, sabotage, internal security, counterespionage, aerial reconnaissance, covert operations, cryptography, and assassinations. All of these activities, to be sure, fall under the general heading of "intelligence," but in the absence of more than chronological organization they appear as an array of episodes, each interesting in itself but sketching only the broadest outline of larger themes.

A key to the effectiveness of any intelligence apparatus is its ability to convert information into a coherent plan of action. Richelson, however, says far less about how information was collated, analyzed, and acted upon than he does about how it was collected. The reader learns that General Joffre failed to heed warnings of an attack on Verdun in 1916 and that Stalin ignored signs of the impending German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 but not why this breakdown of interpretation occurred. The book contains numerous examples of political and military leaders ignoring information that conflicted with their plans, but neither this important disjunction nor the equally important issue of inter-service and interdepartmental rivalry receives adequate attention. The myriad of intelligence gathering bodies must have complicated the task of interpretation and planning during World War II and the Cold War. The several organizations that misadvised President Jimmy Carter about the feasibility of the disastrous Iran hostage rescue mission is a case in point (though one absent from the book). To address any of these issues, however, Richelson would have had to sacrifice breadth for depth.

Still, the reviewer should not impose upon the author a purpose not the author's own. As a comprehensive overview of major developments in the broad field of intelligence, this book makes a valuable contribution to the field, providing a useful compendium of information while identifying issues for further research. The concluding chapter, which sets forth economic and industrial intelligence as a principal activity of the twenty-first century, is a case in point.

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GABRIEL KOLKO. *Century of War: Politics, Conflict, and Society since 1914*. New York: New Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 546. $29.95.

To judge from this and other recent books, the impact of war on participating nations has once again become a subject of special interest to American historians. In periods such as the present post–Cold War era that follow wars that turned out to be much more traumatic and/or much less successful than expected (such as the Vietnam struggle or World War I), scholars stop to take a second look at what international conflict actually does to a society. At the present time, there is an added reason for such a reassessment: the collapse of the Soviet Union and world communism have robbed us of theoretical models that many of us employed to make sense of the contemporary era.

Gabriel Kolko, a distinguished radical historian, has responded to the new international confusion and ideological/theoretical void by seizing on war itself as a vehicle for synthesis, a unifying notion that breaks down national compartmentalization and allows generalization. Not only have wars been "the single most important catalyst of the great political and ideological transformations that have characterized this century," he writes, but they also "remain humanity's principal



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nemesis both today and in the future" (p. x). In Kolko's view, if we comprehend the characteristics of war more acutely, then we can go far toward illuminating the nature of the past century and coping with the dangers ahead.

War is not a new topic for Kolko. Indeed, this book is heavily indebted to his previous work on the context of American foreign relations, especially *The Politics of War: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1943–1945* (1968; rev. ed. 1990) and *Anatomy of a War: Vietnam, the United States, and the Modern Historical Experience* (1985). But his current perspective on the subject is less unreservedly Marxist than in earlier years; Marx, he says, was "fatally weak on the question of war" (p. 477). More than in the past, Kolko sees the consequences of elite actions as largely unintended, the nature of capitalism as surprisingly complex, and the effects of violence as primarily in the realm of profound but silent (if agonizing) social change. This does not mean that he has become a liberal or, for that matter, a social historian. He still focuses on politics, economics, and in particular the crucial role war has played in generating "mass radicalism" (p. 478). He also remains committed to goals of economic equality and social cooperation between nations and within them, goals he considers indispensable if we are ultimately to achieve that social stability which is a precondition for peace.

The volume is organized into three parts. In part one, Kolko treats the expectations of rulers and generals in making and managing twentieth-century wars, a subject that necessarily leads him to assess the power and capacities of those who commanded nations and armies. This kind of analysis, he suggests, distorts reality, but "it also explains why leaders and social systems are [ultimately] shaken or even toppled" (p. xi). Time and again, Kolko shows, the prewar leaders of the major powers revealed themselves to be remarkably inept as well as callous. Their "opportunism, duplicity, and egotism" went unchecked (p. 482), and in the process they subjected mankind to unbelievable hardships.

In part two, Kolko considers the transformative nature of World War I and World War II, focusing in the former on Germany, Italy, and Russia and in the latter on France, Italy, Greece, China, Vietnam, and the Philippines. Although the bloodshed and anguish of the first war fundamentally altered the political universe and rendered the masses for a crucial historical moment intensely hostile to their leaders, "outside of Russia the principal [postwar] challenge confronting traditional rulers was less the threat from the Left than imposing their influence over atavistic rightists" (p. 179). This struggle culminated twenty-five years later in the second war, from Kolko's point of view a much vaster and more profound convulsion.

The pain and disruption that World War II brought to millions of ordinary people and the discredit that privileged classes earned for their collaboration with German and Japanese fascism created an unprecedented opening for political radicalism. Yet, the result again was disappointing, as critical attitudes and oppositional groups were intentionally blunted and dispersed by the victor nations. Moreover, not only the Americans and British but, for personal and national reasons and to an extent unrecognized at the time, Stalin and the Soviet Union played an important role in constraining and undermining reformers, socialists, and communists worldwide. Thus, sadly, the radical breakthrough of World War I (a Communist regime in Russia) became a factor in the defeat of the radicalism generated by World War II. Only in China and Southeast Asia were Communist parties sufficiently independent of Moscow that they could pursue strategies other than the disastrous Popular Front tactic that Stalin so often demanded they employ.

In part three, Kolko takes up the period after 1945, devoting his primary attention to America's developing "confrontation" with the Third World. Here the emphasis is on Washington's basic misunderstanding of the situation: its assumption that revolutionary and nationalist movements were the creatures of Moscow; its overconfidence that it could indulge in and control limited war; and, after the Korean conflict, its growing entanglement with proxies who were often corrupt and autocratic. As Kolko notes, the U.S. insistence on the central role of military force in achieving a congenial international socioeconomic environment "virtually preordained that America would attempt somewhere to attain those . . . military successes [deemed] essential to confirm its credibility" (p. 419). That place, of course, was Vietnam, where extended conflict demonstrated more clearly than ever how the destructive effects of war transform its very parameters in terrible and unexpected ways, frustrating the attempts of leaders on all sides to control it. The pity is that even America's utter failure in Vietnam has not prompted it to deepen significantly its understanding of the social, economic, and political needs that drive the Third World.

This is a rich and useful book. More intuitive than theoretical, it nevertheless makes a clear and convincing case. For all war's astonishing effects, it has ceased to be, if it ever was, a useful tool. War should be recognized as a largely unpredictable and counterproductive catastrophe.

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## ANCIENT

MADELEINE M. HENRY. *Prisoner of History: Aspasia of Miletus and Her Biographical Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. 201. $29.95.

According to Madeleine M. Henry, we know scarcely more about the life history of Aspasia of Miletus, companion of the statesman Pericles and reputed teacher of Socrates, than we do about that of any other



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fifth-century B.C.E. Athenian woman. To ask questions about her is "to ask questions about half of humanity" (p. 9). Henry therefore examines not a life but a *bios*, "the complex made up of both Aspasia's material life to the extent that this can be recovered and her biographical tradition, or *Nachleben*" (p. 131 n. 2). Having shown why reliable information about Aspasia is virtually nonexistent, she investigates her emergence as a "floating signifier" (p. 127) within the Western cultural tradition, an eroticized icon of the woman intellectual.

In five closely integrated chapters, Henry theorizes how that construct could have arisen. Epigraphical evidence suggests that Aspasia came to Athens in 450 B.C.E. as a war refugee under the guardianship of her brother-in-law, a member of an aristocratic Athenian clan. Because her status as resident alien would have precluded legitimate marriage, she was bestowed upon Pericles, a family friend, as a concubine. The equivocal nature of the union then induced comic poets bent upon slandering Athens's leading politician to represent her as a whore and madam with sinister input into public policy. Jokes that she had taught Pericles to speak (mocking the "seductive" appeal of his oratory?) inspired authors of philosophical treatises to cast her as Socrates's mentor and to invest her sexuality with metaphoric significance—as an emblem of meretricious rhetoric in Plato's *Menexenus* or, alternatively, of virtue achieved through reciprocal *erôs*, a positive characterization surviving in Xenophon. The pseudo-scholarly "discourse on prostitutes" of later antiquity indirectly shaped Plutarch's archetypal portrait of the learned courtesan in his *Life of Pericles*, although Henry rightly calls attention to the biographer's own skepticism about his sensational material. Uncritical reception of this account nevertheless played into postclassical Western assumptions that womens' intellectual influence must be a byproduct of their sexual expertise, exercised only "upon and through men" (p. 74). Reflecting prevailing ideologies of gender and sexuality, later representations focus upon aspects of this configuration. Formerly celebrated as philosopher or *salonière*, Aspasia was sanitized as the "angel wife" of a great man in Victorian art and literature. Though a model of engaged feminism for the Latvian dramatist Elza Rozenberga, in contemporary popular fiction she has become an avatar of "sexual liberation," her intellectual interests predictably downplayed.

Attention to the cultural function of oratory would have enhanced Henry's analysis of Aspasia as an alleged rhetorician: I wish she had consulted Josiah Ober's *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens* (1989). Although specialists may dispute other details, Henry's overall explanation for the rise of the "Aspasia myth" is convincing. But debunking the legend is not the most vital scholarly contribution here: it is, instead, the corollary demonstration that the "sexualization of Aspasia's intellect" (p. 6) has been a powerful mechanism for excluding female subjectivity from the philosophic enterprise. Speaking through a female interpreter, then, "Aspasia" still has much to teach "Socrates."

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WARREN D. ANDERSON. *Music and Musicians in Ancient Greece*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 248. $35.00.

The study of ancient Greek music is a curious one, in that we have little idea how it sounded. The best work focuses on ancient music theory and the role of music in society. Warren D. Anderson is well known for his *Ethos and Education in Greek Music* (1966), which examined important aspects of music theory. The current volume sets out to study music and musicians "in Greek life" (p. xi). Forthright, clearly written, even magisterial, it is ambitious especially in its scope: 94 of 169 pages are devoted to periods, from the stone age through the archaic era, for which the evidence is both exiguous and hard to handle. By contrast, the fifth-century chapter is 31 pages long and devoted largely to music in the theater and extant dramas. For the fourth century, Anderson restricts detailed discussion to music in Plato and (briefly) Aristotle. Once past the stone age, his discussions are largely text-based accounts of what different authors tell us about music and musicians. Three appendixes examine Greek instruments, scale systems and notation, and the extant musical fragments.

Anderson's book has many merits, especially in its analyses of a number of complex musical issues and problems. These include pitch (pp. 45–46), early music's diffusion (pp. 59–60), Pratinas's "hyporcheme" (pp. 86–93), and Pherekrates's comic criticisms of "new music" (pp. 127–34). It gets better as it goes. The chapter on Plato is stellar, as are the appendixes, showing masterly knowledge of Plato on music and musical technicalities, including Greek scale systems. These are Anderson's forte. He is open to comparative evidence and generally judicious in using it.

The principal difficulty of the topic "music in Greek life" is that it requires the skills not only of a musicologist but also of an archaeologist, literary critic, social historian, and metrician. The evidence for music 3000–700 B.C. is almost entirely archaeological. How precisely accurate are depictions of instruments or musicians? Did the artist of the sixteenth-century "Harvester Vase" really mean to depict "a bawling group of yokels and toughs" (p. 22), even if they seem such to us? Literary references to music are embedded in literary texts. Anderson reads these straight: Alkman "values a clear tone, high-pitched and also enchantingly sweet" (p. 69). What poet would not? These are conventional epithets. Mary Lefkowitz and others have demonstrated the minimal historical value of the early poets' "biographical" reports (for example, that Ibykos broke his wrist [p. 78]). Anderson's literary focus also downplays social history. Music's use in warfare, the fifth-century controversy over aulos play-



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ing, and even the symposion get scant mention. On metrics, consider Anderson's statement (p. 97) that "Pindar's metrics . . . have now been perceived," citing a "recent" 1963 study (by non-metricians). This remark would stagger the combatants in this minefield (see, for example, R. Pretagostini's "La metrica greca e la metrica di M. L. West" [1986]). Mastering so many disciplines clearly poses a challenge.

The second main issue raised by this study is its focus, which may reflect a traditional prejudice against the fourth and later centuries. Evidence for music and musicians is here the richest. The great age of the musical star and of musical theater begins; citizens cease learning to play instruments; music triumphs over text. All this remains to be explored.

In terms of presentation, the intended audience is unclear, as many elementary points are explained alongside highly technical materials, and Anderson often fails to cite references. "The *Iliad*'s poet mentions no professional singers, although recent scholarship has rightly noted traces of their presence" (p. 24). Who? Where? The least attractive feature of this book is its frequent sniping at other scholars for minor errors, which seems unworthy of one of Anderson's authority. But despite these questions and issues, Anderson's volume is the work of a master in the field of ancient musicology.

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## MEDIEVAL

RICHARD GAMESON. *The Role of Art in the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 312. $65.00.

The ambitious purpose of Richard Gameson's book is to explore the role of the visual arts in the English church from *ca.* 870 to *ca.* 1100. He does this by presenting a series of detailed studies that deal primarily with manuscripts.

The first two chapters tackle text-image relationships including physical correlations between text and image, modes and effect of illustration, and the use of inscriptions. Chapter three discusses how the shape or nature of the object being created determined the precise forms of the adorning art. In chapter four, which looks at the repetition of motifs, the persistent use of foliate motifs is explained by the human desire to employ fashionable decorative forms. Repeated imagery is interpreted as guaranteeing the authenticity of a visualization, while differing the presentations of the same subject highlighted multiple, layered meanings. These basic ideas, familiar to art historical studies, are often overlooked in broader discussions of the function of images, and it is welcome to see them stated here.

Chapter five deals with pictorial narrative, indicating that Anglo-Saxon artists often had to encapsulate both the essence of the narrative and its significance in a single image and that most pictorial narratives were meant to accompany texts or inscriptions, presupposing a literate guide. Chapter six considers the techniques of Anglo-Saxon pictorial composition. Gameson concludes that the figure contained the iconographical essence; settings remained relatively unimportant; and the preference for two-dimensionality lent figural art a transcendental quality, conveying timeless significance.

Chapter seven concentrates on non-figural manuscript ornament. While acknowledging the structural necessity of frames and initials, Gameson stresses their purely decorative role as a lavish rendering of glory to God and as something pleasing to the human eye. The final chapter attempts to place the study of late Anglo-Saxon art in the broader context of the historical environment. It briefly discusses the relationships between the English religious and lay worlds, then concludes with a few observations about the relationship between man and the divine. Included are an extensive bibliography and separate indexes of art objects, manuscripts, and people and places. These allow the reader to employ this as a reference book.

Gameson's book is a stated attempt to dispel the view that art history is not history. Its consequent appearance in a history series is perhaps the reason for what this reviewer, an art historian, sees as the book's shortcoming: the points might have been better made with less text and more visual support. The rather archaeological bent of much of the discussion tends to obscure the observations under a welter of detail, while the lack of adequate illustrations (thirty-two are far too few) leaves the general reader unable to determine the validity of much of the argument. Ultimately, the presentation does little to capture the beauty of Anglo-Saxon art, thereby negating one of the very principles of Gameson's approach.

But these reservations should not be seen as a negation of this very valuable book. The author exhibits a thorough familiarity with Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, basing his observations on a daunting number of references. The years of labor and looking that went into its creation are obvious, and it is impressive both for its syntheses and originality. Gameson provides a study that any scholar already familiar with Anglo-Saxon culture will find well worth the effort of reading.

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RICHARD LANDES. *Relics, Apocalyse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 117.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 404. $55.00.

Richard Landes's impressive new book may well be the best in a spate of recent studies forcing reassessment of the central Middle Ages. Politically unstable and violent, the period witnessed increasing interest in



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relic cults, heterodox religious movements, popular religious enthusiasm, and, Landes argues, heightened apocalyptic expectations centered around the year 1000. Landes's emphasis on the hopes and fears of the "millennial generation" challenges a substantial portion of modern scholarship debunking the notion of the "terrors of the year 1000." The turbulent life of the monk, Ademar of Chabannes, provides Landes with the key to deciphering apocalyptic responses to the period's turmoil. Ademar, best known for his *Historia*, an important source for the period albeit with a complex textual tradition, was also a prolific and diligent copyist of his own works and the works of others. His handwriting survives on more than one thousand folios distributed among some two dozen codexes. Ademar often revisited his *Historia* and copy work, adding and changing details. In the 1920s, Louis Saltet demonstrated, in a series of articles whose insights were ignored until Landes deftly mined and contextualized them, that much of Ademar's literary legacy amounted to a monumental—and highly successful—effort to rewrite history.

Landes's Ademar was driven to deception by the disappointments and reversals of his own life. When he failed to become abbot of his monastery in Angoulême, he used his talents to help the monks of Saint-Martial in Limoges boost the claim that Martial was one of Christ's original apostles. Ademar's moment of glory as impresario of Martial's cult evaporated on August 3, 1029, when Ademar's liturgical and hagiographical innovation was publicly unmasked as a fraud. Landes suggests that, stung by humiliation and unbearable disgrace, Ademar withdrew from the company of men and drew closer to his God and his beloved St. Martial. He also turned to mythomania, the solitary task of retouching the history of his times and of falsifying the history of the debacle surrounding the apostolicity of Martial. Before abandoning Aquitaine for Jerusalem, where he died in 1034, Ademar gave his books to the monks at Limoges. A generation later, the books and the myths Ademar deftly wove into them became the stuff of history; until the twentieth century, Ademar enjoyed the last laugh over his tormentors.

Ademar's legacy is not worthless. Read by Landes with skill and sensitivity, even its deceits yield nuggets of information. One find underscores the degree of apocalyptic fervor that punctuated Ademar's world. As the end time drew nearer the desire in some quarters to have a saint—Martial—who was on intimate terms with Christ became acute. For others, a liturgy embracing a false apostle—again, Martial—would only anger Christ and therefore had to be denounced. Although Ademar clung tenaciously to the apostolicity of Martial and falsified history to provide support for the fiction, he remained an Augustinian when it came to the Apocalypse. His repeated anti-apocalyptic challenges to expectations of an imminent end indirectly provide evidence of widespread expectations clustered around the millennium.

By embedding Ademar's fictions in the social, political, and religious history of the Aquitainian monk's time, Landes has embedded detailed paleographical and complex literary analysis in what he acknowledges may strike the reader as "excessive conjecture" (p. 21). But no one since the eleventh century, it seems fair to say, knows Ademar better. If, in his attempt "to connect the dots" (p. 20), Landes appears sometimes to go astray (as when he asserts Ademar's madness, his ambition to become abbot and subsequent destructive disappointment, his all-too-twentieth-century notion of the historian's craft, and his unease at covering up a poisoning apparently perpetrated by his patron's wife), the reader should nevertheless follow along. The dots do connect and in the end limn a sophisticated and fascinating portrait of Ademar and his haunted millennial generation.

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BARBARA ABOU-EL-HAJ. *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 456. $90.00.

Barbara Abou-El-Haj examines pictorial hagiographies as historical commentaries that reflect contemporary disputes. These drawings were designed to be "read" as ideological strategies in local controversies, e.g., consolidating disputes between monasteries and their seignorial patrons. El-Haj focus on the eleventh and twelfth centuries, since this period ushers in the construction of major pilgrimage centers and the attendant art and architecture of that movement. These pictorial hagiographies illustrate the rapid expansion of cult centers and cult renewal.

Her book is divided into three parts. Parts one and two, the argument and the historical narrative, contain 134 pages, while part three, the bulk of the book's 456 pages, comprises five appendixes, notes, bibliography, and 137 pages of illustrations. The thesis is stated in the first two chapters. Chapter one reviews selected aspects of the cult of the saints as a major force in ecclesiastical life from the fourth through the twelfth centuries. She singles out the role of the relic in the growth of pilgrimage and urbanism and examines how the erection of new pilgrimage churches on the sites of their smaller, older predecessors caused resentment amongst the locals, who often bore a disproportionate burden for such building programs. While Abou-El-Haj is correct to note the importance of the ninth-century merchants as a stimulus to the growth of the trade in relics, they were by no means the "first long-distance travelers to shrines." Sites had been visited for centuries. The Spanish nun Etheria visited the holy land and wrote of her visit *Ad Loca Sancta* in the late fourth century. Chapter two is a compilation and description of core scenes of pictorial hagiographies. These core scenes present the saintly founders of religious houses as traditional protectors of monastic privilege, both economic and social, from the



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expansion of new towns and their seignorial patrimony.

The three chapters of part two examine three pictorial hagiographies of St. Amand (*ca.* 584–*ca.* 679) produced at the monastery bearing his name in Elnon, near Tournai. The illustrations of these manuscripts, separated by nearly a century, show the community's effort at adjudicating different concerns in their favor. For example, the drawings in MS St. Amand 502 (after *ca.* 1107) reassert the founder's authority and thus buttress the house's traditional claims. By the time of MS St. Amand 500, the pictorial hagiography is less locally prescriptive—unlike MS 502, which illustrated the power of the cult to punish those who thwarted its authority. MS 500 sacrifices historical verisimilitude by presenting the saint in robes of episcopal authority, thus underscoring the consolidation of the authority in the person of the cult figure.

Part three contains much useful information, not the least of which are 206 fine illustrations that can now be studied in the context of Abou-El-Haj's learned commentary. This study underlines the importance of manuscript illumination in the dissemination of the cult of the saint and the maintenance of a cult's authority through pictorial representation. Abou-El-Haj's work is a reminder to those of us whose focus is the text of hagiographies that often an equally important historical argument is being made by the art.

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GILES CONSTABLE. *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought: The Interpretation of Mary and Martha; the Ideal of the Imitation of Christ; The Orders of Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 423. $59.95.

The three studies that make up Giles Constable's erudite book can be read separately, but they gain their greatest force when taken together to argue for the character of the twelfth century as a watershed in the geography of Christian thought. The phenomenon is clearest in regard to views of Christ (Constable's second study). In the early Middle Ages, the dominant image of Christ was that of a superhuman victor over death who stood for "bodily resurrection and eventual deification" (p. 160) rather than as a model for human conduct in this world. St. Benedict's rule never uses the name Jesus. In contrast, starting in the twelfth century (Constable fairly enough takes the century to have begun around 1070), men and women became determined to imitate the human Jesus as closely as possible—in some bizarre cases to the point of voluntary crucifixion. The modern preacher's adjuration that "each of us must look at problems through the eyes of Christ to see what He would do" stems from a twelfth-century transformation according to which "Christ was brought to earth as an example for everyday life" (p. 248).

The twelfth century also saw important changes in conceptions of the orders within Christian society, the subject of Constable's third study. Not only was there a new emphasis on the prestige of warriors and a recognition of the diversity of professions and occupations, but early medieval schemata that emphasized distinctions between priests and monks and between virgins, celibates, and married laity were largely replaced by the three-order scheme in which the clergy was collapsed into one order and the laity reconceived according to occupational functions. The "Mary and Martha" study reveals the least clear-cut transformation, since the New Testament sisters were customarily taken to stand respectively for the contemplative and active lives throughout the Middle Ages and since Christ's explicit statement that "Mary hath chosen the best part" was seldom contradicted. Nevertheless, Constable adduces evidence to show that, beginning around 1070, some writers attached distinctive worth to the active life in terms of the Mary/Martha analogy. The result is to make Meister Eckhart, who opted boldly for Martha, seem somewhat less lonely.

The three studies all proceed by what might be called the method of thick quotation. A host of writers, famous and obscure, are called to take the stand. If Constable has missed any noteworthy expressions concerning the subjects he treats, he has not missed many. His presentation of evidence is awesomely meticulous. Whenever there is any doubt about the attribution or a dating of a given work, he is sure to report it; if there is more than one version of a work, he will cite from both; if there is need to cite from manuscript, he will do so. The forty-three page bibliography of secondary works contains about 850 titles, all there for use rather than ostentation. Thick quotation does have its costs: one sometimes loses a sense of direction, and one sometimes would prefer more authorial intervention. But this is a work rich in learning and insights.

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DAVID A. E. PELTERET. *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England: From the Reign of Alfred until the Twelfth Century*. (Studies in Anglo-Saxon History, number 7.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1995. Pp. xvi, 375. £45.00.

That old chestnut about the Eskimos having sixty words for snow came repeatedly to mind when reading this important treatment of slavery in Anglo-Saxon and early Norman England. Among its accomplishments is an exhaustive annotated glossary of nearly 150 Old English terms concerning the slave trade, servile labor, and the institutional aspects of slavery. Such thoroughness is necessary, as the subject has not previously received the attention it deserves and the sources of information are unusually varied, ranging from manumission documents to homiletic and legal works. David A. E. Pelteret has made a major contribution to medieval English social history that also has



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implications for the hotly debated question of why and when slavery disappeared on the continent.

Pelteret has organized his findings around sources rather than chronology, but the meticulousness of his analysis makes his cautious conclusions regarding the changes in the period between Alfred and the aftermath of the Domesday Book (872–1125) convincing. While there are serious questions about whether the dependent tenants that appear in documents of Charlemagne's empire can be described as slaves, there is no doubt that a substantial portion of the population of England was enslaved during the Anglo-Saxon period. Agricultural labor, especially plowing, was undertaken by slaves. Slavery was a legal condition determined by birth, capture, or degradation in status. Until the last decades of the Anglo-Saxon era, it was distinct from serfdom. Although they might have some capacity to earn money or to work their own land, slaves were essentially objects belonging to their owners, possessed of very little legal personality or rights. They were not associated with specific pieces of land and received sustenance from their masters rather than cultivating land to feed themselves.

The development of conveying estates by charter ("bookland") along with the waning of tribal law meant that property relations surpassed legal status in importance. The distinction between slave and free became blurred when both held tenements from a superior. In the early eleventh-century customal known as *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, one finds slaves established on parcels that they worked themselves. Although in the Domesday Book ten to thirty percent of the population were still slaves, slavery was on the way out. By the third decade of the twelfth century, it had ceased to exist in England.

Pelteret's evidence and interpretation confirm what has been found for continental Europe: once slaves received land on which to support themselves, they became something other than slaves. Slavery persisted longer in England than elsewhere in the West, so that its demise is historiographically more visible. Here the end of slavery does not seem to be related to dramatic changes in aristocratic power in relation to public authority. The Norman conquest accelerated a process already underway rather than ushering in a new "feudal" regime based on manors, villeinage, and attachment to the land. This decline of Anglo-Saxon slavery before the Normans is perhaps the most interesting finding of Pelteret's study. Its chief importance, however, lies in the careful examination of available sources to demonstrate what slavery actually was in Anglo-Saxon England, both in practice and in the minds of contemporaries.

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NICHOLAS ORME and MARGARET WEBSTER. *The English Hospital, 1070–1570*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 308. $45.00.

For nearly a century, Rotha Mary Clay's *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England* (1909) has served as the only general study of these important and revealing institutions. Now Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster offer a general outline of the current state of knowledge and a detailed survey of hospitals in the little-studied region of southwestern England. Well written, thoroughly documented, generously illustrated, and very accessible, this book will claim a wide readership among those interested in the history of charitable and religious works. Equally significant, it supplies a missing chapter in general knowledge of medieval English medicine, a field still dominated by histories of university-educated physicians and their writings.

The chronological scope of this book is the five hundred years from the foundation of England's first independent hospitals in the late Saxon period until the Reformation, during which several hundred of these institutions left records of their existence. Orme's research, which forms the greater part of the book, follows the best current scholarship to steer the reader away from presentist notions of hospitals as "curing" institutions and toward an understanding of their "caring" role as charitable and religious entities. He begins with a bibliographical survey of historical writing on English hospitals and follows this with a sketch of their earliest known manifestations in Britain with the Roman armies. The book proper, though, actually begins with the eleventh-century emergence of the hospital as an institution independent from the monastery or great house.

The eleventh century was also when leprosy seems to have attracted the notice of the rich and powerful, who in fits and starts patronized hospitals as a way of isolating victims from the rest of society. Characteristically, Orme cautions against taking these isolation measures and the religious and legal proscriptions against contact with lepers at face value. In fact, lepers—and Orme wisely refrains from retrospective diagnosis of this protean disease—often mixed with the unafflicted. Laws and religious diatribes about lepers abounded in medieval England, but Orme finds sporadic evidence for standardized measures of hospital quarantine.

Care for the sick poor and hospitality for the traveller were more typical functions of the medieval English hospital, although even these functions could vary greatly. Worship and education—some institutions we call hospitals referred to themselves as chapels or colleges—also took place, more often than not in a geographically isolated site and under the patronage of an individual rather than a municipality or group. The most effective aspect of Orme's argument is in fact the skill with which he teases out this diversity in every aspect of hospital life: diversity of clientele, patrons, function, wealth, surviving documentation, location, religious association, and level of care. All this is buttressed by a remarkable set of maps, illustrations, and diagrams, which give the reader a sense of the



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physical presence of the buildings and of the day-to-day living that took place inside them.

The final hundred pages of the book are a bonus study, by Orme and Webster, of hospitals in southwestern England, with a detailed list of institutions in Cornwall and Devon. This regional survey may sit uncomfortably with some, as it is connected to what comes before largely by subject matter and not by approach. But it does remind the reader of the long time period and large geographical area the book covers and of how these fascinating institutions reflected the unique characteristics of their time and place.

FAYE GETZ
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EDWARD MILLER and JOHN HATCHER. *Medieval England: Towns, Commerce and Crafts, 1086–1348*. (Social and Economic History of England.) New York: Longman. 1995. Pp. xvii, 469.

It is quite possible that most reviews of this book will touch on the fact that we have been waiting nearly sixteen years for the sequel to Edward Miller's and John Hatcher's classic study, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change 1086–1348* (1978). Well, so we have, and the question must be whether the wait has been worth it. The answer is mixed: mostly yes, but with some reservations. This book clearly suffers from being so divorced in time from its companion volume, not least because it is almost impossible to see the growth of the non-agrarian sector except in the light of what occupied at least eighty percent of the population. The authors are aware of this and make valiant attempts to compensate for it, especially in their final chapter. It must be said, however, that they are not entirely successful. The volume does stand somewhat apart from its predecessor, and, consequently, it seems to lack a central theme or argument. Those looking for general explanations of England's urban development in these centuries will find them more coherently addressed in Richard Britnell's recent book, *The Commercialisation of English Society* (1993), or in the volume of essays he coedited with Bruce Campbell, *A Commercialising Economy: England 1186 to c. 1300* (1995). There are also one or two surprising omissions. Great emphasis is rightly laid on the importance of the growth of London. Given this, there should have been some consideration of the work of Derek Keene and his colleagues on feeding the city, even if *A Medieval Capital and Its Grain Supply* (1993) appeared too late for consideration here. Use of Robert C. Stacey's work on the Jews would also have been valuable.

Yet, in spite of these reservations, there is much to be welcomed in this well-written and mercifully jargon-free study. At every stage, the extensive use of original source material, both printed and manuscript, widens our understanding and perceptions of urban and mercantile society. It is not so much that anything new is being said; it is simply that it is said so well and that such a weight of supporting evidence is so skillfully presented. Perhaps it is invidious to highlight specific sections, but I found those on industry, on overseas trade, and on the structure of urban government and the role of guilds the most rewarding. The analysis of the development of an English mercantile class both commercially and politically is also outstanding, and the chapter on medieval townsfolk successfully conveys to the modern reader a real sense of the stresses and strains of life in the vital but unhealthy towns. Above all, there is a sense of perspective. The opening chapter on Domesday England provides a standard of comparison, and throughout the book the comparative approach never falters. Miller and Hatcher may not, in the end, make their minds up about change in the economy before the advent of plague, but, then, neither has anyone else. The divorce of the volume from that on agriculture is to be regretted, but this is nonetheless a satisfying and rewarding read, and the authors are to be congratulated on a significant task now completed.

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MARYANNE KOWALESKI. *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 442.

Maryanne Kowaleski has entered the intensely cultivated area of English local history with a complex and valuable work based on painstaking research into the rich and varied records of medieval Exeter. Dividing her topic into three broad sections, Kowaleski provides an informative discussion of the medieval economy at the county level in Devon before focusing, in a second section, on Exeter itself. In a third section, she tackles the topic of local markets and regional trade networks. Her approach is two-pronged: an analysis of Exeter as a nexus of local, regional, and international trade; and an investigation of the market system through the study of "organization, participants, and mechanics of exchange" (p. 2).

Among her significant contributions, she has traced the careers and connections of hundreds, indeed, thousands, of individuals in the fourteenth (especially 1378–1388) and fifteenth centuries, relying on prosopography as her central methodology. Kowaleski divides Exeter inhabitants into four groups (ranks) on the basis of their holding political offices and as a reflection of their wealth. The oligarchy, ranks A of predominately merchants and B of mostly wealthy artisans or hostelers, belonged to the so-called freedom, conveying full political citizenship, significant economic privileges, such as trading at retail, and judicial rights, such as pledging and essoin rights within local courts. Ranks C and D belonged much less frequently to the freedom than the higher ranks. Although Kowaleski uses prosopography in a definition of social milieux and to make economic connec-



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tions between individuals, one senses that her enormous database will yield future insights in the realm of social history. Readers will regret that there are no informative biographies of central figures of the Exeter oligarchy in the appendixes, as is so often the case in rich prosopographical studies. The economic focus may have precluded such social history luxuries.

Kowaleski's fundamental challenge is to account for the prominence of Exeter as an economic center, given its small population of 3,100 in 1377. On a regional level, other paradoxes also impede accurate interpretation of Devon's economic position, such as its low tax assessment in light of the large number of markets, fairs, and boroughs in the county. Kowaleski is able to bring new sets of data to bear on previous studies and on royally generated data. In this way, she explains Exeter's importance in international trade, despite its relatively low ranking in maritime customs records, by the predominance of coastal trade and regional transshipment escaping maritime record.

In examining non-resident participation in Exeter commerce, Kowaleski determines that non-residents who brought suit in Exeter courts prevailed less often than residents. The share of local versus regional participation in trade varied according to the economic sector, however. The import trade was in the hands of regional inhabitants; eighty percent of the fish dealers and over eighty percent of the importers were from outside Exeter. But Exeter's role as a staple through which exports had to be channeled allowed its residents to assume a dominant role in the cloth trade and in cloth manufacture.

The appendixes provide an excellent introduction to a diverse body of sources, including the valuable debt cases of borough court rolls. Also included are an extensive list of markets and fairs in medieval Devon, some of them newly discovered, and a list of Exeter householders in 1377. The bibliography is very narrowly focused on England; Kowaleski invokes Fernand Braudel's model of commercial development in the introduction and conclusion only to indict his focus on the upper echelons of long-distance trade involving major merchants and large cities. Kowaleski demonstrates that commercialization at the level of the local and regional economy, including agriculture and in market towns, was probably more significant than earlier recognized. This is an impressive and weighty study whose author should be commended for her patience and industry.

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CHRISTOPHER BASWELL. *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the* Aeneid *from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, number 24.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 438. $59.95.

This book on the *fortuna* of the *Aeneid* in England from the twelfth through the early sixteenth centuries combines originality of conception with interdisciplinary learning in a way sure to interest readers of this journal. Christopher Baswell examines a number of twelfth-century *Aeneid* manuscript glosses and other evidences of reception added in their margins by later readers and owners. Apparently influenced by the art historian L. M. J. Delaissé's notion of the "archaeology of the book," Baswell adapts it from codicology to literary and cultural study: "I will approach my material largely through its manuscripts—the specific codex with its many signs and inscriptions beyond the original central text, and with its own archeology resulting, often, from centuries of changing use" (p. 5).

A well-placed opening chapter on the *accessus ad auctores* tradition as it was applied to Virgil's poem and on illustration as a form of commentary is especially valuable for the way it considers the book as an art object and skillfully relates texts, commentary, and illustrations, even in the vernacular manuscript tradition. For example, the illustrations of illuminations or of pages from the manuscripts in question are thoughtfully worked into the textual discussion rather than left for the reader to interpret. In the early chapters, Baswell surveys "three largely separate textual traditions—independent allegorizing commentary, vernacular redaction, and school commentaries both marginal and independent" (p. 13). Thus, chapter two studies "pedagogical" commentaries—Servius as reworked by Anselm of Laon—on the basis of Oxford, All Souls College MS 82. The integumental or spiritual allegorizing approach occupies chapter three, and the well-known (possibly) Bernard of Silvestris Cambridge, MS Peterhouse 158 is Baswell's source. Fourteenth-century moral allegory with a political edge relating to the dominant strain in the *Aeneid* of the "foundation of empire" is the subject of chapter four, which is based on evidence from London, British Library MS Add. 27304.

In chapters five and six, Baswell moves on from manuscripts to more general cultural and literary studies. The former treats the vernacular tradition of the poem in the Old French *Roman d'Eneas* and the latter—the most self consciously postmodern in the book, with subsections like "Aeneas and Geoffrey as hermeneutic heroes" and "Decentering authority in *House of Fame* I"—considers Chaucer's use of the *Aeneid* in the *House of Fame* and the *Legend of Good Women*. Baswell notes the "unstable frontier" between the page as a physical object with its glosses and comments and the formal text on that page as he considers how the translator of the *Roman* includes an episode on the basis of a marginal comment. A conclusion covers Renaissance responses to Virgil's poem. Appendixes list, among other items, thirty-seven Virgil manuscripts or fragments, chiefly of the *Aeneid*, because the *Georgics* and *Eclogues* were not as popular, written or owned in England, with detailed



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description of the layers of commentary and appended bibliography for each item.

Baswell's book is very carefully produced and proofread save for a few missing or wrong diacritics in French and German words (p. xvi) and missing italics to titles occasionally in the notes (eg. p. 374, n. 3). The notes and select bibliography are full, although I found no reference there to Peter Kulsár's now standard *Mythographi Vaticani I et II* (1987). Instead, Baswell relies on Bode's inaccessible 1834 edition of the *Three Vatican Mythographers* but does not note the Olms reprint (1968). The articles on them by Richard Krill and Henning Sjöstrom should also have been cited.

Though Jane Chance's early book on genius is mentioned, Baswell seems not to know her later collection *The Mythographic Art* (1990), containing William Reynolds's updated discussion of Bersuire. Katherine Heinrichs's *The Myths of Love: Classical Lovers in Medieval Literature* (1990) and Craig Kallendorf's *Latin Influences on English Literature from the Middle Ages to the Eighteenth Century: An Annotated Bibliography of Scholarship, 1945–1979* (1983) might also have been included.

There is the obligatory bow to "Po-Mo Speak" in buzz words like "inscribe" and "readerly," and the participular title of one chapter, "Writing the reading of Virgil," may make some readers wince. But the book is a wonderful guide to the medieval reception of Virgil's poem, combining some of the best techniques of manuscript study with a keen and just use of literary analysis.

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JOHN B. FRIEDMAN. *Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1995. Pp. xxvi, 423. $39.95.

John B. Friedman approaches the culture of northern England in the late medieval period through manuscripts and wills that speak to the issues of literacy, book ownership, and manuscript production. This work is as much a contribution to manuscript illumination as to codicology, as interested in popular piety as in the libraries of aristocratic and clerical elites. It attempts to identify characteristic elements of northern English society through its book culture.

The book begins with a chapter on book-owning men and women as revealed by the rich collection of wills from northern England that have long been an important source for late medieval social and ecclesiastical history. Particular attention is given to women as book owners and book doners, adding important information to the work of Joanne Hoeppner Moran, Joel Rosenthal, and Susan Bell. The second chapter is on professional scribes in northern England, which Friedman claims make their appearance only toward the end of the fourteenth century. The following two chapters discuss elements, mostly from border decoration, that help identify a regional style or at least a regional preference for stylistic features such as the use of certain pigments, an archaizing style, and the interlace and mask medallion style. But since many of these features are not unique to northern England, their use in lieu of a colophon to identify manuscripts produced there is open to question. The final two chapters turn to the uses to which the majority of evidence points: popular piety and devotion, elements of clerical training, and baronial patronage of book production and consumption. The text is followed by an essay on pigment *folium* (Appendix A); a list of extant northern manuscripts (Appendix B); a list of books mentioned in northern wills (Appendix C); the notes; a glossary of relevant art historical and codicological terms; and an extensive bibliography and index.

The core of the book and its value lie in Friedman's analysis of individual manuscripts that were produced in or connected with northern England. Since the book is heavy on detail and somewhat rambling, it is unfortunate that the publishers chose to place the notes toward the end of the volume rather than have them at the bottom of the page. More care should have been taken with Appendix C, which categorizes the works identified from wills. Some categories are straightforward: service and devotional works, patristic, legal, exegetical. One wonders, however, why grammar gets placed in with classical works and literary texts; why an otherwise unidentified work of Nicholas Trivet gets placed in the historical section; why Giles of Rome's *De Regimine Principum* and a work of Augustinus Triumphus are placed in "Books: Miscellaneous or Unclassifiable"; and why Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* and William Durandus's *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* are placed under "Books: Miscellaneous, of Clerical and Popular Piety." That Friedman chose to list some authors by first name and others by last, to give some names in Latin and others in English; and to retain in some cases what may have been the spelling in the will ("Ysoderus Episcopus" but surely not "Praepositivus" ) while changing others are minor annoyances. The sections themselves, however, combined with an arbitrary and sometimes erroneous assignment of titles, seriously undermine the comparative analysis that he presents in chapter one. Although one is able to gain an idea, in the first chapter, of what particular persons possessed, this all-important linkage is lacking in Appendix C, where the numbers of copies of specific works are mentioned without regard for the type of persons (male or female, priest, scholar, merchant, noble) or institution (secular, mendicant, monastic) that owned them and thus what types of works were likely to be linked in one collection. The chapter on clerical and popular piety is similarly too undifferentiated. Still, in its abundant detail the work is a valuable contribution to the



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manuscript culture of northern England in the late Middle Ages.

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ELIZABETH GEMMILL and NICHOLAS MAYHEW. *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland: A Study of Prices, Money, and Weights and Measures*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 419. $79.95.

At the heart of this significant book by Elizabeth Gemmill and Nicholas Mayhew, which attempts to do what has never been done before, lies a 200-page survey of 6,000 prices for twenty-four commodities. In each case, the unit price is tabulated, indexed (taking 1300 to the 1340s as 100), deflated to take account of widening Anglo-Scottish exchange rates, and then compared with English prices. Preceding this impressive central exposition are analyses of, first, prices in Aberdeen and, second, Scottish currency, weights, and measures. Based on a near complete run of records from 1398 to 1542, the former is a particularly impressive piece of work that convincingly surveys, among other things, the assizes of bread and ale. As far as the coinage is concerned, the analysis will be of particular help to those who previously have had little exposure to the subject, but more valuable still will be the discussion (backed up by a detailed glossary) of weights and measures, which are potentially a minefield. It is reassuring to be told that, although measures of capacity grew in this period, not only did weights tend to be reasonably constant but that, overall, changes in this sphere blur rather than obscure the picture altogether.

The remaining sections of the volume deal with price trends and what these meant for the Scottish economy at large. Here the severe limitations of the survey are frankly confronted, the principal one being the fragmentary nature of much of the evidence. Far from there being sufficient data to allow prices to be studied on a regional basis, there is in reality not even enough to permit decennial averages before the 1460s. All this notwithstanding, a praiseworthy attempt is made to draw positive conclusions. First, Gemmill and Mayhew suggest that, though not the same, Scottish prices down to the 1340s tracked those south of the border, whereas subsequently they did not. As far as livestock was concerned, the English paid the same or more than they had done in the period 1330 to 1346, whereas the Scots paid less. On the other hand, English cereal prices in the later period fell below those of 1330 to 1346 while Scottish ones rose significantly. This rise from the late fourteenth century is attributed in large part to currency depreciation, which, in turn, is seen as facilitating economic expansion in general. By contrast, a strong, hard monetary stance by England may have obstructed economic growth there in the later medieval period.

Because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence already referred to, we cannot be sure that all of this is correct, but we should resist the temptation to be overly critical of the book as a whole. Price history in Scotland is an important issue. Gemmill and Mayhew have brought together a significant amount of evidence, and they have had the courage to look to the wider picture. They readily admit that they found their study a challenge; it is now up to other scholars to accept the challenge they extend by building on the new data base provided and testing the interpretations that have been offered.

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THOMAS F. GLICK. *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1995. Pp. xxi, 201. Cloth $69.95, paper $24.95.

The study of Christian and Islamic Spain in the Middle Ages has changed dramatically since 1978 with the proliferation of archaeological research in the field. Archaeologists have focused on patterns of irrigation, castles and their dependent villages, and changes in pottery-making techniques, and they have provided a far more detailed picture of medieval Spanish rural life than was available twenty years ago. Few English-speaking historians of Spain, however, have made use of these rich new sources. One of Thomas F. Glick's goals in this book is to acquaint historians with the new archaeological research and its relevance to their work. In doing so, he returns to themes he explored in *Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia* (1970) and *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (1979): diffusion of technologies, the relationship between technologies and social structure, and the strengths and limitations of archaeological evidence.

The book is for the most part arranged chronologically, moving from late Roman times to the early modern period, although the major focus is on the Middle Ages. Some chapters concentrate on a particular type of evidence (irrigation systems, castle complexes) rather than on a specific period of time. Instead of developing a single argument, the book is organized around a series of questions raised by new evidence. Glick outlines recent scholarly arguments in the field and evaluates them, although he does not pretend to resolve every issue. Some of the most fascinating questions, and the most hotly debated, concern rural society in Islamic Spain. What was the extent of Berber settlement in the countryside? Were village societies organized along tribal lines? If so, did such organization apply only to Berbers and Arabs, or did Muwallads (Iberian converts to Islam) adopt tribal kinship structures as part of their assimilation? Glick treats rural society in Christian Spain as well, with a discussion of castle building and what it can tell us about the development of feudalism.

A major theme of this book is the use and misuse of



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sources. Glick shows how archaeological evidence can test theories developed out of written sources. To give one example: a number of historians, myself included, have argued in support of Richard Bulliet's hypothesis (outlined in his *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period* [1979]) that the mid-eighth century was a time of rapid cultural and social change in Islamic Spain, during which the rate of conversion to Islam accelerated. Glick points out that the archaeological record shows a shift from Roman and Visigothic to Islamic styles of pottery beginning precisely in that period, with the shift happening less quickly in rural than urban areas. This evidence supports Bulliet's theory that Islamic cultural influence was on the rise and that it was strongest in urban areas. At the same time, however, Glick is sensitive to the ambiguous nature of sources, archaeological or otherwise. The shift in pottery styles on its own does not tell us a great deal; it becomes significant only when combined with other types of evidence. A Berber place name does not guarantee that all of a village's residents were Berber, nor does the use of Roman terminology in legal documents necessarily mean that Roman institutions had been preserved.

Another strength of this book is its sophisticated model of how societies and cultures change as they come in contact with one another. Glick rejects both the arguments of an earlier generation of Spanish historians that fundamental qualities of Spanish society were unchanged by the Islamic presence and the no less simplistic view that Islamization happened all at once. He instead shows us people trying to negotiate among a complex and changing array of social structures, technologies, kinship ties, and religious systems.

For historians of Spain, this book will be indispensable. Its one limitation is that scholars outside the field may be put off by the detailed analysis of evidence and scholarly conflicts. Glick makes a good argument that such an analysis is needed, and his interdisciplinary approach, his sharp use of evidence, and his complex analysis of historical change make his work a model for historians in any field. I would, however, like to have seen a chapter presenting his conclusions in a slightly more accessible form.

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R. W. SOUTHERN. *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*. Volume 1, *Foundations*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1995. Pp. xx, 329. $44.95.

There would not be much debate about the proposition that R. W. Southern has been the most influential English medievalist of the postwar period. Southern is best known for his broad works of synthesis, especially *The Making of the Middle Ages* (1952) and *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (1970). These works are distinguished not for methodological innovation or even broad, overarching interpretations so much as for Southern's extraordinary gift—equally apparent in his articles and books on narrower subjects—at explicating telling and typical personalities and events to make moments of the past come alive.

This new work is the first of three projected volumes that will arrive at a summation of Southern's research dating back to the late 1960s on the intellectual life and social environment of the schools of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The goal of the trilogy will be "to examine the local and European environments of the scholastic studies of western Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the aims and methods of these studies, and their influence on the lives and behavior of European people"; lending additional importance to this subject, moreover, is the fact that "a large part of the teaching of the medieval schools continued to influence the thoughts and conduct of the majority of people in western Europe on both sides of the great divide between Roman Catholic and Protestant until the twentieth century" (p. 1). The present work treats the beginning of the period that Southern intends to cover: from the early twelfth century to about 1160, when European learning began to take on the interests and structure that it would retain until well into the thirteenth century.

The "scholastic humanism" of the title refers to the scholarly interests in widening the scope of rational learning generally and promoting the study of classical literature as a means to this end. These elements are key to Southern's understanding of the culture of the period, which he sees as deliberately working out these problems, both of which were closely linked to the needs of the church and Christian religion. (Largely absent from his treatment, and oddly so given his skill at evoking the life of the schools, is the role of competition among scholars on narrower but more immediately pressing or fashionable subjects.) Correspondingly, it is the exhaustion of this program in the early fourteenth century, when "the hope of universal order faded" (p. 56), that brings to a close this crucial period of European intellectual history. Among the specific topics discussed are the schools of Chartres, the role of the Bible in the schools, and the schools of Paris.

As this list of topics suggests, readers who do not know Southern's previous work well will probably find this volume of greater interest than those who have tracked down his various articles over the years. The section on the school of Chartres is essentially a condensed version of his important essays on the subject, and elsewhere, too, Southern restates arguments he has already made. Indeed, one important shortcoming of the book is that Southern often takes no account of work done in the last ten or fifteen years. A second blind spot is Italy. Only at the end does Southern come to the *studium* of Bologna, and his treatment of it is notably cursory, with few references to recent works or anything written in Italian.

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## MODERN EUROPE

SACHIKO KUSUKAWA. *The Transformation of Natural Philosophy: The Case of Philip Melanchthon*. (Ideas in Context, number 34.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. xv, 246. $59.95.

Despite his importance in the history of the Reformation and his prodigious output of books, Philip Melanchthon remains a somewhat elusive figure. This is true despite the existence of several valuable biographies and a large body of specialized studies. Even his role in the Reformation movement has evoked conflicting evaluations, but he has been even more puzzling to intellectual and cultural historians. No one can deny Melanchthon's importance as the principal leader in the reorganization of schools and universities in Protestant Germany. But even though his publications included a flood of textbooks designed to promote educational change, the deeper intellectual significance of his works remains an open question.

Sachiko Kusukawa focuses attention on one of the least understood fields on which Melanchthon wrote, natural science. His publications included two widely used textbooks, *Commentarius de anima* and *Initia doctrinae physicae*. Earlier studies have approached these works either as examples of the restoration of Aristotle's scientific books to the Wittenberg curriculum or as quaintly inept efforts to push the study of natural science in directions that ultimately contributed (or did not contribute) to the Scientific Revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The principal strength of Kusukawa's book is that she has adopted a more genuinely historical goal: "to understand what natural philosophy meant *to Melanchthon*."

This turns out to be a fruitful line of investigation, bringing to light both the traditional and the innovative in his thought. Melanchthon did approach natural philosophy in a new way, and the newness had little to do with his addition of other ancient sources to the Aristotelian material inherited from the Middle Ages. Like Martin Luther, he charged that Aristotelian natural philosophy dealt with abstractions, mere words and concepts such as matter and form, rather than with the world of things; and his science was presented as an explicitly Lutheran system, aiming to prepare students to understand Luther's theology. Unlike his scholastic predecessors, he did not pursue this theological goal by using rational argumentation to demonstrate religious doctrines. Instead, his books merely taught students to admire the greatness of the Creator who had devised such an orderly and beautiful universe. Natural philosophy could reveal the providential hand of God working in the created world, but it could not bridge the chasm created by original sin. Thus, the study of science would direct the student back to revelation and would reaffirm the Lutheran doctrine that salvation is by faith alone. Melanchthon's work on physics, for example, offered philosophical proofs of God's existence, but such knowledge is not of the same order as the knowledge of God gained from revelation.

Unlike scripture, philosophy cannot advance the soul toward salvation. In the course of working out his books on psychology and physics, Melanchthon significantly reinterpreted the relationship between body and soul, drawing heavily on medical authors like Galen and insisting that the traditional scholastic distinction between body and soul was unscriptural and scientifically unsound. In his work on physics, he laid great emphasis on the importance of astronomy, astrology, and mathematics; and his energetic defense of astrology depended not on superstition but on his conviction that astrology provided a clear example of divine providence at work in the world.

Certain aspects of Kusukawa's argument remain elusive. She shows that Melanchthon conceived his natural philosophy as a bulwark of concepts of natural law and social order that he thought were threatened by followers of the Reformed tradition. But the exact point of difference is not clear. Indeed, the concluding chapter admits that the contrasts between this "Lutheran" natural science and the science of the Reformed were not quite so sharp as Melanchthon himself thought. Parts of Kusukawa's discussion of pre-Reformation German scholasticism do not ring true. For example, her claim that after 1425 the University of Cologne was open to the *via moderna* is not borne out by the latest studies. Nevertheless, her desire to investigate Melanchthon's influential scientific works in terms of their author's own goals is effectively fulfilled. This book contributes much of value both to an understanding of Melanchthon and to an understanding of scientific study in the sixteenth century.

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SAMUEL CLARK. *State and Status: The Rise of the State and Aristocratic Power in Western Europe*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 502. Cloth $55.00, paper $24.95.

This is an ambitious book that oddly combines the training and vocabulary of a sociologist with the instincts of a rather particularistic kind of historian. Samuel Clark's theme is the way the growth of the state in early modern times affected the aristocracy in France, the British Isles, Savoy, and the southern Low Countries (modern Belgium). His method is to break down aristocratic roles into different kinds of power (political, economic, cultural, and, most importantly, status), and to compare and interrelate them in terms of centralizing processes in each of the territories mentioned. His conclusion is that early modern monarchies institutionalized and radically changed aristocratic status but did so in ways that varied from state to state and from centers to peripheries. By status Clark means not rank but esteem, which is not necessarily linked to other kinds of power. In France, for example, the nobility of the sword had more status but less political influence than the judicial nobility of the robe.



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Clark's historical scrupulosity is manifest in his warnings against judgmental present-mindedness, his readiness to admit the role of accident, and his preference for multicausal explanation. Thus he writes: "(T)he differences in status structures were not the result of one or two causal forces, but the product of a great number of mostly unpredictable historical events and developments over centuries of history" (p. 189). Yet he would not be a sociologist if he did not allow models and large processes to play some part in his schema. He makes particular use of E. W. Fox and Charles Tilly on the differences between trade-oriented water-based states and militarily coercive land-based states. The trouble is that only the Dutch United Provinces and Savoy, respectively, accurately correspond with these types, and elsewhere the result is paradox and endless qualification. At the same time, Clark launches a series of critical methodological forays against most of the great figures in the development of sociology as a discipline—forays that are not always relevant to the point at hand.

The book is based on extraordinarily wide reading, and, like most works of historical sociology, relies upon the primary research of historians. Clark is obliged to take a stand upon a variety of long-standing historical debates, such as the dating of the decline of the manorial system, the Tudor revolution in government, the rise or decline of the gentry, the English division between court and country, and the description of early modern France as a society of corporate orders rather than of classes. At times he changes his stance or dismisses these issues and on occasion omits important ingredients in the debate. Further, he omits two controversies very relevant to his subject: the nature of absolutism, and conflicting interpretations of French peasant revolts.

Inevitably, specialists will discern some false brush strokes in so wide a canvas. For example, the Basques were not invaders like Vandals, Visigoths, and Franks (p. 312) and the list of aristocratic revolts against Cardinal Richelieu should not contain the names of the Marquis de Chalais and the Marquis de Cinq-Mars, who were merely conspirators, and should include the Comte de Soissons, whose rebellion nearly succeeded in 1641 (p. 240). It must be said, however, that despite the complexity and open-endedness of many of Clark's conclusions, his book is a more accurate and more historically minded endeavor than most ventures in this genre. Every reader has something to learn from it.

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Joy Wiltenburg. *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany*. (Feminist Issues: Practice, Politics, Theory.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1992. Pp. x, 352. $12.95.

Joy Wiltenburg's book catalogues and compares the images of women and the stories of their relations with men in the short pamphlet and broadside literature of England and Germany from 1550 to 1680. In her methods and analytical approach, she draws on three of early modern European history's most challenging scholarly initiatives: Natalie Zemon Davis's speculation about the meanings of the era's elite images of "women on top" (*Society and Culture in Early Modern France* [1975]); Robert W. Scribner's semiotic analysis of "street literature" in *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (1981); and Lyndal Roper's *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (1989). Wiltenburg's investigation supports Roper's contention that gender and the reaffirmation of a gendered hierarchy within the family and society are central to an understanding of the Reformation and of its success as an ideology and a popular movement.

Wiltenburg acknowledges the problem inherent in any study of popular literatures: namely, that the historian can never be sure of their relationship to "real life" experience and attitudes. In addition, although she reviewed approximately 4,000 ballads, songs, broadsheets, and short pamphlets (under 10 pages), Wiltenburg found that the scarcity and skewed nature of the sources hampered her comparisons. More survived from England after 1600 and more from the German cities before that date. Content varied. Social themes appeared more frequently in the German sources about 1600 but later, in the 1640s, in the English ones. Even so, Wiltenburg's careful thematic categorization and her description of images and narratives make useful additions to current research on Reformation society.

Successive chapters summarize English and German popular portrayals of women as heroines, as wives, as powerful beings suffused with sexuality, as the victims of violence, and as criminals. Each set of summaries includes comparisons of specific images and narratives. In the final chapter, Wiltenburg suggests how these particular similarities and differences relate to the more general perspectives of sixteenth and seventeenth-century German and English popular audiences.

Wiltenburg premises these general conclusions on the assumption that a historian can "understand a culture" by "paying attention to the elements it seeks to suppress and control" (p. 5). This English and German street literature provides a broad range of gendered portrayals of suppression and control. Wiltenburg hypothesizes that her study of these portrayals can lead to comparison of the interaction between gender and popular assumptions about authority, order, and the individual. Building on the analyses of Alan MacFarlane about England and David Sabean about Germany, Wiltenburg sees a significant difference in the perceptions of society revealed by these interactions. The English sources reflect a turn toward individualism. In the context of



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this positive view of the individual's relationship to society, English street literature allowed women a certain latitude and legitimate influence in marriage. The German sources, in contrast, increasingly emphasized a universal ideal for women: that of the obedient and submissive wife. This, Wiltenburg explains, reflects a negative view of the social environment. German street literature portrayed a world of impending chaos against which family cohesion and a gendered hierarchy offered the only defense.

JUDITH P. ZINSSER
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LAURINDA S. DIXON. *Perilous Chastity: Women and Illness in Pre-Enlightenment Art and Medicine*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 297. Cloth $55.00, paper $22.50.

Laurinda S. Dixon's book is a reinterpretation of a genre of seventeenth-century Dutch art: pictures that focus on a young woman who is either swooning or sick. In many depictions of this theme, the woman is pale, listless, melancholy, and appealingly half-dressed. She is surrounded by anxious relatives and physicians who are often in the process of bleeding the patient, collecting specimens of her urine, or conferring about her condition. Some of these well-wishers appear ridiculous or incompetent, while others seem to be leering at the victim or the viewer.

Most commentators have assumed that the pictures depict a lovesick maiden, probably one who is also pregnant. Dixon, however, interprets the pictures not as sympathetic or satirical portraits of a woman wronged but as depictions of contemporary beliefs about women's inherent instability, which was taken to be a serious medical condition. "The medical subtext of these paintings delineated the life-style most congenial to the maintenance of health, defined correct societal roles, alluded to women's intellectual and physical limitations, and by extension, clarified what was best for the larger common good as far as the female sex was concerned" (p. 10). "Perilous chastity," then, refers to the physically fragile and volatile condition of chaste young women whose bodies required sexual activity to ensure health but whose morals required sexual abstinence to insure respectability.

Foremost among the theories of female pathology was the theory of the womb as an animal, an organ whose erratic movements might threaten a woman's health and sanity, even to the point of wandering about her body and lodging in her throat, destroying both her emotional equilibrium and her mental powers. This condition was portrayed through iconography and formal gestures popular in seventeenth-century culture; a repertoire of symbolism, posture, and movement was used as a kind of universal language in theatrical productions as well as paintings. Thus, a painting of a woman with hands folded and fingers intertwined was a depiction of anguish of mind as well as inactivity. The frequent inclusion of a cat sitting near the patient further suggested that the cause of the ailment was melancholia associated with a heated womb craving sexual intercourse, while the presence of vases or bottles suggested the shape of the womb itself. Dixon's book closes with a discussion of modern depictions of ailing women, showing that, while humoral theories have been invalidated since the eighteenth century, women were—and are—still believed to be uniquely vulnerable to attacks of emotional instability and depression.

The book contains a wealth of information, not only about medical theory, iconography, and popular stereotypes of women's illness but also on various cures for illness, including music therapy and, in the eighteenth century, vigorous swinging. Much of this material will be familiar to students of early moydern women's history. But even specialists will be gratified by the wealth of visual documentation, which includes medical, musical, and artistic works from the Middle Ages through the eighteenth century.

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CHRISTOPHER FOX, ROY PORTER, and ROBERT WOKLER, editors. *Inventing Human Science: Eighteenth-Century Domains*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 357. $45.00.

This book is a collection of eleven essays that deserves attentive reading on three counts. It is, first, an object lesson in how collections should be assembled; second, an important contribution to eighteenth-century/Enlightenment studies; and, third, an innovative grappling with the emerging field of the history of the human sciences.

As many historians know, publishers are wary of essay collections, often for good reasons—the volumes lack unity—as well as for bad—they do not sell in large numbers. The book under review, however, is exemplary. Christopher Fox, one of the editors, has written a splendid introduction that sets the stage for the essays that follow, tying them together and, at the same time, offering some of his own ideas. The essays are all well written and frequently make cross-references; the authors actually seem to have read each other's contributions! The abundant footnotes make for a rich, immediately available bibliography on the human sciences in the eighteenth century. If there is any caveat, it would be that some of the essays exhibit a tendency to "cover" a large topic—David Hume or John Locke—in a couple of sentences. This aside, as a collection, the present volume is a model.

All scholars interested in the intellectual history of the eighteenth century will want to read this book. What makes it of special interest, however, is its focus on human science. The book's subtitle is "Eighteenth-Century Domains." The domains treated, to give them their present-day names, are anthropology (with essays by Robert Wokler, Roy Porter, Roger Smith, and Phillip Sloan), psychology (Gary Hatfield), sociology



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(David Carrithers), political economy (Sylvana Tomaselli), and political science (Robert Wokler). In addition, there is an essay on sex and gender (Ludmilla Jordonova) and one on non-normal sciences, such as animal magnetism and phrenology (Gloria Flaherty).

The domains identified were not specialized studies in the eighteenth century, but, as the contributors point out, were part of an undifferentiated science of man, or, as it was often called, the study of human nature. Much of the book serves to show how European man increasingly in that period took himself as an object of study (there is also some discussion of a science of woman, especially by Jordonova). The human being was placed in the context of natural history, and nurture—in the form of customs, manners, and governments (Montesquieu, as Carrithers shows, was especially forward in this regard)—was given precedence over, or at least situated along side of, nature. In Sloan's apt phrase, the "gaze" of natural history envisioned man in a changing space and time.

The volume's contributors also emphasize the importance of institutions. For example, George-Louis Buffon and Carolus Linnaeus (one at the Jardin du Roi in Paris, and the other at the University of Uppsala) backed their conceptions of human science with followers and concrete research projects. As Fox piquantly remarks in passing, "man made a spectacle of himself" (p. 8), in part by establishing museums and undertaking voyages to gaze at himself in various locales.

Two questions are given prominent place in the volume. One involves a debate with Michel Foucault. Foucault, as Roger Smith puts it, "was explicit that the Enlightenment interest in human nature was not to be equated with the modern human sciences" (p. 93). Who is right, Foucault or the authors of the collection under review, who oppose him? In part, the argument revolves around Foucault's concept of "rupture," and in part it turns on the definition of human science. For Foucault, man did not exist in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, any more than life, or language, or labor did. The human sciences had to wait for the nineteenth century to put in an appearance. In any event, Foucault's ghost haunts this volume, though a number of the contributors keep trying to exorcise it. (I might add that I am on the side of the contributors.)

The other question involves the very title of the book: given that the human sciences are present in the Enlightenment, were they invented then, or were they simply developing on a continuum already present? Hatfield, for example, declares forthrightly that "psychology . . . was not *invented* during the eighteenth century but *remade*" (p. 188). Other essayists slide toward this view but in general halt with an insistence on their subjects becoming sufficently new as to warrant the adjective "invented."

To judge this matter, one has to look both before and after the eighteenth century. Clearly, it is the seventeenth-century "Scientific Revolution" that inspired those who wished to look "scientifically" at not only "natural" but at "human" phenomena. The latter gaze was already to be found in the 1600s, and Hobbes, Locke, Spinoza, and others of their contemporaries are duly noted as partaking in this perspective. It is, however, true that the interest reached a kind of flood tide during the Enlightenment, and a basic positivist (although this word does not even appear in the index) approach developed. The science of man, the study of human nature: with these the human sciences, conceptually though tentatively, enter modern history.

It remained for the nineteenth century to usher in the age of specialization and professionalization, both in the natural and the human sciences, and to transform the human sciences into the entities that we know today: anthropology, paleontology, sociology, psychology, and classical and neo-classical economics. Only in the light of this overall history can we judge meaningfully the question of the "invention" of human science.

It is, of course, a tribute to the book under review that it forces such considerations on us. Indeed, in his introductory essay, Fox concludes by declaring that the book is meant to be "suggestive," "hoping to chart some key directions for further work" (p. 19). In that spirit, I offer a a few comments.

The role of technology is downplayed in the present volume. Allusion is made to the material basis of emerging sociological thought, as in Adam Ferguson, but more could be made of this general subject.

The geography of the mind is another issue. The contributors focus mainly on French, English, and Scottish thinkers. Was the German *Aufklärung* not part of the Enlightenment? Kant, of course, is frequently mentioned, and Herder is given a few lines, but more attention should be paid to the *Sturm und Drang* movement. Ought the challenges to reason to be more directly addressed, in Frederick C. Beisel's *The Fate of Reason* (1987)?

These caveats aside, the book is a splendid, unified contribution to an exciting new field, which it is helping to define. History of science is by now an accepted subfield in history, with academic departments, graduate students, and curricula. Its subject, however, is mainly natural science. The same cannot be said for human science. While there are a few journals devoted to the subject, the field is largely untilled and uninstitutionalized. Philosophers of science are relatively abundant, but historians are less so. The present book takes a major step toward correcting this one-sided situation.

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Charlotte Tacke. *Denkmal im sozialen Raum: Nationale Symbole in Deutschland und Frankreich im neunzehnten Jahrhundert.* (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 108.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1995. Pp. 408. DM 68.

This well-argued comparative study is a major contribution to historical scholarship on national identity in



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nineteenth-century Europe. In the course of the nineteenth century, the Gallic Vercingetorix and Germanic Hermann became national heroes whose legendary battles against the Roman Empire were the raw material of national memory and myth. Discussing two Vercingetorix monuments in the Auvergne, erected in 1902 and 1903, and the Hermann (or Arminius) monument near Detmold in the German state of Lippe, completed in 1875, Charlotte Tacke analyzes the "social space" in which these important national monuments were given political meaning through subscription drives, voluntary association activities, festivals, and commemorations. Tacke notes that although studies of nationalism have been explicitly or implicitly comparative, studies of national symbols, memories, and monuments have rarely been so. The work of the major scholars of French and German national identity—Maurice Agulhon, Pierre Nora, George Mosse, Thomas Nipperdey, and others—has been based primarily on concepts and arguments theoretically transferable across national boundaries but practically rooted in national historiographical traditions. An example is Nora's notion of "places of memory," which has been advertised as a concept applicable to all modern political cultures but which is nonetheless seen by Nora and others as "typically" French. Tacke convincingly demonstrates not only that national symbols and memories can be studied comparatively but also that such scholarship reveals similarities and differences that previous historiography has done little to explicate.

Venerable monuments of historical scholarship waver precariously throughout Tacke's study. Scholars of nationalism routinely stress that French national identity gained its resonance from civic and political traditions, whereas German national identity depended on the pinpointing of notionally pre-political, ethno-cultural categories. Tacke does not offer an alternative thesis, but she maintains convincingly that this well-worn argument is in need of substantial discussion if not thorough revision. Using theoretical insights from the work of Clifford Geertz and Pierre Bourdieu, she writes that French nationalism was as much in need of "objective," "ethnic," and historical-cultural referents as German nationalism was and that monuments to Vercingetorix reflected a desire to situate the French nation in a historical continuum much broader than that provided by Revolutionary tradition. She shows that both German and French national identity depended heavily on negative images of the cultural attributes of the other nation: Hermann's imposing sword pointed menacingly toward the French "hereditary enemy," uniquely threatening to German *Kultur*, while Vercingetorix was seen as a kind of primitive martyr rather than a traitor who butchered his former allies, as Hermann was said to have done with typically Germanic brutality by his French critics.

Tacke's useful critique of Benedict Anderson's notion of the nation as an "imagined community" also merits mention. In Tacke's view, the nation is not an abstract entity "imagined" by its proponents but rather something given direct and concrete expression in a local and regional society bounded not only by territory but also by symbols, monuments, voluntary associations, festival culture, and class relationships. The region mediated the nation, giving the latter its particular cultural resonance and transforming it into an actively felt demonstration of local hierarchies and social interaction. In this regard, the Auvergne and Lippe were very similar though ideologically divergent: the culture of national monuments remained hostage to local elites, although in one case those elites consisted of a changing cast of French notables progressively more loyal to the Third Republic and increasingly amenable to working-class political (but not social) equality, while in the other case they constituted a German *Bürgertum* jealous of its strong regional identity, devoted to the German "*Volk* community," and fearful of the growing Social Democratic movement on all fronts.

There are many other facets of this important study that cannot be mentioned in detail here: Tacke's careful comparison of the relationships between gender and national identity; her detailed discussion of the militarization of festival culture in both regions; her precise analysis of the social origins of contributors to the subscription drives for the monuments; and her cautionary statements about overemphasizing the role of the national state as the most important source of Europe's "nationalization." Tacke is aware that the two regions were somewhat unique because they remained relatively isolated from the major social and economic transformations of the age until the end of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, she has given us a study rich in detail, precise in argumentation, and enormously suggestive for future scholarship in the history of European national identities.

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LAURA LEE DOWNS. *Manufacturing Inequality: Gender Division in the French and British Metalworking Industries, 1914–1939*. (The Wilder House Series in Politics, History, and Culture.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 329. $39.95.

This is an ambitious and impressive monograph that tells three intersecting stories: that of women's increased participation in British and French metalworking and engineering industries during and after World War I, that of their simultaneous restriction to highly rationalized sectors and repetitive jobs in these industries, and that of their employers' fabrication of a "new sexual division of labor." Using the comparative approach that has proved useful in other recent interwar studies, Laura Lee Downs identifies and interprets national (and, incidentally, regional) differences such as higher participation rates by French than by British women in metals and engineering, which she attributes



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to serious labor shortages and greater employer control over the industries in France. More significant, she recognizes the underlying similarity in otherwise different responses to rationalization by metalworking and engineering employers of both countries, notably their common recourse to a gendered system of labor stratification to accommodate newly fragmented production processes.

Much of this book can be read as fine women's labor history that recovers little-known activities by, and even the voices of, women workers and provides a more inclusive alternative to conventional labor history. It offers all-too-rare descriptions and commentary on the culture of assembly lines and other feminine worksites in metalworking and engineering plants, based on documents written by and interviews with women metalworkers as well as the diaries and reminiscences of the welfare ladies and *surintendantes* assigned to supervise them. The book includes detailed accounts and new assessments of major strikes initiated by women at aircraft factories in the Parisian suburbs in the spring of 1917 and at the Rover automobile plant near Coventry in 1930. In the first case, Downs criticizes the way labor historians "lost in scholastic distinctions between the narrow archaism of a mere wage movement ... and the more evolved 'political strike'" (p. 135) ignore the political content of women's labor actions, especially one that saw women marching on barracks shouting "Down with the war!" In the second case, she documents the unexpected phenomena of female auto trimmers who resisted the Bedaux system of "scientific management" being undermined by their own industrial union leaders and also of male coworkers persuading their craft union to reverse its policy of excluding women. Although she alludes to some craft union resistance to women's competition, she stresses the role of employers in confining women to so-called unskilled or semiskilled jobs as part and parcel of their introduction of and increased investment in new technology.

An early chapter entitled "Toward an Epistemology of Skill" adds a linguistic interpretation that takes the reader into the realm of gender history. Seeking to understand metal and engineering employers' conviction that gender formed a "stable and meaningful" distinction in work capabilities and hence provided a reliable basis for labor stratification, Downs discovers a discourse linking gender differences to skill differentials and, more precisely, linking women to dexterity, perseverance, and speed, always conceived of as innate attributes rather than learned skills. In this discourse, femininity complemented the new fragmented and repetitive forms of work and justified offering no formal training for women. Even tasks defined as skilled when men did them became aspects of essential feminine nature when women did them. Wages reflected this reasoning as well as the more familiar rationale about men's wages being family wages while women's wages are individual wages.

Downs's interpretation of this discourse is both promising and problematic. Extending the argument set out in Maryanne Cline Horowitz's "Aristotle and Woman" (*Journal of the History of Biology* 9 [Fall 1976]) to the industrial plant, Downs labels this a vocabulary of "social being" tied to a system of hierarchy and command. Observing that this vocabulary addressed issues of social order in the factory in a way that neoclassical economic theory did not, she suggests exciting new ways to study the social nature of production. However, there are limitations to a leap directly from Aristotelian logic to twentieth-century industrial logic. Much of the language about womanly dexterity and perseverance had been articulated in industries with a sexual division of labor long before World War I; notions about feminine dexterity had been present in munitions employers' (successful) resistance to proposed restrictions on women handling dangerous materials, also in the prewar period. Surely wartime and interwar metal and engineering employers borrowed from fellow industrialists' rhetoric? Similarly, one wonders whether twentieth-century biomedical theories of sex differences, which influenced broader interwar debates about women's work, were completely absent in metalworking and engineering?

MARY LYNN STEWART
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PIERRE DE SENARCLENS. *From Yalta to the Iron Curtain: The Great Powers and the Origins of the Cold War.* Translated by AMANDA PINGREE. (Le Temps Mondial/World Time Series.) Washington, D.C.: Berg 1995. Pp. x, 290.

In this well-written and thoughtful analysis of the origins of the Cold War, Pierre de Senarclens uses a wide range of primary sources and secondary materials in both French and English to demonstrate that France and Great Britain were not passive players in the events from the Yalta conference to the Berlin blockade. Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin sought hegemony over Central Europe, the Balkans, and Asia, just as France, Great Britain, and the United States wanted to regain and even expand imperial control in areas freed from colonialism by World War II. The United States, Senarclens concludes, replaced Britain as chief protector of Western interests in Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East. International stability was at risk, for peoples all over the world had to choose between competing "economic systems and irreconcilable historical philosophies and regimes" (p. x). Stalin's campaign against capitalism and President Harry Truman's determination to contain communism set off a global contest, "the ideological virulence of which bears some resemblance to the religious wars of the seventeenth century" (p. x).

The United States did not provoke the Soviets into expansion, Senarclens insists, nor should one assume that Washington dictated all policy during this period. In his view, the Truman Doctrine did not constitute, as many critics have claimed, the "first shot" of the Cold



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War. At the Moscow conference in the spring of 1947, according to British foreign secretary Ernest Bevin, news of Truman's speech made Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov aggressive and even abusive in his demands, accusing the British of protecting "allies of Hitler's Germany" (p. 206). Senarclens points out, however, that Molotov had already adopted this hard-line position toward Germany, although he admits that the Truman Doctrine escalated the "war of ideologies" (p. 210). The United States and Great Britain could have done nothing either at Yalta or Potsdam to thwart Stalin's expansionist goals, for neither had "a strategic or political trump to play" (p. 263). The Cold War took on an air of inevitability because it resulted "from antagonistic conceptions of history and politics" that rested on conflicting "ideological and political values" (p. 265).

Senarclens places primary blame for the Cold War on Stalin. The Berlin blockade instituted by the Soviets became physical proof of the "iron curtain" drawn between the free and totalitarian worlds and marked "one of the most critical phases of the Cold War in Europe" (p. 261). At the height of the crisis, the Truman administration sent to England a fleet of B-29 bombers capable of carrying atomic bombs. Senarclens should have pointed out that the move constituted a bluff, particularly in light of the twin realization that the planes were not yet fitted for transporting a nuclear payload and that one of Stalin's top spies had access to information regarding America's thin atomic stockpile. Nonetheless, the resulting East-West tension over Germany became the flashpoint of a Cold War that raged for four decades, until the destruction of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the reunification of the Germanies. "Incontestably," Senarclens concludes in a bold swipe at revisionist historians, "Stalin and his regime account for the origins, and particularly the specific nature, of the Cold War" (p. 263).

Senarclens reminds us again of the importance of analyzing events in their historical context rather than in relation to the prevailing climate in which historians themselves write. Recent revelations in Soviet documents show that he is correct in arguing that Stalin's search for security propelled him toward expansionist aims that no American or British policy could have dissuaded short of Cold War. But, as he admits, the United States contributed to the tense atmosphere by likewise seeking to spread its liberal principles of democratic government and free trade as well as by attempting to maintain strategic advantages in Latin America, Asia, and Europe. East and West share the responsibility for more than forty years of senseless destruction that bore most heavily on the innocent peoples caught between the antagonists.

HOWARD JONES
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THOMAS RISSE-KAPPEN. *Cooperation among Democracies: The European Influence on U.S. Foreign Policy*. (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 250. $35.00.

Focusing on the relationship between the United States and its NATO allies, Thomas Risse-Kappen challenges an America-centered view of the Cold War, asserting two significant claims. First, he argues that the allies routinely influenced U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War, even in cases unrelated to European security. Second, he claims that traditional alliance theories that emphasize strategic interactions and power-based bargaining do not provide sufficient explanation for that influence. Risse-Kappen employs three conceptual approaches to the study of intra-alliance relations: structural realism as developed by Kenneth Waltz, in which power determines influence; realism in the tradition of Hans Morgenthau, which asserts that small allies can influence the greater power; and liberal theory following the model of Immanuel Kant, which argues that values influence alliances through institutionalized decision-making procedures. He demonstrates European influence on American decision-making in a range of events.

During the Korean War, Risse-Kappen asserts, NATO allies, especially the British, prevented actions that risked an escalation and gained near veto power over the use of nuclear weapons. The British reaction after President Harry S. Truman hinted that the United States might use atomic weapons "established a tacit understanding that Washington should consult its allies whenever decision-makers contemplated the use of nuclear weapons" (p. 60). This, Risse-Kappen argues, confirms many liberal assumptions about alliance interaction. Treating the Korean War as NATO's war, however, is misleading. Although NATO allies participated, it was officially a United Nations war. Nonetheless, the points made regarding European influence are valid.

In the Suez Crisis of 1956, Risse-Kappen argues, alliance rules were broken, but the longterm impact was the reenforcement of transatlantic ties, especially between the United States and Britain. Franco-American relations, however, were gradually deinstitutionalized. Although seeming to support the structural-realist assumption that superior power wins when alliance leaders clash, Risse-Kappen asserts that the Suez Crisis confirms liberal and institutionalist expectations about what happens when norms are violated.

In discussing the negotiations over the Test Ban Treaty, Risse-Kappen asserts that, conforming with liberal theory, the British nearly became an American domestic political player, tipping the balance in favor of the treaty. Similar claims for allied influence during the Cuban Missile Crisis are more surprising, but Risse-Kappen argues that NATO was the most important consideration for the United States apart from the confrontation itself. He notes that European concerns influenced two of the most important decisions by the United States: the blockade and the Turkish missile deal. Although Risse-Kappen acknowledges that the



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allies were not consulted in the first week of the crisis, he notes that Britain participated in discussions during the second week and that Berlin was an issue throughout the crisis. The missile crisis demonstrates that the European allies exerted a significant influence on American policy in a democratic pluralist security community.

The final set of cases, and an attempt to defuse criticism, analyzes NATO nuclear decisions: flexible response, the neutron bomb and the Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty. As Risse-Kappen admits, almost all influence recognized in the book came from Britain and thus could be traced to the Anglo-American "special relationship." He therefore includes an analysis of nuclear policy in which West Germany plays a major role. Although the conclusions concerning European influence on nuclear decisions are correct, the changed nature of the economic/power relationships in the 1970s and 1980s is not sufficiently noted. Therefore, the importance of the special Anglo-American relationship cannot be easily dismissed.

Because cases were selected for the amount of allied interaction, not for their European nature, it was surprising that Vietnam was not mentioned. As American policy focused on that war, the European influence would make an interesting case for analysis. Nonetheless, the book presents historians with some challenges. How and where did the allies exert influence over American policy? While rejecting structural realism, Risse-Kappen finds the traditional realist and liberal positions valuable in understanding NATO relationships that influenced the way Washington defined its national interests.

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Dale Hoak, editor. *Tudor Political Culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xxiii, 326. $64.95.

In 1988, in his general study *Tudor England*, John Guy devoted a chapter to "political culture," discussing literacy, education, print, court culture, and other topics. This volume might be described as starting where he left off. Twelve scholars (Guy among them) offer essays on iconography, ritual, and ideas.

The essays range widely and exploit a great variety of sources or objects. As one might expect, there are discussions of the theory of sovereignty (by Thomas Mayer), the idea of empire (by Dale Hoak), and Shakespeare (by Peter Herman, focusing on *Henry V*). It is also not surprising to find chapters on the royal image (by John King), the literature of counsel (by Guy), and Elizabethan funerals (by J. F. R. Day). More adventurously, David Dean examines ritual and the cultural significance of space in Tudor parliaments, and Robert Tittler offers a similar analysis of town halls.

The standard of contributions is high, and the authors score again and again by their reinterpretation of familiar material and their close readings of texts and images, including the imaginative reconstruction of lost objects such as Henry VIII's crown and tomb (broken up and sold off in the 1640s). The close attention to language in the analyses by Guy and Mayer is also extremely illuminating. Some topics of great relevance to the central theme are completely lacking, however, notably religion, law, and popular culture. Some chapters concern politics and society rather than culture, such as Retha Warnicke's study of the Boleyns and the Howards. The theme of family and faction is obviously related to that of political culture, but the connections are not made explicit.

The phrase "political culture" is generally employed in the volume in a somewhat idiosyncratic way. The term was coined in the 1950s by American political scientists to refer to the fundamental political values in a society, whether democratic or authoritarian. Tittler starts his chapter with a similar definition: "the goals, strategies and behavioural conventions of political groups" (p. 133). Hoak's introduction to the volume also offers a definition of this kind: "the codes of conduct, formal or informal," governing political actions (p. 1). In other words, political culture amounts to the rules of the game. However relevant these twelve essays may be, directly or indirectly, to the reconstitution of these rules in Tudor England, the authors do not generally start from this point. Each individual has his or her own agenda.

It is also not altogether clear for whom the volume is intended. It is not exactly for specialists in the field, for, although the volume generally presents recent research by its contributors, in several cases this material has already been published elsewhere. Nor is this a volume for the general reader, although a book on this subject could be made accessible to anyone interested in sixteenth-century history or English culture. Some of the topics would be of interest to sociologists or anthropologists, the first time that this could be said of a work in Tudor history since David Starkey's study of the Privy Chamber as an example of "representation through intimacy" ("Representation through Intimacy," in I. M. Lewis, ed., *Symbols and Sentiment* [1977]). All the same, the present collection is not a text that can be entered with ease by outsiders to the profession.

The volume is likely to have the greatest impact at an intermediate level, among students at universities. It would be interesting to put the volume into the hands of a good student and ask him or her to reconstitute the rules of political culture from these twelve essays alone, to describe both the system and the direction of change. For example, the student might start from one of the major events of the century, the Reformation, and look for its effects in different cultural domains. King discusses changes in the royal image in these terms, and developments as different as the rise of secular drama and the system of rented pews in the parish church might be related to the Reformation, directly or indirectly.



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Alternatively, the student might begin from Dean's "thick description" of the Tudor parliament, emphasizing its function as a stage on which "the virtues of solidarity, honour, loyalty, obedience, and authority could be demonstrated" (p. 270). How are these rituals related to structural changes such as the well-known "winning of the initiative by the House of Commons"? Do they have anything to do with the changing balance between court and country (the theme of W. J. Tighe's case study, pp. 157–178)? How far were the messages sent by these rituals reinforced and how far undermined by messages sent from other cultural sites? To answer such questions, one might pass on to David Sacks's examination of Elizabeth I's famous "Golden Speech" as "a ritualized acting-out of the principles of social harmony against the threat of disorder and opposition" (p. 283).

Turning to Herman's discussion of *Henry V*, one finds the drama placed in the context of the "widespread distrust of authority in the 1590s" (p. 211). Norman Jones also emphasizes the 1590s, making the claim that "divinity was beginning its slow departure from government" (p. 242). On the other hand, we learn that the rituals and material objects surrounding mayors became increasingly elaborate at this time, apparently reflecting the rise of urban oligarchy noted by Peter Clark and Paul Slack in *Crisis and Order in English Towns* (1972). Should we view this elaboration of municipal ritual as a countertrend or as a collective attempt (conscious or unconscious) to respond to the crisis of authority?

The student is likely to find the task of synthesis a difficult one, all the more so because the majority of contributors concentrate on culture as seen from above. They are concerned with recovering the intentions of artists, writers, or their patrons, on deciphering the messages sent. Readers will learn little about the view of monarchy, parliament, or the city from below, the messages received or the process of reception. Needless to say, this second task is more difficult than the first, because it generally involves reading sources against the grain. Without attempting this second task, however, one cannot say that one has reconstituted the rules (especially the informal ones) of the political game as played in sixteenth-century England.

In short, this volume is not a complete guide to the political culture of Tudor England. The conclusions of individual chapters, however, together with those of other recent work by these authors and other scholars, should make such a guide possible.

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ANTHONY FLETCHER. *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xxii, 442. $40.00.

In this study, Anthony Fletcher offers a "case study . . . of how patriarchy adapted and survived between 1500 and 1800" (p. xvi). This historical study of patriarchy is a major undertaking, and Fletcher neatly outlines a wide range of relevant issues. He divides his study into three parts. The first, "Before the Gendered Body," surveys ideological writings about gender from roughly 1500 to 1700. "The Working of Patriarchy," the second part, examines how people lived out the ideological prescriptions in everyday life. Finally, "Towards Modern Gender" looks at changes in gender ideology from *c.* 1660 to 1700; in his most significant argument, Fletcher argues that in this period English patriarchy moved from a system based on religious prescription and misogyny to one based on natural law and a complementary positive vision of femininity. He argues that these ideological changes establish a stable base for patriarchy that depends on the internalization of gender difference and that has continued to the present day.

Fletcher, an established historian of Stuart political culture, has brought welcome attention to the important questions he addresses. He gives serious consideration to the history of gender and uses an admirably wide range of historical and literary sources in his work. Unfortunately, he has not fully absorbed the existing literature in the field or the historical evidence on which such a study must be based. His 400 pages seem oddly superficial; almost every chapter ends with a plea for more research. However important the subject, and whatever the merits of his argument, Fletcher's work is deeply flawed. Some problems are the result of carelessness and sloppy proofreading. David Underdown's *Fire From Heaven* (1992) for instance, is cited through as *Fire Under Heaven*; Margaret Cavendish is described as writing about her education in 1630, when she was only seven years old (p. 364). But there are more serious problems.

The first of these lies in Fletcher's use of sources. A work of this scope inevitably relies on the work of others, but here the result is not synthesis but pastiche. He often cites published primary sources from the work of other scholars, usually without any reference to the context in which those citations appear; he grabs quotations and runs. Thus, the influential work of the Marquis of Halifax, critical to his concluding argument, is cited from four different historians whose own agendas are unmentioned. William Gouge's *Of Domesticall Duties* is cited from both the original 1622 edition (e.g., pp. 113, 206) and from secondary works (e.g., p. 398). Fletcher's readings of texts are sometimes interesting, sometimes bizarre; it is hard to know how to evaluate a claim that Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* (1596) is "probably the most profound statement about early modern courtship that we have" (p. 107). When Fletcher (admirably) uses recent studies of the literature of the period, he adopts interpretations drawn from multiple and not always compatible perspectives: he cites Stephen Greenblatt, Lisa Jardine,



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Stephen Orgel, and Marjorie Garber without any mention of theoretical differences.

The second set of problems is conceptual. The book reads as if the dialogue with other scholars working on patriarchy and women's history is largely an afterthought. Fletcher engages the arguments of relatively few historians of gender, and he fails to engage with key issues in the field. This is most notable around the intersection of patriarchy and class. Although Fletcher acknowledges that patriarchy and class are inextricably bound together, he appears to mean that patriarchy defined appropriate gender relations for those of middling and gentry status and supported the class hierarchy. There is no sense that the lives of the lower orders were shaped by patriarchy, or that gender and class might not be congruent. The failure to engage with the tensions and contradictions of the gender system leaves the book with a one-dimensional tone.

Fletcher's image of patriarchy, based on the prescriptive literature of the period, is one in which men have all the power and women are left out, but such a view fails to illuminate the complex ways in which this model was lived out. Women's own agendas and agency are entirely absent: they only respond to patriarchy. Fletcher's acknowledgement that "the whole success of early modern English patriarchy, it can be argued, lay in its flexibility and its capacity, as a gender system, to sustain modifications, cushioning and mitigation" (p. 191), does not change his reading of prescriptive texts. His praiseworthy attempt to delineate change over time is at times fuzzy; both his periods in the history of patriarchy, for example, are noted for the ways in which sexual prowess is central to manhood (pp. 93 and 343).

This could have been an important book. There are interesting ideas in it, some good quotations, and a fine bibliography of secondary sources, but none of these are reliable. We still need a good study of the history of early modern patriarchy. It is regrettable that Fletcher failed to do the work or the thinking that would have produced it.

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DEBORAH WILLIS. *Malevolent Nurture: Witch-Hunting and Maternal Power in Early Modern England*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 264. $16.95.

In the introduction to this volume, Deborah Willis describes her book as "a hybrid: part historical reconstruction, part literary/cultural analysis" (p. 19). She acknowledges that historicist literary critics have tended to rush in where historians tread with caution. Nevertheless, she explains, "I am persuaded that literary scholars have a contribution of their own to make to the interdisciplinary study of the past, growing out of the 'reading practices' special to their field" (p. 19n).

To assess the motives behind accusations of witchcraft in Elizabethan and early Jacobean England, Willis begins by applying historicist literary reading practices to nonliterary texts (mainly trial transcripts, pamphlets, and religious tracts, including James I's *Daemonologie* [1597]). Then, in her two final chapters, she turns to Shakespeare for examples of the witch "as composite, not only of the village witch, the pamphlet witch, the witch of religious tracts, but also of the fairy-tale witch, the witch of ballads, medieval romance, continental demonological texts, the Bible, and the Greek and Roman classics" (p. 160).

Like Robin Briggs in his new book, *Witches and Neighbours: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft* (1996), Willis has been profoundly affected by two psychosocial elements in her sources: the witch as the bad neighbor and the witch as the wayward mother who "uses her mothering powers to betray other mothers" (p. 35). Readers familiar with primary and secondary sources on early modern witchcraft will immediately recognize these concerns. The torments of the village witch's accusers are almost invariably domestic disasters, from the simple frustration of spoiled milk and cheese to the heartrending calamity of a child's illness or death.

Willis knows that neither her questions nor her observations are entirely new, but she believes that her literary-critical background, coupled with the wisdom she has gleaned from Melanie Klein's work on fantasies of maternal persecution, can shed light on a period of history marked by "increasing anxieties about mothers and the maternal role" as well as by "political structures under pressure from patrilineality" (p. 17). When Willis lists the characteristics of this crisis in gender ideology, however, they are so uncannily reminiscent of, for example, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile* (1762) and republican motherhood or countless eighteenth-century property disputes that one comes away wondering if any age can claim to have been at ease with its mothers. Indeed, the value of Willis's argument resides in its not being specific to sixteenth-century England.

How successful, then, is Willis in her ambition to produce a "genuinely interdisciplinary" work (p. x)? Her two chapters on Shakespeare, in which she is writing from her home discipline, are far and away the best. Here she invites the reader to plumb the text with her. Her ears are cocked for ambiguity and nuance. Willing to let some untidy implications remain unresolved rather than subdue them with simplification, Willis nonetheless offers a sure-footed and illuminating analysis. The chapters that explore nonliterary sources, however, make one wish that Willis had served at least a brief apprenticeship familiarizing herself with the reading practices in which historians are trained. In these chapters, the footnotes make the most engaging reading. The documents sometimes seem to have been selected because they support a conclusion already reached rather than because they deserve to be considered as representative of a climate of opinion.



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Nevertheless, although this book does little to advance the cause of hybrid scholarship, one emerges from it admiring Willis for her courage and stamina in wrestling with such challenging psychosocial material. It is difficult to write good history about subjects like this. Perhaps Shakespeare was right to think that they make better theater.

VALERIE FRITH
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ANN GENEVA. *Astrology and the Seventeenth Century Mind: William Lilly and the Language of the Stars.* (Social and Cultural Values in Early Modern Europe.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. xxi, 298. $69.95.

William Lilly (1602–1681) was one of the most sought-after purveyors of astrological advice in seventeenth-century England and also contributed significantly to the flood of prophetic pamphlets that accompanied the Civil War. Ann Geneva's study of Lilly and "the language of the stars" claims to uncover astrology's function as a symbolic language system used by Lilly to encode prophecies of Charles I's defeat and death. She calls attention to the broad nature of the popular astrological tradition as a prognostic art, encompassing a range of divinatory techniques that ranged from interpreting portents implicit in celestial and meteorological phenomena such as comets, eclipses, and parhelia to the historical determinism of cycles of great conjunctions as well as the more familiar individual genitures. A key element in Geneva's argument is her assertion that the elements of astrological language not only served as symbols for natural influences but were also used to encrypt covert messages.

The burden of her brief biographical section is to show that Lilly was, throughout his writings, consistently a parliamentarian; astrological symbolism was used to encrypt antimonarchical ideas while he outwardly professed neutrality to circumvent the licensers. As the political situation climaxed in the 1640s, Lilly used the entire range of astrological prognostication to predict disaster for Charles. He illustrates well how astrological prophesying served as a political tool. Geneva shows that it was Lilly's intent to "stir discord among the King's adherents and potential adherents, to reinforce parliamentary followers, and to convince the public that the King's defeat and death was a forgone conclusion preordained by the stars" (p. 195). She even suggests that this served to legitimate and make more palatable the extraordinary act of the king's execution.

Although Geneva avers that Lilly's conviction that his prophesies were divinely inspired provided the impetus for his adherence to Parliament, many of her examples also suggest Lilly's ability to adapt and manipulate the astrological language to promote his adopted political position. We are treated to some "fancy footwork" on Lilly's part, indicating both his "prognostic genius" and "the remarkable flexibility of astrology as an interpretive language system" (p. 193). This becomes the basis for Geneva's contribution to the puzzle of astrology's apparently sudden demise: by the end of the century, the rich multiple denotations of astrological language were marginalized because they could not be confined within the emerging linguistic norms of the newer, more precise language of natural philosophy.

Geneva's contributions are salutary in revealing an interesting subtext in Lilly's pamphlets and providing an added dimension to our understanding of early modern astrology and its cultural role. The "thrust of this study . . . to uncover the use of astrology as an encoded language system" (p. 22) is a more restricted claim, however, and it does not fulfill the expectations raised by Geneva's welcome promise of a significantly revisionist study "to describe—as much as possible from an internally derived perspective—the spectrum of the astrological tradition in mid-seventeenth-century England on the eve of its eclipse" (p. xiv). Relating the elements of seventeenth-century English astrology to traditions reaching back to Babylon serves to correct a tendency in the historical literature to concentrate on genitures. The scholarly base for this pre-seventeenth-century material seems thin, however; John Dee, for instance, could not have written an introduction for the first English translation of Copernicus's *De Revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (1543) (p. 60), suggesting a certain softness to some of the scholarly underpinnings.

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FRANK FELSENSTEIN. *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660–1830.* (Johns Hopkins Jewish Studies.) Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 350. $39.95.

There is a notable upsurge of interest and activity in Jewish history in which Anglo-Jewish studies play a significant part. Frank Felsenstein's book is a welcome contribution to that literature, discussing with intelligence and perception the stereotypes of the Jews in England from 1660 to 1830. I rather wish that the "other" of its subtitle might be retired as a term of analysis, but it certainly serves well here. It would be hard to imagine a group so clearly "other" in England during the period than the few Jews—considerably less than 1 percent of the population—who were there then. Exiled in 1290 and readmitted in 1656 (although the latter date is a little more permeable than has previously been thought), they were viewed by most of the population as being in the country on sufferance.

England was a Christian nation—in many ways it still is, but far less intensely so—and that provided a major explanation for the difficult position in which the Jews found themselves. For the philo-Semites, the Jews were the countrymen of Christ whose conversion and possible repatriation to Palestine would help bring



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about the millennium. For many others—and this was a far more common feature of popular culture—these were the people who had crucified Christ. The persistence of the "blood libel"—that Jews sacrificed Christian children at the time of Passover—was a continual reminder of the alleged martyrdom of Hugh of Lincoln in the thirteenth century. The Jewish belief in circumcision aroused more primal fears of castration.

Barred from almost all professions, the Jews were forced to work as peddlers, old-clothes traders, and lenders of money at interest ("usurers"). They were as a consequence seen as financial manipulators who, according to the more extravagant pamphlets, threatened to take over the country and turn St. Paul's into a synagogue. Depicting the Jews as evil financiers was one way for the English to deal with ambiguous feelings about their own highly successful commercial dealings. From the persistent image of Shakespeare's Shylock, dating from well before the era covered by Felsenstein's book, to Dickens's creation of Fagin in the 1830s, the evil figure of the Jew, a virtual devil with red hair and beard, was a familiar stereotype of the time, and beyond.

Discussing intriguing texts and using well-chosen illustrations, Felstenstein tells us much. He claims that he is only concerned with stereotypes, yet almost inevitably he also deals to some extent with the reality of English Jews. This study is full of fascinating material and insights. But the continual conundrum, not solved here, is gauging how important English anti-Semitism was.

England has the dubious distinction of being the first European country to expel the Jews. But when they were readmitted, although they undoubtedly were not regarded as English, they faced hardly any more disadvantages than the vast majority of their fellow residents. After 1660, only well-off Anglican men were automatically endowed with the full privileges of citizenship. Unlike on the Continent, the Jews of England did not live in ghettos. Although they may have made some people feel more virulently Christian, their "otherness" did not make a crucial negative contribution to the definition of the nation in the way that Catholics did, as Linda Colley argues so effectively in *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (1992). English anti-Semitism, it seems to me, has always been rather paradoxical. It can be vicious, but only on rare occasions has it caused any significant damage to the Jews who reside there.

Felsenstein argues for the centrality of anti-Semitism in his discussion of the Jew Act of 1753. He claims that popular and political cultures came together in the high rhetoric of the attack on the Jews and the act, passed and repealed in the same year. The Whig-supported bill was designed to allow a few extremely wealthy Jews to be naturalized. The Tories attacked it, summoning up fears of a Jewish takeover. As Felsenstein points out: "At no other time during the whole period under scrutiny in this book did the social, political, and economic position of the Jews in England excite so much unbridled passion and arouse so much raw publicity" (p. 187). The standard older view of this episode is that of Thomas W. Perry, who argues that the debate was little more than ordinary eighteenth-century politics (*Public Opinion, Propaganda, and Politics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study of the Jew Bill of 1753* [1962]). Perry might have underestimated the virulence of anti-Jewish rhetoric, but once the Whigs repealed the act there was no change in the situation of the Jews, and the Whigs won the next election.

As religion became a less powerful force in England, all non-Anglican groups, including the Jews (and after them the atheists), improved their position. Their religion ceased to make any official difference to their standing in the community. The language and visual depictions of Jews in England during the eighteenth century might lead one to expect violent attacks on them, although that is not suggested as a viable possibility here. I suspect that, in the last analysis, neither the state nor the populace really cared much. Yet, in the course of Felsenstein's impressive discussion of the rich underside of the long eighteenth century, he teaches us a lot, much of it unattractive, about English popular culture and its implications.

PETER STANSKY
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HOWARD NENNER. *The Right to Be King: The Succession to the Crown of England, 1603–1714*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 343. $39.95.

The basis of royal claims to hold the English crown was the subject of recurring controversy throughout the seventeenth century, especially at the time of the Exclusion Crisis and after the Glorious Revolution. Howard Nenner is the first historian to discuss this important constitutional issue in depth, from the debate that preceded the accession of James I in 1603 to the establishment of the Hanoverian dynasty in 1714. In a carefully crafted and illuminating study, he succeeds in conveying the full complexity of the problem, the diversity of the opinion it elicited, and the broader constitutional issues it raised. The book makes a substantial contribution to the history of constitutional law as well as the history of political thought.

Nenner shows that the "law of succession," to which many contemporaries appealed, never really existed, at least not until the eighteenth century. Indeed, the main problem associated with the succession was precisely the absence of any fixed or certain rule governing the process. The issue was not so much whether the hereditary principle should be permanently replaced by election, nomination, conquest, or prescription (although all four of those alternatives had their advocates), but whether descent by blood should be automatic or indefeasible. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had supplied numerous examples of the clear



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rejection or attempted modification of the hereditary principle, and in the seventeenth century a chorus of voices—including those of Robert Parsons, George Lawson, and William Lawrence—continued to challenge its indefeasibility in different contexts. The debate over the succession reached its most interesting and complex phase after the Glorious Revolution. William III's failure to establish a clear foundation for his title and Parliament's unwillingness to settle the succession beyond the heirs of the body of William, Mary, and Anne guaranteed perpetuation of the debate. The issue was ultimately resolved by the general acceptance of the rule that the succession could be determined, limited, or modified by Parliament. A presumption or expectation of succession by the next of kin would remain, but that presumption could be denied for cause. Thus, the crown would continue in the hereditary line after the death of Queen Anne, but it would do so "by the right of parliament rather than by the right of descent" (p. 230).

One of the most interesting features of this debate was the way in which proponents of various views of the succession used the rules and maxims of the common law in order to support their positions. It often proved difficult, however, to square the emerging law of succession with the rules of English private law. As convenient as it may have been to conceive of the crown as a piece of property, the king could not alienate the crown in the way that an owner of land could, and even if one could claim that the monarch held the crown as an estate, the question remained whether it was an estate in fee simple or one in trust. In the long run, the view that the crown was a piece of property had to be abandoned.

Nenner sees the entire debate over the succession as a conflict between competing views of political society which resulted, ultimately, in the achievement of parliamentary sovereignty. In this conflict, the Glorious Revolution played a decisive role. Even though "the people refused to take the prize of sovereignty" at the time (p. 160), the Glorious Revolution served as the "hinge on which the formulation of a rule of succession and the larger matter of parliament's legislative sovereignty would begin to turn" (p. 253). Whether the revolution also turned the tide against the idea that subjects owed their allegiance to the natural body of the king rather than to his politic body is far more questionable. Nenner cites little evidence to support such a change in opinion at the time, and the older view, enshrined in *Calvin's Case* (1608), persisted well into the eighteenth century. On the more specific issue of the succession, however, the events of 1688–1689 proved to be of decisive importance, and Nenner's analysis of that phase of the debate, including some fascinating material on the use of conquest theory, stands as the best part of a very fine book.

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KATHLEEN WILSON. *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715–1785.* (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 460. $69.95.

Kathleen Wilson's book examines extra-parliamentary opposition to Whig domination from the accession of George I to that of the younger Pitt. The book focuses on the practice of opposition and its ideological content, a focus entirely in accord with Wilson's argument that the political conflicts that divided the eighteenth-century populace are best analyzed in terms of their political practices and political ideas.

The book presents three strata of analysis. The most fundamental is its analysis of popular opposition in Norwich and Newcastle. For both towns, Wilson examines the nature and extent of the populace's interaction with local and national government by describing political discourse in local publications and political activity in the streets. She shows how, in Newcastle, the Tories encouraged opposition to Whig rule while enhancing their own dominance in a highly oligarchic city government. In contrast, Norwich's Whigs, predominant in a much more open city government, appropriated the rhetoric of popular opposition to bolster their own party. Yet, despite the differences distinguishing Norwich from Newcastle, the same phenomenon appeared in the 1760s in both cities: a popular opposition that criticized the elite and developed a group identity based on the group's political ideology.

Analysis of the political ideology of popular opposition throughout England constitutes the second stratum of the book's analysis. Wilson describes the development of a discourse of opposition to Whig ministries that stressed the importance of libertarian principles and patriotic behavior. The discourse emerged when, in the 1720s, the opposition to Robert Walpole adopted a critique of corruption. Wilson argues persuasively that this critique was, in the Excise Crisis of 1733, associated with an argument that presented traders as vital to the state and was further expanded through criticism of the ministry's conduct in the mid-century's wars into a discourse that presented imperial expansion as vital to domestic liberty. The discourse reached its apogee when Wilkesites embodied a popular opposition newly disengaged from the elite and critical not just of corruption but of the very institutions of government. Apogee presaged imminent decline. When the war over the thirteen colonies contested the association of empire with virtue and the radicals' reaction to the Gordon riots exhibited disdain for "the mob," radicalism fragmented, providing an opportunity for discourses promoting support of government to enrapture the populace. Wilson's book therefore provides a narrative of the populace's relation to the national government from Walpole to Pitt, while arguing that Walpole's society was not as reflexively deferential and Pitt's not as automatically loyalist as might be imagined.



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The book's first two chapters constitute its third stratum of analysis: a presentation of the book's relation to current historiography and theories of discourse. These chapters led me to expect a book rather different from the one they introduce, a book that would focus on issues such as local voluntary associations and the behavior they encouraged and on women and their participation in politics. This is, instead, a book about extra-parliamentary politics that advances useful hypotheses about the ideology of popular opposition based on new and interesting evidence.

NORMA LANDAU
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GILLIAN RUSSELL. *The Theatres of War: Performance, Politics, and Society, 1793–1815*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. 211. $49.95.

When, in *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), Edmund Burke wished to bring his readers to understand the odious nature of events across the Channel, he used an analogy that resonated easily with the theater-going public of his day. Burke argued the members of the National Assembly "act like the comedians of a fair before a riotous audience; they . . . sometimes mix and take their seats amongst them . . . As they have inverted order in all things, the gallery is in the place of the house" (p. 23).

Although there has been considerable scholarship on the overseas impact of Britain's colonial mastery and world power during Burke's era, less is available on the reverse: the social and cultural consequences for Britain itself of being the world's bobby. Within narrow chronological and topical constraints, Gillian Russell provides precisely this, arguing: "war and theatre were mutually sustaining, not only in material terms but also culturally, ideologically, and politically" (p. 179). She interprets Britain's wars against American and French revolutionaries not as military but as social and cultural events; she then outlines how war affected a generation in which one in ten males saw military action and another 400,000 volunteered to defend their homeland against the threat of French invasion. For women as well, in different but complementary ways, preparing for and engaging in conflict was the formative experience for that generation.

This martial experience penetrated British culture through its theater. Georgian theater was intensely political, its audience a microcosm of society, its stage an alternative to press and parliament as a site for the expression of public opinion. For generations, the theater was the place where people from all ranks contemplated contemporary events. The social performance of audiences and actors was theatrical, a reflection of—and projection onto—the theatricality of the Georgian people. Thus, while the army went from disaster to disaster in the war against American revolutionaries, British officers stationed in North America produced medievalist processions, mock battles, and other performances.

At home, crises of confidence about the fate of the nation after 1790 explain the swing to traditionalism and an imagined past reflected in Burke's writings, William Pitt's repression, popular king-and-church loyalism, and the ancient constitutionalisn of political radicals. Concurrently, the commercial theaters in London responded to the wars by enfolding developments abroad into topical or analogical performances: John Philip Kemble revived Shakespeare's *Henry V* in 1789 but added a subtitle, *The Conquest of France*; minor theaters staged the fall of the Bastille and subsequent battlefield events; commemorative afterpieces representing the death of Admiral Horatio Nelson were performed in 1805. These works were presented season after season and revived in succeeding decades.

A good case study is Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *Pizarro*, first performed in May, 1799, less a play about the Spanish threat to Peruvian Indians than one concerning the French threat to Britons. Russell brilliantly decodes this multilayered cultural politics, although she misses the opportunity to use contemporary satirical prints to extend her synthesis of war, domestic politics, and theater as a sociocultural event. Although Russell argues that performances sometimes challenged elite hegemony, it is difficult to affirm this from the evidence. In the long run, theater and theatricality served to maintain British social and political arrangements.

MARC BAER
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FRANK PROCHASKA. *Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 330. $35.00.

In 1980, Frank Prochaska published a book linking the history of philanthropy and that of Victorian women. *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* not only documented the central role played by women in philanthropic work, it also argued for a causal relationship between such charitable activity and the movement for women's emancipation. In charity bazaars and on management committees, as rent collectors and home visitors, women honed the skills they would later use to effect as social reformers, suffragists, and city councillors. Far from being merely a decorous pastime for leisured women, philanthropy—as Prochaska put it in an essay in the *Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950* (1990) was "the taproot of female emancipation in the nineteenth century" (vol. 3, p. 386).

In this new book, Prochaska has forsaken middle-class women for a more exclusive social set, but he remains concerned with the social and cultural meaning of philanthropic activity and, in the end, makes a somewhat similar argument. Surveying the royal family



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from George III to the current Prince and Princess of Wales, he demonstrates that royal charitable involvement was both more extensive and more consistent across reigns than we might expect. Charities, or what we would today call the voluntary sector, consistently benefited from such royal patronage, less because of the financial importance of royal contributions in themselves than because royal interest acted to legitimize voluntary efforts and to spur wider public, and especially elite, benevolence. Yet—and this is the crux of Prochaska's argument—Britain's royals have profited as well: a public reputation for benevolence could help the standing even of such reviled or uninspired figures as George IV and William IV; likewise, the Windsors' busy schedules of hospital visits and goodwill tours, he claims, have cemented public attachment to the monarchy in a democratic and statist age. Just as Victorian matrons emancipated themselves by ministering to others, so Britain's monarchs have secured their own position through an adroit exercise of their social rather than their constitutional powers.

Prochaska's approach has much to recommend it. By examining royal giving in the context of the changing relations between the state and the voluntary sector, we see how the monarchy took advantage of and helped to foster the preference for philanthropic initiatives in the nineteenth century yet was also able to adapt to state expansion in the twentieth. And, having carefully combed the royal archives, newspaper sources, and a wide array of philanthropic records, Prochaska has some new and intriguing stories to tell about both periods. He rightly recovers the important part played by long-suffering royal wives in the effort to establish the monarchy's caring credentials, showing how the work of Queen Adelaide and Victoria's mother the Duchess of Kent successfully identified the royal family with the virtues of domesticity and respectability, while the efforts of Victoria's daughter-in-law Alexandra softened public criticism of Edward VII, who "earned more on stud fees during his reign than he gave to good causes" (p. 151).

It is in telling the story of the adjustment to welfare democracy, however, that Prochaska is most insightful. Given the monarchy's long association with voluntary effort, one might have expected it to have resisted, and to have been hurt by, the advent of the welfare state. Prochaska shows that although the royal family viewed the emergence of the welfare state, and the nationalization of the hospitals in particular, with ambivalence, state expansion in the end brought new opportunities. In recent decades, as criticisms of bureaucratic inefficiencies and inhumanity have mounted, voluntary institutions—and with them the monarchy—have ironically found themselves the advocates for a new civic activism.

Prochaska does a particularly good job of explicating these new postcollectivist values. Unfortunately, these values suffuse the book and are to some extent used anachronistically to judge earlier, quite different periods. It has become common, in our pessimistic day, to be skeptical about the capacity of states to solve social problems and to harken back to Alexis de Tocqueville's wise words about the importance of voluntary associations and intermediate institutions to a healthy civic life. Yet this study, in its tendency to identify philanthropy (and with it the monarchy) with an open and pluralistic public sphere opposing the forces of an overly bureaucratized or meddlesome welfare state, seriously underemphasizes the extreme social exclusiveness and inequality of that pre-welfare world. Prochaska neglects the extent to which progressive taxation and state services provided not an alternative to civic participation for many but rather the foundation for that participation. When he describes the Victorian monarchy as "a force for liberal values" (p. 99) or the advent of the National Health Service as the victory of "indirect, representative democracy, expressed through cabinet government" over the "spontaneous, pluralistic form of democracy that was immanent in the voluntary institutions of civil society" (p. 239), he is straining the definitions of "liberalism" and "democracy" beyond credibility. These reservations notwithstanding, this is an impressive book, and one that amply demonstrates the importance of the neglected subject of royal philanthropy.

SUSAN PEDERSEN
*Harvard University*

PAUL A. PICKERING. *Chartism and the Chartists in Manchester and Salford*. New York: St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. x, 294. $65.00.

Another local history of Chartism? By Paul A. Pickering's own reckoning, these now number in excess of fifty, enough, surely, to satisfy the need Asa Briggs discerned on this score forty years ago. Twenty years ago, in fact, local studies already so dominated our understanding of Europe's first mass democratic movement that more than one historian pleaded for a return to the national perspective, to grand reappraisals and "overall assessments" (p. 1). Why, then, this stubborn persistence in the localist vein? Why the addition of one more case study to the Chartist heap?

Because, says Pickering, his is the first "major examination of the Chartist movement in Manchester" (p. 1), the great "shock city" of the industrial age and "the most important provincial centre of working-class politics in the first half of the nineteenth century" (p. 1). London may have contributed the Charter and the cream of the Chartist leadership (William Lovett, Henry Hetherington); Birmingham may have contributed the national petition and been home to the national convention; but Manchester was home to the "fustian jackets and unshorn chins" who signed the petition in greater numbers (120,000) than anywhere else (excepting only London and its suburbs). "In these terms," says Pickering, "the need to study Chartism in Manchester and Salford is self-evident" (p. 2).

Moreover, whereas most local studies of Chartism consist of "narrowly defined political narrative," Pick-



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ering's promises "a social and anthropological approach" that understands the Chartist movement as a whole way of life, as "the product of decades of shared experiences" (pp. 2–3). His first chapter sets the scene by way of a graphic tour through the clamorous townscape out of which industrial Chartism emerged. From this social geography of radicalism, Pickering then turns to sociological and organizational structures. His argument, one that amply justifies another local study, is that the Chartist experience was primarily a local one. For all its national implications—electoral reform, universal manhood suffrage, payment of MPs, and the rest—the Chartist creed was one that flourished among kin, friends, neighbors, workmates, and members of local associations. It was a communal creed, Pickering argues, one that helped sustain a local "ethos of mutuality" amid the degrading pressures of the paleotechnic town. Friedrich Engels and Lewis Mumford notwithstanding, there was such a thing as neighborhood in the poorest regions of the city, and its name, says Pickering, was Chartism.

In his richly detailed middle chapters, Pickering situates Chartism in the broader context of a reformist impulse that concerned itself with everything from free trade to temperance. Contemporaries spoke disparagingly of the "trade of agitation" in which well-known local radicals such as R. J. Richardson were involved, but Pickering is the first historian to examine this concept closely and affirm its descriptive usefulness. His book concludes with an impressive series of local Chartist portraits that serves to drive home his point that far from being a narrow political movement, Chartism was a way of life. For ten years, it touched on everything in plebeian experience; it is for this, more than the Charter, that we remember it.

STEWART WEAVER
*University of Rochester*

MARY HEIMANN. *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 253. $49.95.

The Catholics of Victorian England have been lavishly chronicled in recent years. Hardly a season passes without some new study of their politics, personalities, or Protestant problems: there is a bull market in papal bulls. Yet, for all the attention to statecraft, there has been little systematic interest in soulcraft. Theological developments have been scrutinized, and questions of ecclesiastical authority (English or Roman) are old Red Hat by now, but the devotional life of "ordinary" Catholics has gone largely unexplored. Humility may explain this, or arrogance. The spiritual life is not to every taste. Some historians avoid it as beyond reach, others ignore it as beneath contempt. Laziness may also be a factor. It is easy to assume that investigation of Victorian prayer life would confirm what we think we know already: the uneasy co-existence of old Catholics, converts, Irish, liberal Catholics, ultramontanes, and so forth. Whatever the reason, the deficiency is "astonishing" (p. 2), and in this thoroughly excellent monograph, Mary Heimann attempts to repair it. Here is Victorian Catholicism not from the backbenches or Oxbridge or even from Rome but from the pews. In the end, as she says, that is the view that matters most.

Seen from a purely religious perspective, the Victorian Catholic landscape shapes itself into three sharp contours: the "Second Spring" of the 1840s and 1850s, when renewed intellectual self-confidence and a great many conversions led to talk of the conversion of England; the influx of the famine Irish with their vigorous rural piety, so different from the exquisite inwardness of English recusancy; and the Vatican Council's definition of papal infallibility, which represented a triumph for the party (led by Archbishop Manning) wishing to make English Catholics more Roman than Rome itself in theology and liturgical practice. Heimann recognizes these landmarks but argues for their explanatory inadequacy. To adduce the "Second Spring" as central to devotional change is to disguise important continuities and offer a caricature of old Catholic spiritual emaciation. To draw on Irish piety to explain later English practice is to presume a false uniformity among "the Irish" and a false dichotomy between them and English coreligionists. To think that ultramontanism caused Roman ways to prevail over traditional English devotions is to misread the signs. (Indeed, a "startlingly low" [p. 42] number of churches offered those Italianate devotions—exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, the "Forty Hours" adoration—most associated with the ultramontane "revolution" in Catholic piety.) Heimann, a lively revisionist, gives a dusty answer to those who demand too many certainties from the old historiographical categories.

The strength of the work lies thus in its material and its methodology. The hard archival work has been done: no catechism unread, no rosary group unvisited. More important, Heimann preserves the integrity of the material from crude reductionism. Gender, class, and ethnicity (the new "blessed trinity" of our own times) feature relatively little. Heimann finds a community surprisingly united in its pious practices and, ultramontanism notwithstanding, far from ready to take devotional dictation from Rome. Prayers, catechisms, and confraternities, she concludes, enabled traditional English Catholicism not only to survive but to become the most resilient faith community in twentieth-century England. The paradox is pleasing: Victorian Catholics got off their knees by going back on them.

DERMOT QUINN
*Seton Hall University*

GINGER S. FROST. *Promises Broken: Courtship, Class, and Gender in Victorian England.* (Victorian Literature and Culture.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1995. Pp. ix, 241. $35.00.



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Hell may have no fury like a woman scorned, but the jilted woman of Victorian England could also turn to litigation. Lawsuits over breaches of promise to marry are familiar from, among others, the comic operas of William Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan. Contrary to fictional accounts, where the suits appear inane or mercenary, Ginger S. Frost finds the legal system provided needed aid to women well down the social pyramid. Women made up ninety-seven percent of the plaintiffs, and, especially for those in the lower orders who brought most of the suits, a broken engagement was often accompanied by a job or business given up, wedding expenses undertaken, sexual relationships commenced, illegitimate children borne, or marital eligibility foregone. Compensation was therefore appropriate. In addition, the action provided for women dissatisfied with the law's treatment of rape and paternity.

Women won the overwhelming majority of those cases; even when men and women behaved identically, jurors held men to a higher standard. From this, Frost argues that women benefited from confused views of the sexes. Many saw women as helpless and passive, thus needing the protection the law afforded; she finds it contradictory that women, portrayed as shy and unassuming, could be so aggressive as to sue (she does not examine, however, how often a male relative appeared in the background). Extending this interpretation, which Mary Coombs has applied to similar suits in the United States ("Agency and Partnership: A Study of Breach of Promise Plaintiffs," *York Journal of Law and Feminism* [1989]), Frost believes changing attitudes about women led to the rising number of cases after 1875.

The book has several problems. The discussion of sources is inadequate. An appendix includes a list of 400 or so cases, but the number of cases studied was said in the text to be 875 (p. 8). It is not clear what the larger number represents; has Frost examined all cases in any period? Most of her cases are from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but a scattering run back to the eighteenth century. These problems with the sources reduce the value of her generalizations, such as about changes over time, and the figures she offers, such as percentages of successful plaintiffs, premarital sex, and the like.

The organization of the book could be better. It is rife with repetition, including nearly identical paragraphs in the opening acknowledgments. The book is slender and the material thin; the latter is not Frost's fault, but, in her efforts to expand a dissertation, she repeats points frequently. The statement that law and marriage produced contradictions, even if true, recurs too often. Although the human condition may be infinitely varied, the narratives often have a sameness, probably because lawyers shaped the evidence to fit the conventions of the suit. Moreover, a chapter devoted to legal history ends with a paragraph discussing social-class groupings, and the chapter titled "Elite Men Debate" contains material neither elite nor male.

Frost accepts the breach-of-promise procedure without fully examining law's role in society. Although economic motives and attitudinal changes might account for the increased popularity of the suits, John Gillis has discussed other possibilities. Perhaps litigation was an effort to restore respectability. Also, the law may have affected people's perceptions about what constituted an engagement, a subject that Michael Grossberg has examined for the United States (*Governing the Hearth: Law and Family in Nineteenth-Century America* [1985]). These problems aside, Frost has expanded our knowledge of breach-of-promise suits beyond the fictional and increased our knowledge of England's lower-middle and working classes. Frost's excellent integration of recent writings provides a current view of people outside the aristocratic and literary worlds in the late Victorian world.

ALLEN HORSTMAN
*Albion College*

DEBORAH EPSTEIN NORD. *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 270. $16.95.

In this book, Deborah Epstein Nord offers a fascinating analysis of the role of Victorian women as both spectacles in and spectators of the urban streets. Drawing on an eclectic group of sources ranging from the novels of Charles Dickens and Elizabeth Gaskell to Fabian social investigations, Nord argues that the female observer is always a spectacle. Linked with fallen and poor women by sexuality, she is thereby differentiated as spectator from the male stroller or *flâneur*.

In part one, "Stroller into Novelist," Nord explores the detachment of the male observer. The early nineteenth-century city was experienced through two perceptual modes: first, through the panoramic view in which London, grim or glittering, was seen safely from afar, (for instance, from atop Newgate or the dome of St. Paul's, as in Pierce Egan's *Life of London* [1821]); and second, through fleeting encounters with solitary figures, such as the enigmatic Ann, the orphan and prostitute in Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* (1821). The observer sees the city as a spectacle to be consumed. Dickens bridges the distance between the observer and the observed by injecting the shabby genteel into the metropolis and through his "demystification" (p. 63) of individual characters and locations, both poor and sexually tainted.

Part two, "Fallen Women," examines the female pariah through the lens of two female observers, Flora Tristan and Elizabeth Gaskell. In *Promenades dans Londres* (1842), Tristan, vulnerable and endangering her own respectability by assuming the male role of spectator, employs "disguises of foreignness, exoticism and androgyny" (p. 122). She sees in "the London prostitute ... [her] debased, feared and disavowed double" and "her idealized counterpart" in the "tran-



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scendent maternality" (p. 132) of the mother in Newgate Prison who stole to feed her children. Gaskell, too, finds her role as spectator conditioned by the experience of being "elbowed" on the streets. Hence, in *Mary Barton* (1848), *Ruth* (1853), and *North and South* (1855), scenes recur of exposure and of women being assessed as objects of sexual interest on the street. But Gaskell subverts popular cultural notions of sexual contamination: Esther's apparent deprivation is situated in the elevating framework of parental devotion; Jemima is strengthened by contact with Ruth; and Margaret, unchaperoned in the northern streets, discovers new class relations that defy the "passivity" and "narcolepsy" of London (p. 169).

Finally, in part three, "New Women," Nord studies "glorified spinsters" and social investigators. For women such as Margaret Harkness, Beatrice Webb, or Amy Levy, dependence on each other provided a defence against vulnerability and exposure. Nonetheless, these women's vision of the city is tentative, hesitant, and ambivalent. Social investigators such as Helen Bosanquet or Maud Pember Reeves ultimately found that a "maternalist perspective" (p. 235), focused on the needs of the family and women as mothers, competed unsatisfactorily with a feminist perception of the rights of women.

This is a splendid book, combining a careful and nuanced reading of literary texts with studies by historians such as Judith Walkowitz, Martha Vicinus, Lynda Nead, and Ellen Ross, informed but not obfuscated by theoretical considerations. Nord's study is an important contribution to the history of urban women.

Lori Loeb
*University of Toronto*

Corinne Comstock Weston. *The House of Lords and Ideological Politics: Lord Salisbury's Referendal Theory and the Conservative Party, 1846–1922.* (Memoirs, number 215.) Philadelphia, Pa.: American Philosophical Society. 1995. Pp. ix, 242. $25.00.

In the Third Marquess of Salisbury's otherwise brooding countenance there is, implies Corinne Comstock Weston, a populist twinkle to be discerned. Her concern is that somber patrician's persistent search for a persuasive defense, in an age of advancing democracy, of the continuing value of the House of Lords, despite the fact that its hereditary composition seemed to disqualify it from playing as significant a role as the popularly elected House of Commons. Salisbury's referendal theory furnished that justification by emphasizing that their lordships had the obligation to act as the conscience of the nation, thereby referring disputed bills to the electorate, not on the grounds of personal distaste but as an impartial service to the voters that would enable their voices to be heard.

If this doctrine appeared transparently partisan (and Salisbury invoked it only during Liberal administrations), it could more plausibly be applied when the Commons lacked an obvious mandate (when, for example, the particular issue in dispute had not figured prominently in the previous campaign). In those circumstances, to yield to the Commons in deference to its ostensibly representative character might distort Britain's bicameral system and violate the national interest. So Weston is correct to argue that referendal theory warrants attention as something more than circumstantial justification for ancient prejudice; in the late Victorian era, it was, she suggests, the "taproot of Conservative ideology" (p. 1). It came to embody a powerful critique of Gladstonian Liberalism that distinguished between, on the one hand, the Liberal party's unrepresentative majority in the Commons—one sustained only by an autocratic combination of the caucus, procedural curtailment of parliamentary debate, and a "motley majority" drawn from the Celtic fringe—and, on the other, the enduring interests of the nation, which only an alliance of a vigilant House of Lords and a responsive English electorate could defend. Salisbury's doctrine appeared to receive confirmation at the polls in 1886 and 1895, but some two decades later his worst fears were realized: a more assertive upper chamber was fatally exposed to an assault on its powers, and an intransigent section of the Unionist party (including Lord Salisbury's own son-in-law and ideological heir, Lord Selborne) seemed intent on threatening both party unity and the institutional basis of political life.

To argue, however, as Weston does, that referendal theory thus "marked an alienation from parliamentary government" (p. 9) reaching a culmination in the crisis of 1909–1911, is not wholly persuasive. Salisbury championed the weight of property and hierarchy within the system, but he recognized that the corollary of referendal theory was to accept the people's verdict even if it was unfavorable (as he did in 1868 over disestablishment of the Irish Church). It was not frequent recourse to the voters that Salisbury sought but rather moral high ground of sufficient elevation to dissuade the Liberals from their otherwise ready inclination to storm the ramparts of privilege. Weston complicates matters by gliding too smoothly from referendal theory to the idea of the referendum, where resolution of a parliamentary stalemate might be achieved not through a general election and possible change of ministry but by an isolated verdict on a single issue. When she discusses Balfour's flirtation with the idea in 1910, she treats that episode as a rarified discussion of constitutional propriety, without according due weight to the Unionist leader's calculations of tariff reform's strength within his party and unpopularity with voters in pivotal Lancashire.

A Salisbury rather cooler to referendal ideas emerges from Andrew Adonis' *Making Aristocracy Work: The Peerage and the Political System in Britain, 1884–1914* (1993), which Weston does not engage directly, but her study can be welcomed as another helpful effort to take ideology seriously in the study of a party that has so studiously denied its influence. And while she may overstate the influence or continuity of



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referendal theory within British Conservatism, Weston sheds new light on Lord Salisbury's role in his party's development during the late nineteenth century.

FRANS COETZEE
*George Washington University*

DAVID FRENCH. *The Strategy of the Lloyd George Coalition, 1916–1918*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. vi, 332. $55.00.

This volume is the sequel to David French's examination of the war policies of Asquith's administration, *British Strategy and War Aims 1914–1916* (1986). A thread running through both volumes is the rejection of the prevailing view that two rival camps, the "westerners," who sought victory through the defeat of the German army on the western front, and the "easterners," who hoped to travel a less direct (and costly) road to victory, dominated the strategic debate. French sees no such geographical division. He contends that the Asquith and Lloyd George administrations struggled with balancing Britain's resources with its primary war objectives: thwarting Germany's threat to Britain's premier global position and winning a peace that secured the British Empire against both enemy and ally alike.

According to French, Lord Kitchener, who acted as supreme war lord in 1914–1915, sought to limit Britain's liability in the land war until 1917, when he believed that Germany, exhausted by attritional battles with the French and Russians, would be subject to a British knock-out punch on the western front. Such a policy of limited liability was not viable for the new Lloyd George coalition. Between December 1916 and May 1917, "the pillars of Kitchener's strategy crumbled" (p. 286). As France's and Russia's decline pressured Britain to become the cornerstone of the land war, Lloyd George resisted a one-dimensional military policy that used up the army and reduced Britain's influence in the making of peace. The Welshman also sought to protect Britain's eastern flank against the Turko-German threat, to bolster home morale by winning concrete victories such as the capture of Jerusalem, and to harness America's emerging military power to British political and economic ends.

Although French successfully dissects the complexities of Lloyd George's recipe for victory, his neat division between Kitchener's limited liability and the strategy of Lloyd George's coalition is open to question. Kitchener failed to articulate a coherent strategy to British civilians in 1914–1915; and throughout 1916, Sir William Robertson, the army's most important critic of avoiding an all-out effort against the German army until Britain's allies had reduced it to an empty shell, dominated British strategy as Chief of the Imperial General Staff. Robertson played a pivotal role in the government's acceptance of conscription and the launching of the Somme offensive. However one judges the Battle of the Somme, it most definitely did not represent limited liability. British casualties on their entire front approached 200,000 in July; no month was more costly for the British Expeditionary Force.

But this is a minor quibble. Tightly written and cogently argued, this is a much bigger book bursting to escape its covers. Although French's 1,248 citations reflect wide-ranging archival research, many of his conclusions are based on an understanding of modern scholarship. French is quick to recognize this debt to others while offering many original ideas of his own. His chapter on the origins of the Flanders offensive, for example, is perhaps the most balanced treatment of that subject. This work is certain to have a respected place in the literature of World War I.

DAVID R. WOODWARD
*Marshall University*

INDERJEET PARMAR. *Special Interests, the State and the Anglo-American Alliance, 1939–1945*. Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass; distributed by ISBS. 1995. Pp. viii, 200. $39.50.

Although the belief that Britain enjoys a "special relationship" with the United States has persisted through most of the post–World War II period, during the 1980s it became a matter of increasing public debate. During that decade the lack of British control over the American nuclear weapons in Britain gave rise to fears that Britain had become a U.S. satellite. Inderjeet Parmar notes that while this implied a loss of British sovereignty over its own territory, groups that resisted greater British integration into the European Community because it would undermine sovereignty did not oppose U.S. control over American nuclear weapons in Britain. This book emerged from Parmar's attempt to explain the inconsistency.

Parmar focuses on five issues that he considers decisive in the formation of the wartime Anglo-American alliance: the destroyers-for-bases agreement of 1940; the Atlantic Charter of 1941; the Mutual Aid agreement of 1942; the Bretton Woods negotiations of 1944–1945; and the U.S. loan to Britain of 1945. In each instance, he examines the role of the following interest groups in the policy-making process: the Federation of British Industries, the Empire Industries Association, the Bank of England, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and the Trades Union Congress. Parmar concludes that none of these interest groups played a decisive role; instead, he finds that the state was responsible for the emergence of the Anglo-American alliance.

In stressing the independence of the state from influence by presumably powerful interest groups, Parmar supports those political sociologists, such as Theda Skocpol, who find statism a more satisfactory decision-making explanatory model than pluralism. Although he does not probe very deeply into the conflict of opinion within the state on this issue, Parmar does identify a pro-empire group that recog-



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nized that the U.S. alliance would weaken Britain's ties with its empire and objected to the alliance on that ground. But the leaders of this group, such as Leopold Amery, were political lightweights, and their resistance was easily overcome.

Although the Conservative Party was the dominant partner in the wartime coalition government, Parmar takes only a brief and superficial glance at the debate within that party on the proposed U.S. alliance. This is surprising in that the tensions within the wartime Conservative Party have some similarities to those that have arisen over integration into the European Community. Conservative MPs were so deeply divided in 1945 over whether to accept the terms of the proposed American loan that, when the matter came to a vote in the House of Commons, the party officially abstained in order to avoid a bitter party split. Parmar is unable to shed new light on this or other aspects of wartime Conservative Party sentiment, in part because he has not used relevant sources such as the Conservative Party archive.

Parmar claims to present evidence that undermines the interpretation of "mainstream" historians. I remain unconvinced. Although the studies of the wartime Anglo-American alliance by David Reynolds, William Roger Louis, and Alan Dobson appear in his notes, Parmar does not seem to have absorbed their interpretations. Parmar's claim that previous scholarship views the "special relationship" as an outgrowth of a common Anglo-American cultural heritage and considers strategic and economic interests of secondary importance seriously misrepresents the position of the above-named historians. Although the author raises some interesting questions, the reader should look elsewhere for answers.

HAROLD L. SMITH
*University of Houston, Victoria*

RICHARD ENGLISH. *Radicals and the Republic: Socialist Republicanism in the Irish Free State, 1925–1937.* New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 306. $59.00.

Richard English has written a scholarly, balanced, and lively account of the efforts of a group in the outlawed Irish Republican Army (IRA) to draw that organization to a socialist position in the late 1920s and early 1930s. This attempt met with failure principally because the IRA was a military body, and there was not adequate ground on the Irish Left for a new political grouping.

In the mid-1920s, most Irish republicans gave their support to Fianna Fáil, the new party led by Eamon de Valera; that party was committed to a republican policy as well as social and economic development through legal, constitutional methods. Those who remained in the IRA believed in the utility of physical force over legal political activity. Serious, dedicated people such as Peadar O'Donnell, George Gilmore, and Frank Ryan spent time and energy trying to draw their colleagues toward socialism through such organizations as Saor Eire and the Republican Congress. They hoped to build sufficient support for republican socialism to bring about a "united front" that would include the IRA and Fianna Fáil. They constituted a pressure group that did not test their appeal in a public election. As English points out, their expectations were unrealistic.

Several factors contributed to the failure of socialism to develop broad backing in Ireland. For one, supporters of socialism of one sort or another were dispersed in a variety of organizations: the Irish Labour Party, the Communist Party of Ireland, Belfast groups, and Jim Larkin's Irish Workers League. Furthermore, Fianna Fáil, which came to power in 1932, provided an effective, incremental mechanism for dismantling objectionable portions of the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1921 as well as sufficient social and economic progress to satisfy most voters in the Free State. On this basis, it became the dominant political party in Ireland.

English claims that the republican socialist coterie gathered around O'Donnell amounted to a cult that involved only a "tiny number" (p. 276), but I would have liked to have seen a numerical estimate. He provides a competent summary of the literary and journalistic work of the remarkable O'Donnell. English also notes that Fianna Fáil received strong working-class support, but he says almost nothing about the social and economic legislation that provided the basis of this support. In his conclusion, English states that "the supposed identification of national and social struggles evaporated on serious inspection" (p. 276). This might have been true of O'Donnell's enterprise, but many supporters of Fianna Fáil believed that their party represented the triumph of pragmatic republicanism and practical socialism. In the late 1940s, Clann na Poblachta burst on the scene with a strong commitment to republicanism and state leadership in social and economic development, but its appeal was blunted when Fianna Fáil refocused its support for both these positions.

English's book, brimming with interesting detail and providing excellent references and bibliography, is a study of a side show in the Irish political spectrum of the interwar period. It is a definitive history of that endeavor.

ARTHUR MITCHELL
*University of South Carolina, Columbia*

CHRISTOPHER H. JOHNSON. *The Life and Death of Industrial Languedoc, 1700–1920.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 307. $60.00.

Those who remember their delight in reading Christopher H. Johnson's *Utopian Communism in France* (1974) have another treat awaiting them. His new



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book, a regional analysis of industrial development and decline, highlights the roles of state and politics, especially popular politics, to explain the hopscotch movements of capital across a national economy over time and its consequences for the lives of ordinary people in industry. In Johnson's analysis, individual personality and family biography are as vital as structural change, economics is as much a matter of marriages and power deals as of markets and profit margins, and bureaucratic regulation and justice-offended popular indignation have as much, or more, to do with the plays of capitalist concentration and wealth distribution as more frequently cited engines of capitalist growth such as technology. This is, in other words, an unusual economic history of a broadly complex, flesh-and-blood kind, wherein social dynamics, political theater, and a militant humanist vision inhere. The narrative is executed with the vigor and flourish of literary and stylistic genius. It is robust, impassioned, concrete, and sometimes evocatively metaphorical. Humor and even some good-natured sniping—at anti-materialist trends in social history writing, for example—pepper the text. There are a few tedious interludes, especially when quantitative data is "talked through," but even these maintain movement and Johnson returns quickly to center stage. This work exudes multipolar erudition—that of historiographies of Languedoc, France, Europe, and America; that of various empirical methodologies and critical theory (notably, alas, Jürgen Habermas)—while using the best artisanal technique for its own interpretive construction. Above all, a staggering archival foundation, on which Johnson builds with a sensitivity enhanced by an intimate feel for regional landscape and culture, gives this study an authority that will be difficult to challenge.

I see two different narratives at work. One is an orthodox Marxist—frankly materialist—rendering of pre-Second Empire industrial capitalism as leading locally to stark class confrontation, in the proto-union sense by 1845 and in the class-conscious political sense by 1848. This somewhat teleological, though refined and nuanced, account is structural and tightly coherent, climaxing in the high drama of popular mobilization of the 1848 period (where Habermas is given his due). This narrative harbors some intriguing local detail: that a complex "labyrinth of interest and influence" (p. 83) permitted collusion in the context of a family firm's industrial ecology, that workers' emerging class consciousness had Christian roots, that there was a degree of popular misery somehow missed in the otherwise meticulous observations of sociologically minded contemporaries. (For the prodgious spade work enabling these results, Lois Johnson shares credit.)

The second narrative abandons structural coherence for a more loosely connected mosaic involving a mine, a railroad, and the invasion of the vine—ultimate victor in the region's post–1851 "deindustrialization." The behavior of individual personalities, performing more often in the corporate and bureaucratic settings of Paris than in the local spheres of electoral and demonstrative politics, dominates these scenes of capital's messy exit from Languedoc. The argument for the effect of 1848 popular militancy on this process, especially on the state's subsequent economic decisions for the region, is not fully convincing, however. Presumptions about the French state's institutional behavior here call for more systematic study of this issue on a national level.

This work has taken some two decades to research and write. It has been well worth the wait.

GEORGE J. SHERIDAN, JR.
*University of Oregon*

NICHOLAS MIRZOEFF. *Silent Poetry: Deafness, Sign, and Visual Culture in Modern France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 317. $29.95.

Nicholas Mirzoeff's book is a welcome addition to a growing body of recent scholarly work on the deaf communities in France and the United States. Mirzoeff's study spans a particularly active period in the French deaf community, from the initial efforts of the Abbé de l'Epée in the instruction of deaf people before the French Revolution to the concept of modernism and its affect on the French deaf community in the early twentieth century. He has identified over one hundred deaf artists who "played a central role in the deaf community" (p. 3). These deaf artists have been largely hidden from history, and it is to Mirzoeff's credit that at least a handful of them have now received some scholarly attention.

The main argument of Mirzoeff's study is that anthropology, medicine, and social attitudes constructed an image of the deaf and their sign language that also affected the production of deaf art. His book is replete with references to Jacques Lacan, Jacques Derrida, and Michel Foucault as the analytical basis for his study, and there are instances when Mirzoeff is more involved with the theory of "social construction" than with clearly portraying the events of deaf history. He has a tendency to go back and forth between the events of the nineteenth century and the comments of Lacan, Derrida, and Foucault as though they were interchangeable commentaries. From time to time, there are also inconsistencies in Mirzoeff's argument. At one point, he contends that "a functioning deaf community did exist in France prior to Epée's work [in the late eighteenth century]" (pp. 39–40). But some pages later, Mirzoeff writes that the deaf "were isolated in villages without contact with other deaf people . . . Clearly it was these deaf people who had the most to gain from the artificial deaf communities that were formed by the deaf Institutes [in the early nineteenth century]" (p. 63). This historical discrepancy remains unexplained.

The best parts of the book revolve around the artists and their work. When Mirzoeff takes a closer look at some of the painting, sculpture, and photography



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produced by deaf artists, we gain a new perspective on their aesthetic creativity and their place inside the deaf community. For example, the material on Frédéric Peyson, a deaf painter from Montpellier, is fascinating. Mirzoeff also provides some valuable insight about the work of Félix Martin, a deaf sculptor of the second half of the nineteenth century. In the last third of his book, Mirzoeff argues that avant-garde painting of the late nineteenth century excluded deaf artists but that the modern medium of photography opened up new possibilities of artistic expression that made deaf artists equal to their hearing counterparts. The commentary on Bruno Braquehais's photographs of the Paris Commune of 1871 directly illustrates the interconnection between political, social, and visual culture as constructed by a deaf artist through the photographic lens.

In sum, Nicholas Mirzoeff opens new avenues of historical inquiry about the deaf community whose members significantly contributed to visual culture in modern France.

ANNE T. QUARTARARO
*U.S. Naval Academy*

ANNE T. QUARTARARO. *Women Teachers and Popular Education in Nineteenth-Century France: Social Values and Corporate Identity at the Normal School Institution*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 1995. Pp. 229. $38.50.

Anne T. Quartararo's new book fits well with studies of other professional schools and girls' schooling in nineteenth-century France. It is based on extensive research in the Archives Nationales and wide reading of contemporary and secondary sources. Quartararo's study of the training of *instrutrices* complements Jo Burr Margadant's examination of women secondary teachers in *Madame le Professeur: Women Educators in the Third Republic* (1990) and Linda Clark's analysis of girls' elementary schooling in *Schooling the Daughters of Marianne* (1984).

This history of women's teacher-training schools considers them in the contexts of the values that political and educational leaders wanted to inculcate in the national community, the general debate between church and state over moral regeneration, and the implications of their corporate structure for graduates. For most of the century, women's normal schools had been much less prominent than such normal schools for men. Even by 1877, only about 200 young women graduated each year. Ten years later, that figure rose to almost 1,000, and it climbed to more than 1,500 in 1900, when more women than men graduated from French normal schools for the first time. Although the Guizot Law of 1833 established normal schools for men, women's teacher-training and girls' instruction generally had been left to the church. Quartararo rightly gives the church credit for filling an important gap in the educational system: "At mid-century, the Catholic Church set the standard for molding the morals and habits of young women in the countryside. Church and State were of one mind when it concerned civilizing the masses" (p. 75). A mythology of inferior Catholic schools developed later, when republicans denigrated them to justify replacing them with lay schools.

Victor Duruy attempted in the late 1860s to extend the hand of the state over teacher training for girls' schools. He was unable to found many new schools, but he did succeed in applying the same standards to women's schools as to men's and in establishing the principle of central governmental financial support. It was left to Jules Ferry to create a parallel national system of normal schools for women, beginning in 1879. Motives for this national system were diverse. After universal education had been achieved, it was a natural step to try to improve quality. Teacher certification was part of an effort to force subordination of the church to the state. There was sentiment, among at least some, for parity between the sexes. Religion was removed from the schools, but the church's traditions of regimentation, isolation, and special dress remained integral to the formation of women teachers.

The last chapter offers an illuminating portrayal of "corporate identity." Dedicated teachers, formed in the isolation of the *écoles normales*, conceived of themselves as pioneers battling on the frontiers of ignorance in some distant village. The system trained teachers to have a particular sense of self and then distributed them throughout the nation, injected them into village life, and defined and supported them with a variety of institutional arrangements. Although their pay was hardly grand, they could think of themselves as something of an elite who had succeeded in a career many desired. The basis was laid in experience and ideology, as even their expressions of disillusionment reveal, for a professional *esprit de corps*. Alumnae organizations would lobby for and, in 1919, win equal pay with their male counterparts.

The book is interesting, sensitive, and carefully-researched, but it has minor weaknesses. There are too many tables, caused by a tendency to reproduce archival information whether or not it is crucial to arguments. Conversely, Quartararo could have integrated comparative material from some of the secondary literature to show better how these schools and their students fit within the French educational system. For example, how were *normaliens*' experiences similar and different from those of Margadant's *professeurs*?

PATRICK J. HARRIGAN
*University of Waterloo*

DOUGLAS PORCH. *The French Secret Services: From the Dreyfus Affair to the Gulf War*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 1995. Pp. xiv, 623. $32.50.

In this lengthy study of the French secret services in the twentieth century, Douglas Porch recounts a series of French intelligence successes. Yet his objective is to chronicle a history of counterproductive behavior and failure. The French pioneered cryptoanalysis and air



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reconnaissance. In the 1930s, they warned of German armored doctrine and signaled German intentions. Their intelligence on the Vietminh during the Indochina War was first-rate. Yet they squandered early technological leads, they failed to anticipate the force of the von Schlieffen offensive, and they hedged on German movements in May 1940 and miscalculated battle order formations. Their opium trafficking in Indochina paved the way for the Dien Bien Phu fiasco, and, indeed, from 1945 on their history evolved into a squalid one of scandal, loose cannon botch-ups, postcolonial intrigues, and mutually destructive service rivalries, culminating in the Rainbow Warrior disgrace and the humiliating dependence on American intelligence during the Gulf War.

Often the failures were commonplace ones: good intelligence wasted on command structures incapable of or disinterested in using it. Porch has few, if any, kind things to say about the leadership of Joseph Joffre, Maurice Gamelin, or Henri Navarre. Still, he is not prepared to let the secret services off the hook. Beyond clear-cut errors in judgement, they conformed to the fatal patron-client intelligence relationship, awarding highest priority to personal or organizational survival and thus slanting information to fit preconceived notions or hedging their bets with smorgasbord offerings. Moreover, the French secret services, Porch tells us, were almost destined to fail, so embedded were they in the inadequacies of French military and political culture. As primarily military organizations, they lacked the independent initiative to force unwanted intelligence on reluctant superiors. As heirs to the French Resistance, they overcommitted to covert operations. Mimicking a military command that sought a release from strategic difficulties in daring moves, they, too, pursued the will-o'-the-wisp of special operations. And, like the governments that created and employed them, they were riven with distrust, fragmentation, and political intrigue.

Porch has always known how to tell a good story, and readers of this volume will not be disappointed, although his special talent for describing lightning raids across the Sahara or the forbidden lands into which French military units poured has been lost somewhat amid the more mundane confines of agency offices. His real strengths are the professional lifetime he has devoted to scrutinizing French military files at Vincennes and the foundation he possesses in the doctrine and practice of military command, so that he can write confidently—even controversially—about the relationship between intelligence and strategic decision-making. Gifts for narrative, bold analysis, and close archival reading can combine superbly, as they do, for example, in his discussion of the collapse at Dien Bien Phu. On the other hand, long stretches of this book, especially the more contemporary segments, rely, unavoidably, on a memoir and journalistic literature whose tales of scandal and manipulation may not always place truth-telling at the top of their agendas. Porch's willingness to run with such sources, plus a reluctance to advance beyond a critical reading of French Republican politics, at times produce a predictable quality to a work that otherwise adds considerably to our understanding and evaluation of French intelligence operations in modern times.

MICHAEL MILLER
*Syracuse University*

BERNADETTE BUCHER. *Descendants de chouans: Histoire et culture populaire dans la Vendée contemporaine.* (Collection Ethnologie da la France, number 15.) Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme. 1995. Pp. xvi, 338. 180 fr.

This book is primarily an ethnographic account of the *bocage* region of the department of the Vendée, based on two decades of field research and supplemented by archival research. The result is a work of considerable significance on the process by which the disparate provinces of France were knit together into a nation.

Central to Bernadette Bucher's analysis is the concept of *coublage*, the practice of sharing labor between households in order to assist each farm when it has an extraordinary need for labor. This practice was an essential part of the *bocage* system, a way in which the inequalities of resources between farms were evened out as social equals and unequals assisted each other. Until the postwar era, *coublage* served as a complement to the strictly hierarchial social authority of the rural elite and of the head of the household within the family. But it also provides the basis for Bucher's exploration of Vendean rural culture and its transformations during the last twenty-five years. *Coublage* has provided a basis for the negotiations through which rural Vendeans have dealt with the shift from a primarily agricultural economy and society to one marked by the modernization of agriculture, the growth of wage labor, and widespread interaction between rural and urban sectors.

To develop her argument, Bucher explores the ways in which the hierarchical linkages of *coublage* have marked the new social relations that have developed over the last generation. These have been reproduced in agriculture, in such recent programs as the *Groupement agricole d'exploitation en commun*, through which small landholdings owned by several people have been brought together to create more efficient farms. But they also mark relations between employers and employees in the developing industry of the region, cementing social relations marked by patronage and attenuating the growth of class conflict. In a final chapter, Bucher shows the continued importance of *coublage* in the transformation of game hunting from an elite form of recreation to one shared across the social hierarchy today.

Bucher is careful in the conclusions she draws, focusing on the region itself and principally attacking the myth of an unchanging, conservative Vendée. But her conclusions could be extended further. Her book provides another indication of how scholarly and pop-



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ular constructions of rural history and culture change when country dwellers themselves are viewed as active participants in the processes of economic development and cultural change rather than being relegated to the undifferentiated category of "peasant." While its forays into Vendean history are relatively brief, this book contributes to a reconstruction of rural participation in nation building, a process that increasingly appears to be one not of destruction of local cultures by a monolithic national culture but one whose principal dynamic is contact and negotiation between complex national and rural cultures.

JAMES R. LEHNING
*University of Utah*

STEPHEN HALICZER. *Sexuality in the Confessional: A Sacrament Profaned*. (Studies in the History of Sexuality.) Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. 267. $49.95.

Confession was a subject of dark suspicions, even in Catholic Spain, from the early years of the sixteenth century well into the eighteenth century. Stephen Haliczer maintains in this absorbing study that misgivings about the sacrament of penance were due, at least in part, to a widespread suspicion among the laity that nominally celibate confessors habitually used the intimacy of the penitential relationship to pry into the secrets of their penitents' sex lives in order to relieve some of their own sexual frustrations. Cynics even surmised that confessors might take advantage of confessional encounters to make assignations with vulnerable women, whom they absolved for their past sins at the same time that they suborned them to commit fresh ones.

How widespread these apprehensions may have been among the laity cannot be established with certainty. What is certain, however, is that influential members of the Spanish hierarchy shared them. Church authorities accordingly set out to detect and punish priests who used the confessional for purposes of sexual immorality. They confided this delicate task to the Spanish Inquisition.

Haliczer has scoured the remarkable archives of the Inquisition for the period from 1530 to 1819 and recovered 223 reasonably complete records of solicitation cases from them. Those records form the core of the evidence upon which his book relies. The surviving records, to be sure, reflect only a fraction of the incidence of sexual hanky panky in Spanish confessionals. Records of numerous other cases are incomplete and, in any event, the available evidence comes from just a few regions in the kingdom, which makes it impossible to reach reliable conclusions about geographical variations in the incidence of the problem. Despite the limitations inherent in the evidence, however, Haliczer has been able to reconstruct an intriguing account of the intrusion of sexual desire, and its occasional fulfillment, into the operations of the sacrament of penance in early modern Spain.

In his opening chapters (roughly one-fifth of the book), Haliczer sets the context for his case studies by outlining the changes that occurred in the theology and practice of penance and communion during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Following that, he turns to the structure, jurisdiction, and procedures of the Spanish Inquisition in order to establish the institutional context that produced the evidence he relies on. The central portion of the book (approximately three-quarters of the whole) examines first the confessors who engaged in solicitation and then the victims (a few willing, most unwilling) of their sexual attentions. Haliczer spends a further chapter on the psychological dimensions of sexual aberrations among early modern Spanish priests and gives us a glimpse as well into the treatment of solicitation in the confessional by early modern anticlerical propagandists. The brief remainder of the book attempts to sum up the evidence and to formulate some conclusions about the significance of sexual solicitation by confessors in the social and religious history of Spain.

The dominant theme that runs through Haliczer's book and that emerges as the centerpiece of his conclusions is that church authorities themselves did much to create conditions that led to the scandals attached to sexual solicitation by confessors. He notes, for example, that manuals for confessors, not unexpectedly, stressed the importance of sexual transgressions among the laity and advised confessors that they should probe diligently into the details of the sexual sins that penitents reported to them. This, Haliczer argues, created a situation in which talk about sexual matters tended to dominate the dialogue between confessors and their clients. The eroticization of the process of confession was apt to lead to sexual excitement, especially among men who were barred by their vows and by the expectations of their society from any sort of legitimate sexual gratification. Haliczer further argues that the inadequacies of seminary education and spiritual formation among the clergy in early modern Spain may have been in part to blame for the incidence of solicitation in the confessional. He suggests that men reared from adolescence in the atmosphere of misogyny and sexual prudery that commonly dominated the seminary experience were all too often tempted beyond their power of resistance to relieve their frustrations by preying upon the women over whom they exercised moral authority in the privacy of the confessional.

This admirably researched and thoughtful study richly deserves attention from scholars interested in the social and religious history of early modern Europe. I should not be greatly surprised if it also proved to be a popular reading assignment in undergraduate courses.

JAMES A. BRUNDAGE
*University of Kansas*

WILLIAM A. CHRISTIAN, JR. *Visionaries: The Spanish Republic and the Reign of Christ*. Berkeley and Los



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Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xxii, 544. $39.95.

With the recent death of Julio Caro Baroja, William A. Christian, Jr. is now the leading scholar of Catholicism as practiced in rural and village areas of Spain from medieval times to the present. In connecting the witchcraft epidemic of 1611 with sightings of the Virgin Mary in 1931 (his main topic), Christian reasons that: "The cultural isolation of rural Basque speakers may have left them with fewer defenses against and fewer inhibitions about the spirit world and sheltered them from critical alternatives" (p. 212). Although eventually the Spanish high clergy refused to legitimize the visionaries, tens of thousands of believers flocked to the vision sites at Ezkioga and other locales: the simple schemas of the agrarian world had tapped a source of powerful "devotional energy" that appealed to urbanites, too (p. 396).

Christian carefully chronicles the trance states that enabled the seers—many of them children—to communicate with the Virgin and seek answers to pressing questions of a local or national nature. "As a rule," he writes, "seers progressed from lesser to greater states of dissociation" (p. 287). Could the susceptibility to dissociative states at Ezkioga have originated in some form of parental ambivalence, corporal punishment, or deprivation? The relevance of such questions was demonstrated some years ago by a landmark study of rural Irish Catholicism by anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes (*Saints, Scholars, and Schizophrenics* [1982]). Christian does not pursue this line of inquiry, but he does suggest that "the Ezkioga visions may have been . . . memories that the force of fear or desire recombined and seers experienced as perception" (p. 301). It so happens that the perceptual organization of traumatic experience constructs memory networks prone to confuse past and present in this way. Philip Greven (*Spare the Child* [1990]) found abuse instrumental in forging the "psychic warehouse" of numerous Protestant sects in the United States. The psychic warehouse of the Spanish seers included items that strongly suggest a traumatic genesis, or at the very least a punitive one.

Christian devotes an entire chapter to the grandiose apocalyptic themes that emerged in the visions of his seers, with special attention to their prophecies of an impending "chastisement." The Marian sightings were championed eagerly by the more authoritarian and credulous members of the Spanish clergy, but it is intriguing to learn that José Antonio Laburu, the most brilliant Jesuit lecturer of his time, personally investigated the sightings of Mary. He subsequently took the lead in debunking them, in part because of the stunted spiritual growth of the visionaries and their public. I would suggest that, instead of Irish-type schizophrenia, we are dealing with Basque-type dissociation, in which items from the psychic warehouse of half-forgotten coercive experiences, filtered through a particular set of social relations, became supernatural visions.

Christian avoids theoretical discussion of any kind; one misses the conceptual sophistication of W. W. Meissner's study of the greatest Basque visionary of them all, *Ignatius of Loyola* (1992). But what Christian lacks in psychological depth, he makes up for in sociological breadth, painting a fascinating picture of the milieus that fostered rejection or acceptance of the seers inside the general context of the church-baiting Second Republic. Many thousands of people ignored Father Laburu's scientific attack on the visionaries and continued to believe in them for years. Faith took root in "the kin-based clerical culture" of the north and in a "permanent, hidden, conventual mystical network" filled with women familiar with local and international mystics (p. 232). Affluent Catholic conservatives such as Carmen Medina collected and exhibited their favorite seers even as they longed for civil war with rebellious factory workers. Sightings of Mary proliferated quickly: Christian traces the rash of "mini-Ezkiogas" in rural communities all over Spain. Themes of sacrifice, suffering, and impending chastisement resonated throughout the country during the decade of the 1930s, and with the outbreak of a "holy war" against Spanish atheism many prophecies appeared to have been fulfilled.

Christian deals with many other fascinating aspects of Spanish Catholicism in the twentieth century. We discover, for example, how a South American mystic known as Madre Soledad was able to convince many Spanish priests to become like little boys under her tutelage in the 1920s, submitting to daily self-flagellation and learning to talk baby-talk to the divinity. Many of these so-called *Sacerdotes Niños* became firm supporters of the Ezkioga visions. Christian takes a charitable view of the fantasy boy-slaves of Madre Soledad, conjecturing that: "A discipline of puerility may have been particularly attractive for rural Basque and Navarrese clergy as a kind of relief from their inordinate social and political power" (p. 227). Recreation it might have been, but one that corresponded to unique psychological structures that cry out for explication. (As had happened so often in Spanish church history, the priestly collusion with female mystics led to rumors of sexual license and was condemned by the Holy Office in 1925.)

Christian's book affords us many precious glimpses into the power of fantasy scripts in the genesis of new forms of Catholic devotion in Spain. I recommend it to scholars of religion and Spanish history in particular.

TIMOTHY MITCHELL
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FERNANDA ROMEU ALFARO. *El silencio roto: Mujeres contra el Franquismo*. Madrid: Fernanda Romeu Alfaro. 1994. Pp. 394.

Fernanda Romeu Alfaro's book is a key contribution to a small but growing body of work about the fate of Spanish women after the bloody Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). Her opening comments about the "col-



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lective amnesia" in Spain regarding resistance to the dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939–1975) are particularly appropriate with regard to women. Punished by a regime whose tenets were deeply rooted in Hitler's and Mussolini's fascist dictates, Romeu Alfaro reveals how female activists were silenced (in some cases permanently, as in that of Julia Conesa) during the Franco regime for having transgressed as women and as resistance workers.

She concentrates on one particular women's prison in Madrid, Ventas. It was commissioned during the democratic Republic by the first female director of Spanish prisons, Victoria Kent, to house five hundred women. Yet in the early postwar period, thousands passed through its gates. Romeu Alfaro studied some nine hundred files of women who were imprisoned in Ventas throughout the Franco regime. This was no doubt a formidable task, since in the first years of the dictatorship, torture and assassination were rampant, and the regime's jailers often protected themselves by falsifying information about their savage acts. Primarily a compendium of oral testimonies (in addition to numerous documents and statistics and an invaluable chronology of women's participation in the resistance), the book provides source material for analyzing how activist women were treated by the regime and how they themselves perceived their role in the resistance.

Romeu Alfaro divides underground activities into four periods. In the first (1939–1952), women were imprisoned and often tortured because they were hiding or aiding guerrilla fighters. By the 1950s, Romeu Alfaro points out, the resistance had begun to organize strikes, and women's participation increased. In the 1960s, the insertion of women into the workforce made them more visible. In fact, in 1961 a group of women staged a demonstration in the center of Madrid clamoring for the release of their men from prison. Forty women were arrested, and Romeu Alfaro was among them. During that period, the Democratic Women's Movement was created. By the early 1970s, women had joined the student movement and were actively working underground, and the first signs of feminist activity emerged.

Yet what we find in the oral testimonies—and this was largely true during the war also—is that the exclusive role of women continued to be that of "helpmate," even into the final years of resistance. In fact, many of the testimonies reveal the traditional antifeminism that still exists in Spain today. Ironically, while rejecting feminism, the women admit that they were not considered essential to the resistance movement by the men. Some complain that they considered marriage to another revolutionary as "romantic" until they realized that the spouses envisioned their exclusive role to be that of housewife. Also, the women with children who committed their lives to the movement regret the fact that the children had to suffer the consequences of their political activism.

Another compelling theme that surfaces in the testimonies is that of prostitution, especially in the early postwar years. Single women, ex-prisoners, and women whose husbands were in prison often fell prey to the petitions of the Franco police, who promised money or special treatment for their husbands. Without financial resourses, many women succumbed to such entreaties; pariahs because of their politics or those of their men, they were even more ostracized because of their role as "fallen women."

This book appears to be an exorcism for Romeu Alfaro. In the beginning, she explains the difficulty of getting a publisher and the indifference with which the topic was received. It is obvious that as she gathered the testimonies and documents about women who were imprisoned in Ventas and wrote the text, she was carrying on a moral crusade to reverse the silence the activists had suffered for decades. Romeu Alfaro clearly represents what I have called the "urgent solitary voice of collective testimony." Yet the book could have greatly benefited from an analysis—derived from her own personal experience as a participant in the resistance and as a feminist historian—of how women were encoded by their male colleagues. Though the book's organization is somewhat confusing because of the arbitrary nature of chapter and section divisions, it is a useful primary source for scholars of survival studies who choose to analyze resistance and repression as gendered experiences.

SHIRLEY MANGINI
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KEITH L. SPRUNGER. *Trumpets from the Tower: English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands, 1600–1640.* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, number 46.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1994. Pp. xvi, 240.

This book represents another solid contribution to the growing body of literature on printing and bookselling in the early Dutch Republic. Its distinguishing characteristic is that the individuals under consideration are usually English and Scottish exiles—more interested in affairs back home than in their adopted country—rather than Dutch natives. Keith L. Sprunger supports the longstanding notion that Protestantism and printing went hand in hand, both by showing expatriated Puritans churning out over 300 different titles on English religion and politics during these decades and by regular discussion of a Puritan "philosophy"—or better "theology"—of abundant printing. That philosophy proved to be more viable in the Dutch Republic than in England, partly because all Europeans felt safer discussing sensitive matters of the homeland when outside it and largely because of the Republic's unusually favorable environment for booksellers.

One strength of the book is the balanced discussion of that environment: it was as much the result of a fragmented political structure that intentionally or not promoted the flow of ideas as it was of tolerant attitudes. When pushed too far, Dutch authorities showed that they were just as capable of intolerance as



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their counterparts in England, which highlights another strength of the book: its discussion of English efforts to put a stop to all this printing in the Republic. Dutch rulers worked hardest against tracts that affected their own jurisdiction, but they could also choose to suppress tracts that offended foreign friends. English diplomats under orders from Archbishop William Laud—and assisted by a colorful assortment of spies—often successfully enlisted the cooperation of Dutch authorities to prosecute Puritan printers. Sprunger convincingly shows, however, that Puritans who wanted to write were better off in Leiden and Amsterdam than in London; each time English officials proclaimed victory over presses-in-exile, a new flurry of critical tracts from the Republic appeared.

Also deserving of praise is Sprunger's care with detail. He distinguishes Brownists from Separatists from non-Separatists, shows exactly how books were moved (legally and otherwise), illustrates the careers of prominent authors and publishers, explains the Puritan desire for "pure" printers rather than printers motivated solely by profit, and defines through numerous examples the "Puritan Renaissance" in theology, printing, and languages (especially Hebrew). Discussion of the extensive contact between Puritans and Jews in the Republic, and particularly of efforts to convert Jews, is a final interesting aspect of this book.

The use of "1604–1622" or "1596–1620" to describe dates is a bit clumsy. Sometimes the material is organized as if this were a reference work (see pp. 93–94, 120) and readability suffers. Though every book has typographical or compositional errors, these always seem to stand out more in books about printing. And, finally, the whole could stand a bit more confessional context: for instance, although Sprunger rightly points out that one consequence of religious printing was the promotion of worship by the "individual in the household," certainly the "privatization" of religion was hardly peculiar to Puritans. Overall, however, this is a thoroughly researched and useful book.

Craig Harline
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Gerda Bonderup. *"Cholera-Morbro'er" og Danmark: Billeder til det 19. århundredes samfunds- og kulturhistorie* ["Cholera-Morbro'er" and Denmark: Images of Nineteenth-Century Social and Cultural History]. Århus: Aarhus Universiteisforlag. 1994. Pp. 416.

I had three uncles, all now deceased: on my mother's side, morbroder Finn, and on my father's side, farbrødre Anders and Mogens. Sorting out one's family connections in Danish has been without ambiguity for centuries. When cholera morbus threatened unwelcome visits to Denmark on four occasions in the nineteenth century, someone with a sense of gallows humor transformed morbus to morbro'er. According to Gerda Bonderup, this was a characteristic Danish response to a crisis: make the unknown familiar, then work together to be rid of it. In her published dissertation, cholera in Denmark is transformed into a projector (her metaphor) that illuminates a consensus society.

The bulk of the book is an extended narrative of Danish responses to cholera. Although the first European cholera pandemic (1830–1837) unaccountably missed Denmark, the absolutist regime prepared a plan that featured the establishment of sanitary commissions (headed by the chief of police) in all urban and rural districts. Some preventive measures were initiated when the second pandemic reached the Russian Baltic in 1847; Denmark, by then a constitutional monarchy, experienced two minor outbreaks of cholera, quickly contained. But, in 1853, 4,700 people died in Copenhagen despite aggressive interventions: sanitary commissioners distributed rules to domestic households, published casualty reports, and supervised hygienic measures in public places, slaughterhouses, and some factories; physicians visited homes of the sick and staffed lazarets set up outside the city; and roughly 500 burghers served as volunteer house inspectors. Because most of the commissioners and physicians were miasmatists, no quarantine was imposed on Copenhagen, and isolation of the sick was minimal. Although ships carried ill people to Helsingør and seven other provincial towns, the epidemic in Denmark was over before New Year's Day, 1854. There were only sporadic outbreaks in Denmark during the third (1863–1875) and fourth (1881–1896) European pandemics, despite the virulence in nearby Hamburg in 1892.

Bonderup's interesting story of the epidemic of 1853 emphasizes Copenhagen because responses in the capital are better documented than elsewhere. But she has searched throughout Denmark for commission protocols and statistics, reports by district physicians, records of associations created to help cholera victims, newspaper and journal accounts, illustrations, memoirs, and fictional renditions. Much of her research is pioneering, yet the narration effectively integrates multiple perspectives. This is both top-down and bottom-up history, although Bonderup's historical empathy does not extend to the miasmatic worldview; her interpretative stance is decidedly contagionist, despite the prevailing opinion of the time.

Organizationally, this book is a model dissertation: problem statement, literature review, thesis statement, and discussion of method and sources precede the narrative section; the conclusion compares her treatment of the Danish experience with recent scholarship on cholera in other western countries. Bonderup makes no pretense of being evenhanded in her assessments. Her enthusiasm was fired by Richard Evans's *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years, 1830–1910* (1987), but her admiration for Evans is guarded. She describes him as a *"konfliktforsker"* (conflict scholar) (p. 330) from the Charles Tilly mold; Evans, like Tilly, believes that class conflict was so endemic in western Europe during the nineteenth century that any contingent event was a potential



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catalyst of social violence. Bonderup uses her literature review and conclusion to belittle applications of theories grounded in class conflict beyond France. She summarily dismisses Jens Engberg's reasoned argument, in *Dansk guldelder* (1973), that Denmark's "Golden Age" was a hegemonic appellation for a society riven by class conflict (p. 28). Bonderup offers an *idée fixe* in its place: Denmark was a consensus society, characterized by mutual respect, even in crisis situations, among all social groups and between authorities and the general populace.

Bonderup may be correct, but her narrative about calm and respectful Danes confronting cholera in 1853 does not depict a crisis situation and thus cannot substantiate her thesis. Much of the violence and scapegoating provoked by cholera elsewhere occurred during the first pandemic, which bypassed Denmark entirely. When news spread of a second wave in 1847–1849, Danish authorities and populace alike had another respite to attune their minds to cholera's vicissitudes. As a result, when cholera finally struck Copenhagen in June 1953, there was little panic. The mortality rate in the capital was roughly three percent; it was twice as much in two small provincial towns, much less in five others, and nearly nonexistent in rural districts. Such levels of death were horrific for urban contemporaries to be sure, but they were not suggestive of rebellion in the making. Factor in the predominant miasmatic orientation in Denmark, and one understands why people focused on swamps, cesspools, and sewage—anything but the feckless bureaucrats and physicians who were frequently targeted where contagionist thinking was widespread. It is unfortunate that Bonderup's credible justification for undertaking a study of cholera in Denmark becomes a crusade against explanations based on class conflict so that she can recapture an idealistic notion of consensus nation-building. Her impressive scholarship deserves a post-modern format: frame the problem, tell the story, and let readers draw their own conclusions.

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SABINE SCHMITT. *Der Arbeiterinnenschutz im deutschen Kaiserreich: Zur Konstruktion der schutzbedürftigen Arbeiterin*. (Ergebnisse der Frauenforschung, number 37.) Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler. 1995. Pp. 298. DM 48.

In 1992, German courts declared unconstitutional a century-old law prohibiting women from working night shifts in some industries, concluding that it contradicted the constitutional mandate of sexual equality. The decision was widely condemned in the press and by leaders of the German labor movement, including the (female) vice-president of the League of German Unions, who argued that women needed state protection in the workplace. The perception of women workers as persons in need of protection, which usually translated to legal restrictions on their labor, is deeply entrenched in German culture; the legislation that laid out these restrictions has withstood successive political regimes. Sabine Schmitt, in this fine monograph, investigates the origins and implementation of *Arbeiterinnenschutz* (legislation protecting/restricting women's labor) during the Wilhelmine period in order to explore how the perception of women as workers in need of special protection was created. She argues that this was "a political concept with far-reaching implications for the relationship between the sexes" (p. 11).

Schmitt's work helps explain some of the contradictions and paradoxes of *Arbeiterinnenschutz*. Its supporters intended it to help married women workers balance the conflicting obligations of the workplace and home, yet the legislation covered only a small minority of women employed in factories. In the affected industries, moreover, the legislation applied to all women, even unmarried workers who presumably did not maintain households (the overwhelming majority of women workers in affected industries were single). The law claimed to protect and improve the lives of women workers but actually restricted their chance to earn a living. Perhaps most paradoxically, *Arbeiterinnenschutz* enjoyed widespread support although it had little practical effect due to lax enforcement and many loopholes. The law's protection was largely symbolic.

Schmitt begins by examining the debates among liberal, Catholic, feminist, and socialist reformers leading to the legislation establishing *Arbeiterinnenschutz* in 1878 and 1891. For most of those involved, the legislation was intended primarily to protect the sanctity of working-class family life and reduce infant mortality by restricting working mothers' paid labor, thus reinforcing a sexual division of labor. Schmitt finds that, for the socialist labor movement, support for protection represented a compromise between those who supported women's paid labor and those who wanted to prohibit it entirely. By the late 1880s, a remarkable social consensus about the desirability of *Arbeiterinnenschutz* had been created, including even industrialists. Employers, however, were able to weaken the legislation's actual wording considerably while trumpeting their support of protection in principle. The draft approved in 1891 established a maximum eleven-hour workday for women (with reduced hours on Saturdays so that they could do housework), prohibited women from working at night, and required them to stop working for two weeks before and four weeks after giving birth (without providing financial support for this leave).

Schmitt also examines, in a case study of the region around Düsseldorf, the implementation of the law and its effect at the local level, focusing on the negotiations between employers, officials, and factory inspectors. She concludes that the law's effect was negligible in terms of restricting women's work hours: factory inspectors were too few and had too little power to enforce the law; employers could often obtain exemptions; and, in any case, the law merely mandated what was already established custom in many areas. Factory



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inspectors were most effective in acting as social reporters, publishing descriptions of factory conditions, and in improving workplace norms by cajoling employers. Schmitt argues that the "ritual" of negotiations between officials and employers was only formally concerned with protecting women workers (p. 153): the primary goals of officials were to establish the right of the state to intervene in the private sector and to force employers to acknowledge official prerogatives and procedures.

Because it affected women's work hours only marginally, *Arbeiterinnenschutz* did not help them manage their double burden. Furthermore, "protection" justified sharply differing wages for men and women, because availability for overtime became the chief criterion used to establish a sexual division of labor in many industries, shutting women out of better paying and supervisory positions. The main effects of the law, Schmitt concludes, were to establish that women constituted a "special category" in the labor market and to reinforce the tendency to assign women to assistant or part-time positions. *Arbeiterinnenschutz*, she argues, thus "represents the adaptation of class and gender hierarchies to industrial society" (p. 214).

Based on a broad array of sources, Schmitt's work is intelligently argued and well written. Her study persuasively demonstrates that *Arbeiterinnenschutz* was central to the process of constructing gender in imperial Germany.

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ERIC A. JOHNSON. *Urbanization and Crime: Germany 1871–1914*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 246. $44.95.

The notorious unreliability of crime statistics and the vagaries of criminal justice generate skepticism about historical criminology. Nonetheless, in this carefully crafted monograph, Eric A. Johnson valiantly strives to disentangle myth from hard evidence about crime in imperial Germany. He deploys considerable statistical analysis to test various "modernization theories" that link crime to urbanization. Moreover, he scrutinizes the historical cultural hypothesis of Norbert Elias (in *Über den Prozess der Zivilization* [1969]) and Michel Foucault (in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* [1979]) that crime itself modernized with the development of industrial capitalism, moving from violence to theft as material calculation displaced honor and law-enforcement officials became more committed to defending property rights. Johnson largely dismisses these prevailing sociological and cultural theories as inapplicable to imperial Germany.

In his first chapter, Johnson presents an overview of imperial Germany's criminal justice system. He includes brief discussions of criminal law, policing, the courts, judicial officials, and punishments. He readily acknowledges the sterling professionalism of judicial officials and police and their effectiveness in making Germany's cities among the world's safest. But, despite the system's vaunted rigorous legalism and moderate punishments, Johnson sees imperial Germany as a police state that defended the propertied against the dispossessed and a narrow political elite against opposition. The police force, which he describes as "militaristic and overbearing" (p. 39), exercised enormous powers of surveillance and enforced innumerable local ordinances to harass and intimidate the populace. Judges, although superbly trained, were upper-class conservatives who almost invariably convicted defendants. Johnson concludes that, given the imperial criminal justice system's obsessions with maintaining law and order, the brutal Nazi legal system was hardly a fortuitous successor.

Chapter two examines the representation of crime in newspapers, middle-class magazines, and novels. Statistical content analysis of crime columns in the Berlin press for 1902 reveals their clear ideological bias. The conservative *Kreuzzeitung* highlighted violent crimes committed by workers and non-ethnic Germans as well as libel against the powerful, whereas the socialist *Vorwärts* emphasized upper-class crime and police chicanery. Liberal press coverage was somewhat more balanced. Johnson excludes, however, the Catholic press and the press in provincial cities that had higher crime rates than Berlin. Finally, the chapter includes a discussion of the treatment of crime by novelists across the political spectrum, ranging from Karl May to Gerhart Hauptmann. Surprisingly, however, Johnson omits Thomas Mann, whose lifelong fascination with middle-class swindlers already surfaced in *Buddenbrooks* (1900), and Walter Bloem's *Der Paragraphenlehrling: Das Jüngste Gericht* (1911). Nonetheless, he argues that few authors of any political stripe perceived a close relation between cities and crime. Instead, crime was portrayed as involving honor and morality; criminals were often depicted as non-ethnic Germans, foreigners, or youths. Basically, crime was represented as anomalous or foreign.

At the heart of Johnson's book are three chapters that undertake a sophisticated analysis of imperial Germany's crime statistics, accompanied by numerous well-designed charts. The first takes up long-term trends; the second the relation between urbanism, ethnicity, poverty, and crime; and the final one criminals and victims, with an emphasis on gender. Such issues as juvenile delinquency and relations between religion and crime are also explored. Johnson demonstrates that, despite rapid urbanization and industrial growth, the crime rate barely rose during the empire. The small increase was attributable to violations of politically inspired laws passed to repress labor after the Anti-Socialist Laws lapsed in 1890. Nor were urban crime rates significantly higher than rural ones. Cities with exceptionally high crime rates contained large numbers of stigmatized Poles and impoverished populations. Crime was far more closely associated with outcast ethnic minorities and poverty than with urbanization. There was no progression from violence to



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property crimes. Theft actually declined in imperial Germany, whereas in the early 1890s violent crimes increased. The only positive correlation between urbanization and crime was the increasing percentage of women murdered. Women who transgressed traditional social norms were more likely to end up being homicide victims.

Johnson is at his strongest in refuting the applicability of modernization theories of crime to imperial Germany. But methodological problems bedevil his use of German crime statistics. For example, he accepts official administrative boundaries for cities although many crime-ridden working-class suburbs long remained unincorporated. It is doubtful that rectifying these defects would seriously alter Johnson's conclusions. Given his reliance on statistical materials rather than an examination of particular cases, however, his explanations of crime are often unpersuasive. He ascribes the increase of violent crime in the early 1890s to Germany's more aggressive foreign policy and sharper internal discord following the fall of Bismarck, but he provides no evidence. He asserts that the increasing number of female homicide victims was partially a response to the challenge of the women's movement and women's greater economic role, again without evidence. Johnson claims that poverty and ethnic discrimination caused crime. Since most poor Polish Germans never broke the law, however, this explanation remains inadequate without a more complex and mediated account of specific crimes.

Although Johnson rejects modernization theories of crime, his overall assessment of imperial Germany dovetails closely with Hans-Ulrich Wehler's notion of economic modernization unaccompanied by political transformation (*The German Empire 1871–1918* [1985]). Johnson casts the criminal justice system of imperial Germany in much the same light as the mordant satirical journal *Simplicissimus*. The book's cover uses one of its cartoons showing sabre-wielding police arresting flower-picking children. Undoubtedly, imperial Germany's criminal justice system was repressive, discriminatory, and conservative. Whether it was exceptionally or uniquely so remains an open question, however, without systematic comparative investigation. Johnson's careful study certainly facilitates such an investigation.

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Niall Ferguson. *Paper and Iron: Hamburg Business and German Politics in the Era of Inflation, 1897–1927.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 539. $69.95.

Using a study of Hamburg business from 1897 to 1927 as a base, Niall Ferguson reanalyzes the recent literature on Germany's 1914–1923 hyperinflation. Although he emphasizes his differences with other scholars, he supplements rather than overturns previous views of an exceedingly complex phenomenon.

Ferguson argues that Germany suffered from an inflationary bias from 1897 to 1947, as prices rose virtually every year. He argues that Germany's central governments (except the Nazis, who squandered billions on rearmament) were too weak to impose fiscal discipline. Its central bank lacked adequate tools (especially open market operations) to control the money supply. Moreover, its economy was unable to reverse a persistent foreign trade deficit. Only after 1947 did the new Federal Republic master those problems. A comparison with other European countries would be necessary to evaluate this argument and might also illuminate the experience of other economies.

Using the papers of the influential Hamburg banker Max Warburg, Ferguson deepens our knowledge of how German efforts to escape the Allies' onerous reparations demands drove inflation after 1918. With extensive ties abroad, Warburg and his Hamburg associates had considerable knowledge of international opinion and substantial interest in friendly German relations with the world. Nonetheless, like other German policymakers they dreamed of sabotaging reparations with German export dumping, driven by currency depreciation, which would undermine the Allied economies and force them to negotiate a reduction in, or even an elimination of, reparations. They clung to these dreams even after most Germans had learned to raise their prices and wages to keep up with inflation, eliminating the cost advantage for German exporters that might have allowed dumping and forced the Allies to change policies.

The Hamburg experience also illuminates the misinvestment that many scholars have noted during the inflation. By masking real costs and prices, inflation militated against the risk of investing in new, potentially uncompetetive, real assets. Instead, firms usually bought existing assets or hoarded foreign currency—unless they received government subsidies. Hamburg's shipping industry, for example, squeezed billions in subsidies from a government terrified that unemployment could lead to unrest and determined to rebuild a merchant fleet, in part as a lever against Allied reparations demands. Yet much of those subsidies, and hence much of the productive investment that did take place, went to unproductive expansion of the transport sector. Ferguson emphasizes the social policy aspect of these subsidies, though they also constituted corporate welfare for the shipping companies and their owners.

Ferguson's illuminating analysis of German attitudes tends to undercut his insistence that currency stabilization was possible in 1920–1921. In the abstract he is right: one can easily posit a mix of policy changes that could have reined in inflation. Yet implementing those changes would have required a scarcely imaginable transformation in German attitudes. Inflationary corporate welfare and social expenditures may not have been necessary to forestall revolution, but in the 1920s most Germans feared that rising unemployment or substantial cuts in social programs could spark dangerous unrest. Furthermore, German policymakers



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held fervently to the hope that mark depreciation might end reparations, until the 1923 experience of hyperinflation proved that hope illusory. Germans were extremely loathe to make sacrifices for stabilization, through either increased taxes or reduced benefits, just so that (as they believed) Germany's former enemies could extract unjust reparations.

Determined to emphasize how bad inflation was for Germany, Ferguson rather exaggerates the degree to which recent scholars have thought it good. In seeking to understand why Germany chose ultimately deleterious inflationary policies, historians such as Carl-Ludwig Holtfrerich (*The German Inflation, 1914–1923* [1986]), Gerald Feldman (*The Great Disorder* [1993]), and Theo Balderston (*The Origins and Course of the German Economic Crisis* [1993]) have emphasized the advantages that various post–World War I Germans thought might accrue from such policies and have discussed the short-term social and economic advantages of easy money. Ferguson insists, with more certitude than seems justifiable, that even in the short term deflation and stabilization would have been better than inflation. Moreover, historians have almost universally agreed with him in emphasizing that inflation ultimately produced misinvestment, a brutal expropriation of primarily middle-class assets, highly deleterious medium-term economic problems, political instability, and a disillusionment with democracy that contributed substantially to Hitler's rise to power.

Ferguson rightly emphasizes the way inflation attacked not only middle-class assets but also middle-class values. Middle-class culture and prosperity—and perhaps capitalism itself in the long run—rested on work, parsimony, and economic predictability. But inflation punished the diligent and frugal (by expropriating the value of their paper assets) and made long-term rational calculation extremely difficult, while rewarding the supposed vices of speculation and sharp dealing. It also eroded the material bases of traditional institutions such as family, church, and charitable and social organizations. These processes contributed substantially to the economic weaknesses and socio-political climate in which many middle and lower-middle-class Germans could support a political movement, Nazism, rooted in a rejection of most middle-class values.

One of the advantages of research on the German hyperinflation has been to show that even apparently irrational policies have rationally explicable underpinnings. Ferguson's work confirms that insight and expands our understanding of how Germans came to choose inflationary policies and how those policies eroded disastrously the bases of liberal economics and democracy in interwar Germany.

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JOHN WEISS. *Ideology of Death: Why the Holocaust Happened in Germany*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 1996. Pp. xii, 427. $29.95.

DANIEL JONAH GOLDHAGEN. *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1996. Pp. x, 622. $30.00.

Raul Hilberg's *Destruction of the European Jews* (1961; rev. ed. 1985) remains the most significant study of the Holocaust, yet when he proposed it as his Ph.D. dissertation topic, his director cautioned him (fortunately unsuccessfully) against tackling such a professionally unpromising study. Since then there has been an outpouring of scholarship on the Holocaust. Half a century after the event, we possess a substantial and detailed knowledge of what happened. Yet the question, "How could this have happened, how could people do such things?" continues to be asked. Both books under consideration focus on the specifically German tradition of anti-Semitism and regard it as a primary cause of the Holocaust.

Anti-Semitism has been (is?) one of the most pervasive of ideologies. Fundamental to its development has been the relationship between Judaism and Christianity. John Weiss, though writing on German anti-Semitism, cites church fathers who spoke of Jews as "murderers of the Lord, assassins of prophets [who] outrage the law, resist grace and repudiate the faith of their fathers . . . companions of the devil, a race of vipers, informers, calumniators . . . demons" (p. 8). Christian Europe perceived the Jews "as a separate and literally diabolical race, unredeemable and determined to destroy Christians" (pp. 18–19).

Weiss sees the beginning of a German *Sonderweg* in Germany's rejection of the Enlightenment and its liberalism. In the nineteenth century, anti-Semitism became a political ideology, explicitly part of the program of political parties. Whereas previously Jews had been defined by their religion, now they came increasingly to be identified on the basis of race. Weiss discusses not only political figures such as Adolf Stoecker but also views about Jews held by major cultural figures such as Richard Wagner and Werner Sombart.

Germany's defeat in World War I and the tenuousness of the Weimar Republic served to continue the viability of an anti-Semitic tradition, which was fanned by Hitler and the Nazi Party. Hitler's anti-Semitic actions met with no opposition. Weiss notes that the Holocaust was a high priority but does not discuss it in any detail. His chapter on complicities focuses on the anti-Semitism of the Christian churches (and includes a strong critique of Pius XII). He concludes by noting that the German judiciary frustrated attempts to bring those guilty of mass murder to justice after the war.

Weiss (in contrast to Goldhagen, who minimizes Austrian anti-Semitism) notes the much greater commitment to National Socialism and anti-Semitism on the part of Austrians, who made up eight percent of "Greater Germany" but fourteen percent of the SS and forty percent of the staff of the death camps (p. 173). Nothing comparable to the Austrian Nazis' en-



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thusiastic violence in Vienna after the *Anschluss* could ever be found in Germany.

Weiss has presented a valuable history of German anti-Semitism, but it does not explain why the Holocaust happened in Germany.

Not since Rolf Hochhuth's *The Deputy* (1963) has a publication on the Holocaust evoked so much controversy as Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's book. It argues that the German "eliminationist" anti-Semitism was unique and explains the readiness of ordinary German individuals to engage in mass killings of Jews.

Both Weiss and Goldhagen have analyzed anti-Semitism as a significant intellectual tradition in Germany; they ignore the fact that such a tradition may also be found elsewhere, in France for example, from Edouard Drumont to Louis-Ferdinand Céline (whose *Bagatelles pour une massacre* [1937] is as "eliminationist" as that of any German writer). Germany witnessed no such outbreak of popular anti-Semitism as had France during the Dreyfus affair, nor were there any pogroms such as those that characterized tsarist Russia. Indeed, German anti-Semitism stood well behind that of Russia, Poland, France, Romania, and Austria.

The Nazi government that assumed power in 1933 was passionately committed to a radical, racist anti-Semitism. At almost every major party function, large banners proclaimed "*Die Juden sind unser Unglück*" ("The Jews are our misfortune"). No credible evidence exists, however, that permits the conclusion that the idea of killing German, much less European, Jews was even entertained by the Nazi leadership at that time. Their actions were designed to remove Jews from civil society and force them to leave Germany. The line from *völkisch* ideology to the Holocaust was neither straight nor direct. It needs to be stated explicitly that a vote for Hitler in 1933 was a vote to deprive Jews of their rights and to expel them from Germany; it was not a vote for murder.

Following the invasion of the Soviet Union, the German government embarked on a systematic program to kill Europe's Jews. Goldhagen's concern is not with how this decision came to be made but with the perpetrators and their motives. Christopher Browning, in his pathbreaking *Ordinary Men* (1992), examined the dynamics of Police Battalion 101, which had actively participated in mass killings of Jews. Using some of the same sources as Browning, Goldhagen argues that the men of the police battalions (as well as other killers) could readily overcome any internal resistance at killing Jews because they did not really regard Jews as human. Yet Germans in service to the new state had few difficulties in killing their own former comrades during the "Night of the Long Knives" in 1934, nor did many have problems killing handicapped Germans in the euthanasia program. Goldhagen barely mentions the *Einsatzgruppen* killing of perhaps a million Poles. Gypsies were systematically killed. Probably three million Russian prisoners of war died in German captivity, together with a staggering number of Russian civilians. In almost no case (one can find exceptions) did the killers appear to have had to overcome significant resistances. If a modern totalitarian dictatorship wishes to kill a minority that it defines as bad or dangerous, it has little difficulty in finding individuals who will carry out such a task. Goldhagen overrates the difficulty ordinary individuals have in killing when they are protected by a uniform and the occasion seems to call for it. The culture of anti-Semitism may account for individual sadistic acts and may have made the killings easier, but the ideals held by ordinary soldiers have no significant explanatory value for comprehending their acts.

Although recognizing that non-Germans helped in the killing of Jews, Goldhagen does not regard their participation as particularly significant. Yet the Germans were appalled at the brutality of the Romanians in killing Jews. Lithuanians and other Eastern Europeans not only served as *Hiwis* ("volunteer helpers") but on their own enthusiastically engaged in killing Jews. A photograph in Goldhagen's book shows Lithuanians clubbing Jews to death (p. 151). During the last months of the war, the Hungarian government actively supported the deportation of Hungarian Jews to death camps, and an untold number were killed by members of the Green Arrow. The French police had no difficulty in rounding up Jews, including children, for deportation. Poles killed Jews in pogroms even after the war—for example, in Kielce in June of 1946. What is striking about German anti-Semitism compared to that of other countries is the absence of spontaneous lynchlike actions and a relative lack of passion.

Why, then, did the Holocaust happen in Germany? Goldhagen quite correctly points out that Germany after 1933 "possessed the most virulent and dedicated antisemites ever to assume the leadership of a modern nation" (p. 89). Between 1933 and the outbreak of war, this leadership sought to eliminate Jews from German society and to force them to emigrate. During that time, its actions were confined to Jews within the boundaries of Germany. A radical change took place following the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, when the decision to kill all of Europe's Jews by shooting or by gassing in mobile trucks (and later in fixed installations) was given the highest priority, even when it interfered with the war effort. And there was no force to stop it. Among the elements that made for that decision were the acquisition of more Jews as a result of German territorial conquests, coupled with the inability, after the outbreak of the war, of Jews to emigrate. Above all, in Hitler's mind, there was a close connection between Jews and Bolshevism. Weiss rejects the view "No Hitler, no Holocaust" (p. vii). But Hitler biographies—particularly psychobiographies—have shown that anti-Semitism was *the* central component of Hitler's mental world. In April 1945, with Germany in ruins and Russian troops a short distance from the chancellery, Hitler in his last testament blamed the Jews for the German misfortunes and warned Germans to maintain the racial laws. The view



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that Hitler was a necessary (though not sufficient) cause for the Holocaust may not be dismissed so readily.

Both of these works raise important issues. Their conclusions, which locate the primary source of the Holocaust in the specific national German tradition, are, I would hold, not tenable.

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MICHAEL GRÜTTNER. *Studenten im Dritten Reich.* (Sammlung Schöningh zur Geschichte und Gegenwart.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1995. Pp. 556.

Michael Grüttner focuses on a subject of great importance in this book, whose modest title belies the enormous effort and diligent research that went into its composition. The book reflects widespread research in the appropriate German federal, state, and university archives. Not least in importance is the original material Grüttner uncovered in interviews with surviving Nazi student functionaries of the era—most notably with *Gaustudentenführer* Julius Doerfler—and in Astrid Dageförde's interview project at Hamburg University highlighting students and educators in the Third Reich. His research in the student newspapers of the period is extensive; fresh autobiographical material abounds, and Grüttner has mastered the extant secondary literature on the subject. The result is a work of extraordinary documentary substance, but one in which the mountain of sources seems to dominate the narrative. Grüttner's style is laborious, sometimes numbing, and historical checklists often substitute for—and sometimes distract from—analytical thought. Nevertheless, readers who have the stamina and patience to follow the author on his historic trek will be amply rewarded.

Grüttner places his book firmly in the polycratic camp in the debate among historians over the nature of governance in the Third Reich, which reached its apogee in the years immediately preceding the fall of the German Democratic Republic in 1989. Hitler was simply not in control of national policy over higher education, entering the lists only occasionally and with little interest. As a result, educational policy was not uniform and took several years to develop, as competing bureaucracies fought for control. Rudolf Hess eventually established himself as the central authority in an ongoing battle waged, among others, by the Reich Education Ministry (Bernhard Rust), the National Socialist German Student Bund (Andreas Feickert, Albert Derichsweiler, and Gustav Adolf Scheel), and the State Ministries of Culture (e.g., Hans Schemm of Bavaria).

Grüttner organizes his ideas both chronologically and topically, commencing with an analysis of students in the last years of the Weimar Republic and their role in the radical phase of 1933–1934. The basic conflict between National Socialist ideological commitment to the community (*Volksgemeinschaft*) and the Enlightenment ideal of individual student cultivation forms the leitmotif of the subsequent chapters, an alienation best revealed in the popular *bon mot*: "Im Dritten Reich marschieren wir, im Vierten Reich studieren wir." This incompatibility is developed in subsequent chapters dealing with the party's pursuit of control over curriculum and student life, forced participation in the *Arbeitsdienst*, the attack on fraternities, the period of stabilization in 1936–1939, student life in the war years, and, finally, student opposition to the regime. Thirty-two graphs, based on extensive statistical documentation, provide substance to the narrative, and an appendix with biographical sketches of the central participants adds further clarification.

In 1933–1934, Nazi students initiated many changes, as radicals sought to remold university life along the model of a Spartan military state. Grüttner offers ample evidence that it was they, not Joseph Goebbels, who initiated the notorious book burning of May 1933. The radicals of the National Socialist German Student League fought to end the role of the university as an ivory tower, waging war on dissident professors and students, staging demonstrations, and assaulting Jewish students. They delighted in the very unpopular policy of mandatory labor for students in factories and on farms and pushed hard for the concentration of all students in party barracks. Things had gone so far that in those early years, fifty-five percent of the male student body at Heidelberg University alone were members of the SA. Only in 1934 did Hitler intervene, shattering the plans for mandatory communal housing and the banning of fraternities because he feared the barracks would become nests of homosexuality. The chaos in educational policy led to considerable unrest in the Munich student body following the Röhm liquidations (June, 1934), and, nationally, conditions were out of hand. Thereafter, the chain of command was altered, and the Nazi student bureaucracy was subordinated to Hess. Scheel, *Reichsstudentenführer* from 1936 until 1945 and ultimately appointed to the rank of SS *Obergruppenführer*, succeeded in breaking out of these constraints and endeavored to Nazify the educational establishment, but with limited success, as Hitler and Martin Bormann feared that the serious shortages in the professions would thereby be made worse.

There was considerably more support for the regime among students than heretofore believed, a situation illuminated in Grüttner's excellent chapters on student opposition and the university during World War II. By that time, one-half of the student body was composed of women, and a disproportionate percentage studied medicine. Grüttner delights in faulting Michael Kater for exaggerating student opposition, and he attacks William Sheridan Allen and Geoffrey Giles for advancing the idea that German students were apathetic in this era. One finishes this book more convinced than ever that it was impossible to cultivate traditional



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intellectual, cultural, and moral values in the universities of the Third Reich.

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GERHARD PAUL and KLAUS-MICHAEL MALLMANN. *Widerstand und Verweigerung im Saarland 1935–1945*. Volume 3, *Milieus und Widerstand: Eine Verhaltensgeschichte der Gesellschaft im Nationalsozialismus*. Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1995. Pp. 663. DM 48.

This long and detailed study of anti-Nazi resistance in the Saar among Catholics, Social Democrats, and Communists is the third and final volume developed from a major research project by Gerhard Paul and Klaus-Michael Mallmann. Its interpretive focus is announced in the title: Paul and Mallmann situate resistance in the context of the "milieu." Paul examines the Catholics and Social Democrats, Mallmann the Communists. The territorial setting, the Saar, divided between Prussian and Bavarian jurisdictions during the nineteenth century, was placed under League of Nations authority and French administration after World War I. In 1935, its residents voted overwhelmingly in a plebiscite to return to Germany.

For Paul and Mallmann, resistance—the *Widerstand* of their title—means action aimed at the overthrow of the National Socialist regime, and not "all those various instances of nonconformity—summarized under '*Resistenz*,' a concept borrowed from medicine—that lay beyond this intention" (p. 15). Few in the Saar took the harder road, and Paul and Mallmann show a gradient of participation rising from a tiny fraction of Catholics to a still small group of Social Democrats and a larger contingent of Communists. In total, they estimate that less than 0.2 percent of the Saar population engaged in active opposition (p. 535). In the face of such figures, myths of monolithic Catholic and working-class resistance fall to the ground.

Paul and Mallmann's stringent conclusions about resistance derive largely from their chief sources, which are internal, in contrast to the documentary standbys of resistance historiography, the surveillance reports of the Gestapo and the information summaries circulated within the Social Democratic and Communist parties-in-exile. The police often overestimated their opponents or did not know about them (pp. 90, 244, 413–14), and exiles often converted rumor and wishful thinking into data. Paul and Mallmann rely primarily on the papers of Catholic priests in the Saar and restitution claims submitted after 1945 by those Saarlanders (or their survivors) who undertook resistance and were punished for it. These materials are supplemented by interviews and careful scrutiny of the more familiar sources. Non-German historiography, however, is virtually ignored.

Paul and Mallmann argue that, where resistance developed, it was conditioned by "milieus": "sociocultural niche societies partitioned off from one another" (p. 17). Class analysis, in their view, cannot explain the varieties of political behavior among groups in equivalent material circumstances. Milieu, a concept pioneered by M. Rainer Lepsius, encompasses a comprehensive network of connections that reinforced collective identity. Its application here recalls recent approaches to American social history, for example, in the work of Lizabeth Cohen (*Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* [1990]) or Gerald Zahavi (*Workers, Managers, and Welfare Capitalism* [1988]).

In Weimar Germany, Paul and Mallmann observe, milieu was a barrier to the achievement of a broad alliance in defense of democracy. Under Adolf Hitler, however, its very self-containment provided a social environment and a universe of perceptions and values that allowed people to resist. But milieus also suffered attrition in the post-1918 era, and young people, less bound to them, were pulled farther away by the attractions of Nazi youth organizations. The age profile of resisters, tilted toward men in their thirties and forties, reflects this development.

For better or worse, then, resistance was anchored in and limited by the structures and patterns of the past. Among Saar Catholics the limits prevailed: spurred by memories of the *Kulturkampf*, they identified anticlericalism as the greatest threat presented by the Nazis. The most vivid incident cited by Paul is a school strike in the village of Frankenholz in 1937 protesting against the replacement of a cross on a schoolroom wall by a framed photograph of Hitler. But this was protection of the milieu and not *Widerstand*, and when the authorities restored the cross, Catholics stepped back into coexistence. Full-scale opposition to the regime demanded transcendence of the milieu.

On the left, by contrast, resistance was rooted in the heart of the milieu: in the "solidarity community" of the Social Democrats and the "party core" of the Communists (pp. 185, 346). Here Mallmann's analysis is more rewarding than Paul's; the latter periodically slides into a narrative of Social Democratic factionalism. Workplace connections, gender and family relations, and conduct (almost uniformly loyal) in the ranks of the *Wehrmacht* all fall into the ambit of Mallmann's Communist milieu.

A serious omission is the near-absence of discussion of anti-Semitism in any of the three milieus. Paul and Mallmann mention the "social racism" of Nazi ideology (p. 463). A seemingly incidental pair of anti-Jewish remarks—one from a Capuchin friar, another from the son of a Communist emigrant (pp. 107, 385)—hint that anti-Semitic attitudes may have muted oppositional impulses, but Paul and Mallmann offer no basis for judging the question.

This is the most notable gap in a rich historical fabric. Yet the book's abundance of detail has both positive and negative effects. Individuals tend to surface here and there in the analysis, but Paul and Mallmann rarely trace particular itineraries. The continuity of existences is thus not etched as sharply as it



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might have been had the focus fell on fewer, but representative, figures. Still, the cumulative accounting of fates, even briefly mentioned, can be defended as an effective means of showing both the singularity and the perils of resistance.

Specialists will want to read this volume. Others may not wish to make the long march. Those who do will encounter a challenging study that asks for exactness and restraint in measuring the anti-Nazi resistance.

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NORMAN M. NAIMARK. *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945–1949.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 586. $35.00.

The collapse of the Soviet Bloc and the reunification of Germany in 1989–1990 have resulted in a renewed interest in the history of the division of Germany after 1945. More particularly, there has been a revival of the debate on whether this division was inevitable and who was responsible for it. In 1994, Wilfried Loth unleashed a controversy in the Federal Republic of Germany with a book in which he argued that Joseph Stalin never single-mindedly pursued the sovietization of "his" part of occupied Germany. Instead, Stalin not only tried to keep his options open but actually preferred the construction of a unified and parliamentary-democratic Germany. If division occurred, it was due to East German Communist Party chief Walter Ulbricht on the one hand and the West Germans in cooperation with the United States and Britain on the other. This is where Norman M. Naimark's new and weighty study comes in. The book is impressive both for the breadth and depth of its research and for its penetrating analysis. Naimark has the great advantage of being able to read Russian as well as German and thus to exploit the newly available archival sources locked away in the vaults in Moscow and East Berlin for more than forty years.

Naimark is skeptical of Loth's hypotheses, arguing that "even at the outset of the occupation," Stalin's notions of democracy "never conformed to Western parliamentary usages" (p. 467). It is also clear from the chapters of this study that deal with the politics of Soviet occupation that Stalinism was not a monolithic system in which the dictator called the shots. Whatever the West's contribution to the division of Germany, it was also driven by major power struggles inside the Soviet Military Administration and the East German Communist Party, which Stalin could not control.

What makes this book superior to anything that has been written about the Soviets in early postwar Germany, however, is its comprehensiveness. It contains important chapters on reparations and economic transformation, the use of German scientists, culture and education, and the construction of an Orwellian police state. Finally, there is a lengthy and daunting chapter on "Soviet Soldiers, German Women, and the Problem of Rape." For many years, this remained a taboo subject, and when Naimark began his research, it took some courage to venture into this field. There is no doubt that massive brutalities, perpetrated by ordinary soldiers, occurred in the wake of the orgy of violence that the Germans staged in the Soviet Union between 1941 and 1945. Further research will test the viability of Naimark's explanations, if, indeed, we ever find really plausible answers to what some men are capable of doing to women and children.

The chapters on the East German economy and on the building of a police state indirectly confirm Naimark's skepticism of Loth's line of argument. Clearly, the lumbering relentlessness with which the Soviets dismantled factories and forcibly moved German scientists to the East does not fit well with an alleged policy of wooing the population toward parliamentarism. And the disappearance of tens of thousands of Germans, including many young people, in Gulag-style camps as a result of a paranoid drive against suspected enemies of the regime similarly destroyed whatever popular enthusiasm there might have been for the political promises that communist propaganda held out. Given its scope, this excellent study of the encounter between Russians and Germans after the defeat of Nazism contains a wealth of insights for all historians of postwar Europe.

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DAVID CLAY LARGE. *Germans to the Front: West German Rearmament in the Adenauer Era.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. x, 327. $49.95.

David Clay Large investigates the history of West German rearmament from the end of World War II to the creation of the Bundeswehr in 1956. He discusses the subject at several different levels: the tensions of the Cold War, the efforts of the Western alliance to build an effective defense system, and the debates on rearmament that raged in West Germany. He has made good use of important primary sources and an already extensive secondary literature, mostly of recent vintage, in an attempt "to bring together the key issues relating to the rearmament question in a single volume of manageable size" (p. 9). Large's work represents a clear statement of where we are today in studying one of the most controversial subjects of the early years of Konrad Adenauer's chancellorship.

The book is divided into three parts. Part one deals with the period from demilitarization through the first tentative discussions of rearmament in 1947 to the NATO decision in December 1950 in favor of a German military contribution. Although the Americans pushed the idea, the French resisted. On the German side, Chancellor Adenauer immediately recognized that the West's fear of Soviet military strength offered the new West German state a golden opportunity to trade troops for sovereignty and a place in the



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western community of nations. The problem facing the Allies was how to integrate West Germany into the West, or more specifically how simultaneously to re-arm and contain the Germans. The solution initially settled on was the European Defense Community (EDC).

Part two of the book focuses on the debate in the Western alliance and the Bonn republic on the EDC, which represented an attempt to control the Germans by Europeanizing their military contribution. It was again Adenauer and the Americans who most actively promoted the project. For Adenauer, being good Europeans seemed the best way for the Germans to obtain political rehabilitation. But the West German chancellor did not simply accept what the Allies offered. He bargained hard, and successfully, to remove some of the more discriminatory features from the original scheme.

Adenauer also had a tough battle at home before securing ratification of the EDC treaties. The opposition, led by the Social Democrats, argued that the EDC did not provide full equality and, most important, opponents warned that rearmament in any form would block the path to reunification. While the debate raged, Adenauer organized a special office to handle defense matters. The *Amt Blank* devised a number of military reforms to guarantee civilian control of the army and to establish the concept of the citizen in uniform. This evoked criticism from German veterans, who saw nothing wrong with the old Wehrmacht, and, surprisingly, also from the Allies, who thought that German reformers such as Count Wolf von Baudissin had gone too far in trying to create a democratic army.

Part three of the book traces the collapse of the EDC project, the emergence of the NATO solution, and the long-awaited birth of the Bundeswehr. The EDC finally died in August 1954, when the French decided that the loss of sovereignty entailed in the European army idea was too much to pay for control over the Germans. The British promptly provided an alternative scheme that would allow the Germans to join NATO but at the same time permit the Western powers to control the military activities of their new ally. This meant a new treaty and another ratification debate in the German Bundestag, won by Adenauer in February 1955. The chancellor had to wait another year, however, for parliament to pass the necessary military legislation before he and the Allies got their German soldiers.

The strength of Large's book lies in its investigation of the West German debate at the institutional level: chancellor, president, parliament, churches, and federal court. As for the public, Large notes that most people were not enthusiastic about rearmament, but one wonders why this did not translate into support for the opposition parties. There are various answers: fear of the Soviet threat (unfortunately, Large fails to convey how strong that fear was in 1950–1952); distrust of the socialists; and growing confidence in Adenauer's ability to provide what people wanted most, political stability, social security, and economic prosperity. This translated into a readiness on the part of many to leave matters in the hands of the chancellor.

Yet, as Large points out, rearmament was not left solely to Adenauer, at least not by the Bundestag parties. They asserted the right of parliament to shape the new army and, by their readiness to bury partisan differences and to cooperate in drafting the new military legislation, they guaranteed that the Bonn republic would be a parliamentary rather than a chancellor democracy. Finally, the lengthy delay in carrying out rearmament allowed the democratic state to establish itself in West Germany before an army came into existence. This provided one more reason why, as Swiss journalist Fritz René Allemann noted in 1956, "Bonn is not Weimar."

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M. E. BRATCHEL. *Lucca 1430–1494: The Reconstruction of an Italian City-Republic*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 346. $69.00.

It is a common saying in Florence that the inhabitants of Lucca are not "true Tuscans." While in recent years the remark seemed to allude to the anomaly of Lucca's Christian Democrat administration, in the mouth of a Florentine it also refers to the four centuries during which Lucca survived as the only independent city-republic in Tuscany in the face of violent (albeit fitful) attempts by Florence to subdue it. Perhaps as a result, by 1600 Lucca appeared to be a political and economic backwater, and, despite some distinguished exceptions, modern historians have tended to ignore it. M. E. Bratchel is therefore justified in describing this monograph as a "pioneering undertaking." This slim volume will be the main point of reference for fifteenth-century Lucchese history for many years to come.

Bratchel's narrative begins with the demise of Paolo Guinigi's lordship and the reinstatement of a republican regime in 1430; it ends with the expulsion of the Jews from Lucca in 1493–1494, a decision which Bratchel interprets as symbolizing Lucca's increasing parochialism and, as such, of greater import than the concurrent French invasion of Italy. The volume divides broadly into three sections. Chapters two and three describe domestic and international political developments, while chapter four provides a structural analysis of political representation and conflict within the city. Chapter five discusses urban manufactures, trade, and banking; the analysis of the silk industry is particularly interesting. Chapters six through eight address the urban elites' economic and political relations with the countryside and with the local church. Bratchel confirms the lack of farm-based share tenancy (*mezzadria poderale*) and suggests that the fiscal treatment of the countryside improved after 1450. Compared with the Florentines described in Roberto Bizzocchi's *Toscana del Quatattrocento* (1987), the



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Lucchese secular elites were less willing to manipulate ecclesiastical endowments to their benefit.

The period under study coincides with the last expansionary phase and the consolidation of the Florentine territorial state, and Bratchel describes in detail Florence's several attempts at conquest. But the remarkable survival of Lucca as an independent republican state cannot be ascribed simply to military factors; after all, Florence *never* conquered any of its subject cities with the force of arms—it preferred to buy them for cash. Bratchel's answer—that Lucca's elite was less divided than in other city-states and therefore responded more effectively to outside threats—does not entirely convince. At least two more compelling reasons stand out. First, by the late fifteenth century, Florence controlled Lucca's major overland trade routes and its only seaport. Second, Florentines were well aware that outright conquest would kill the goose with the golden eggs. As the conquest of Pisa in 1406 showed to dramatic effect, highly mobile international merchants—with which Lucca was unusually well endowed—were quite willing to choose exile if their freedoms came under serious threat. A financially and commercially healthy but nominally independent enclave acting as a stage post on the routes to Lombardy, Genoa, and northern Europe was far more useful to Florence than a deserted township of a few thousand.

To some extent, Bratchel's monographic approach underrates his topic's importance. It could be argued that the history of Renaissance Lucca reflects, in a microcosm, many of the issues at the forefront of current debates on European state formation: the significance of political independence for successful commercial capitalism; the relation between a state's size and its economic (as district from military) achievements; and the relevance of the republican tradition in modern political thought. Moreover, Bratchel ignores the broader context of Lucchese activities. For example, Lucca was part of a web of political and commercial relations with other republican regimes like Siena and Venice who opposed Florentine "tyranny" but that, in this account, are left in the shade. Lucca's decision to expel the Jews no doubt reflected local anxieties, but it coincided strikingly with similar efforts within the Spanish empire. For all its small size and diminutive economy, Renaissance Lucca was neither as physically nor as metaphorically peripheral as the Bratchel assumes.

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Patricia Lee Rubin. *Giorgio Vasari: Art and History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 448. $45.00.

Giorgio Vasari, painter and author of *The Lives of the Most Excellent Italian Architects, Painters and Sculptors* (1550), has not been fortunate in his own biographers, who have tended to patronize him as a shamelessly ambitious self-promoter, social climber, toady to the great courts, and artist of modest talents whose paintings epitomize the abyss into which Mannerist art had fallen before the celebrated Carracci reform. All this is partially true and amply documented in the words of his contemporaries and rivals as well as in Vasari's own voluminous correspondence, records, and the *Lives* itself. It is nevertheless welcome to have Patricia Lee Rubin's clear-eyed and non-judgmental study of Vasari's achievement as supported by close reading, extensive labor in the archives, and great good sense. Rubin is aware of the causes for the negative personal judgments that have been pronounced against Vasari, but she is also alive to his virtues, including his infinite capacity for hard work, great organizational and collaborative skills, and ability to negotiate the tricky waters of the Medici court to the true benefit of the arts—which he promoted as a profession that had no greater enemy than the invidious self-pleadings of his fellow professors. All these qualities informed the writing of the *Lives*, which after four hundred years remains the most widely read book of the Italian Renaissance, with the possible exception of Machiavelli's *The Prince*.

Rubin's book is by far the best that has appeared on Vasari in English, and it is an indispensable introduction to the reading of the *Lives*. Her first chapter treats Vasari's invention of his own identity as artist and writer, and the second traces the history of his life from its humble beginnings in Arezzo to his successes as an artist and courtier in Florence and Rome. The story of Vasari's writing of the *Lives* begins in chapter three, which gives a close account of the origins and research for the first edition of 1550. The fourth chapter takes up the historical and rhetorical structure of Vasari's book, valuable in itself and in light of the fact that Vasari was not a professional *letterato*, and traces its conceptual foundations not only to ancient authors like Pliny and Diogenes Laertius but also to vernacular works ranging from Domenico Cavalca's *Lives of the Saints* (1330s) to Giovanni Boccaccio and Franco Sacchetti's *novelle* (containing information about earlier artists), not to mention Lorenzo Ghiberti and Leon Battista Alberti.

The second, definitive edition of the *Lives* appeared in 1568, and it is on this that Vasari's enduring fame is based. It is about twice as long as the first edition, the product not only of much additional research—notably Vasari's trip to north Italy—but also of considerable literary refinement. In both his research and style, Vasari was greatly indebted to the help of members of the Accademia Fiorentina, especially Vincenzo Borghini. Rubin's fifth chapter examines the writing of the second edition in illuminating detail, and it is followed by an excellent chapter on Renaissance artistic vocabulary and critical terms as deployed by a painter writing about the arts. The last three chapters are devoted to case studies of Vasari's lives of three artists, Giotto, Donatello, and Raphael. The first two are prime representatives of Vasari's first two ages of



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the revival of the arts; it is striking that for the third Raphael substitutes for Michelangelo, who is Vasari's true hero. Like the rest of the book, these chapters are excellent, and Rubin's study will stand for a long time as the basic English account of Vasari and the writing of the *Lives*.

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PETER BLASTENBREI. *Kriminalität in Rom, 1560–1585*. (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, number 82.) Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. 1995. Pp. ix, 317.

Enthusiasm for the use of quantitative methods in the study of early modern European history has by now substantially receded from the peak it reached in the 1970s. There are many reasons for this, but surely the main one is the sobering discovery of just how difficult and time-consuming it is to transform information that was originally generated in the pre-statistical era into the kind of data that can be subjected to systematic quantitative analysis.

Yet some historians remain undaunted in their commitment to the quantitative method. Among them, to judge by this ambitious study of criminality in sixteenth-century Rome, is Peter Blastenbrei. The evidence about crime in Rome is admittedly imperfect. Even today not all crimes are reported to the police, and this was even more the case in early modern Italy, where people often felt it was more honorable to settle disputes face to face than to turn to the authorities. To further complicate things, Rome had a variety of criminal courts and their records are far from complete. But enough reports of initial accusations have survived from the city's three main criminal courts to make possible a broad and convincing statistical analysis of the pattern of criminality in the papal capital between 1560 and 1585.

Blastenbrei's main conclusion is that sixteenth-century Rome was an extraordinarily violent city. The number of reported homicides and physical assaults vastly exceeded the number of reported property crimes and other infractions. Some of the attacks were obviously planned in advance, but many erupted spontaneously: verbal arguments quickly led to bloodshed as the participants grabbed their daggers or turned everyday tools into improvised weapons. Many such arguments had economic roots. A creditor would demand repayment of a debt or a worker would insist on his overdue wages, and the harried debtor or employer would react with an act of violence. But numerous crimes reflected sexual tensions: men often attacked their former mistresses or other women who had rejected them.

Though violent crimes predominated, there were also countless crimes of property. Blastenbrei documents a city in which people endlessly cheated their business partners, stole their neighbors' produce, filched laundry from clotheslines, and committed almost every other imaginable form of theft or dishonesty. Yet there are some surprises. Pickpockets were relatively rare in Rome, presumably because Romans of that era did not wear the dangling purses that were common elsewhere in Europe. And in many cases thieves who broke into a house would take only clothes and linen while leaving the silver and jewels behind, presumably, Blastenbrei argues, because clothing and dry goods would be easier to resell without raising awkward questions.

A book like this could hardly fail to include some descriptions of specific crimes or vignettes of memorable criminals, like the expert forger who successfully forged an exit pass from prison and was stopped only because he neglected to give the guards the customary tip upon leaving. By and large, however, episodes like this tend to get lost amid Blastenbrei's relentless definition and enumeration of every category and subcategory of criminal behavior. Yet the main purpose of this book, as he makes clear, is to present data about crime in Rome in a way that can serve as a "building block for the international comparison of delinquency" (p. 6). In this he has fully succeeded. Students of criminality in other cities and regions of early modern Europe will find this book to be a rich and indispensible resource.

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FREDERICK J. MCGINNESS. *Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 337.

Late in the sixteenth century, Rome was at once an expansive, creative, thriving artistic center—as it had been earlier in that same century—and the focus of a vibrant, assertive, often uncompromising Roman Catholic culture. Those features were interwoven, with no better example of the weaving than the literature that Frederick J. McGinness analyzes in this fine book. Between 1563 and 1621, he demonstrates, sacred orators outside "the Renaissance" as commonly understood appropriated the *studia humanitatis* for the use of the church. They harvested the fruits of Renaissance humanism and developed a self-portrait of Rome defined by its clerical elite. They creatively blended earlier rhetorical and religious trends, from the highly polished prose of Quintillian and Cicero to the decidedly experimental instructions for preachers drafted by mid-sixteenth-century bishops. The orators created a popular genre that promoted absolutism as a governmental ideal for the city and "right thinking" as a desirable attitude for its people.

McGinness's work is crucial for anyone concerned with the historiographical issues at stake in a reconsideration of early modern Italy. The highly touted notions of Paolo Prodi on papal absolutism as the prototype for governmental institutions in Europe here operate explicitly. So does the "confessionalization" thesis popularized by Heinz Schilling and Wolf-



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gang Reinhard, which early modern scholars have been slow to apply to Italy. The ever-expanding group explaining an early modern common cause made between governments and religious institutions by suggesting that "social disciplining" was the goal will also find grist for their mills in the "right thinking" that McGinness considers the heart of his preachers' recommendations. They did not merely seek assent to certain doctrines, he argues, but also individual scrutiny of every attitude and intention. Like other cultural historians who have identified examples of disciplining, McGinness persuasively lays out the plans and ideals of an elite. The most interesting further question is whether or not the disciplinary model identified effectively operated, repressing distasteful behaviors and encouraging proper ones. Neither McGinness's book nor the other contributors to this new theory provide any answer. In fact, the seemingly incessant call for disciplining in various elements of early modern culture—from sumptuary laws to confessional formulae to university regulations to inquisitorial thought control—suggests that such plans rarely operated with efficiency in practice.

I found little to dislike in this book. At times, McGinness slides back and forth from past tense to historical present. The book ends with a three-page bibliographical essay, and this makes sense in light of the huge set of endnotes: there are no fewer than 1171, many providing extensive transcription from the sermon literature. By necessity, therefore, only general works are mentioned in the essay. Such enormous endnotes ought to satisfy, but there is no way to assess the depth of reading in the works of particular authors.

These last points, however, are minor irritations, considering McGinness's success. His book provides detailed analysis of a fascinating body of literature and contains some thoughtful contributions to a number of late twentieth-century disputes over the rethinking of early modern Italy. Let us hope that he has another in the works.

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CRAIG A. MONSON. *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xxiv, 354. $38.00.

Even as historical disciplines have increasingly recognized the importance of transcending the artificial intellectual boundaries imposed by the post-Enlightenment academic curriculum, music has tended to remain isolated. On one hand, the more technical aspects of the discipline often intimidate the trained historian of literature, culture, religion, art, politics, or social thought. On the other, the highly specialized, non-textually oriented preparation of the musicologist or music theorist often leads to an equal hesitancy to consider non-musical evidence. Craig A. Monson's book is a model of how these methodologies and materials may be combined to yield an accurate picture of a vanished culture in which music played a more central, more widespread, and perhaps even more subversive role than it does in ours. In addition, Monson's subtle wit and clear narrative style frame the recovered musical and rhetorical voices of the seventeenth-century Bolognese nuns at the center of his study, for whom words and music represented vital, contested, and controversial aspects of daily life.

Monson's study focuses on a century of artistic, religious, and social life at the convent of Santa Cristina della Fondazza, where a surprisingly high percentage of the daughters of Bologna's patrician and prominent mercantile families took holy vows with varying degrees of choice. We are brought into the central portion of the work by entering the convent with eight-year-old Lucrezia Orsina Vizzana (1590–1662), who would later attain the distinction of publishing a collection of sacred motets in an era in which women were discouraged not only from making their musical compositions so openly available but also from many forms of musical performance and from writing such new pieces in the first place. Monson reconstructs the physical and social space with painstaking detail, mostly from an impressive range of archival documents but also from architecture, urban geography, and surviving visual images. Thus he brings us physically as well as intellectually into a forgotten world in which maternal aunts trained nieces in many of the same skills in which fathers more famously trained sons and in which the externally imposed rules of an often-absent patriarchal order were observed more in letter than in spirit.

Against the background of a convent particularly renowned for its music, Monson demonstrates that official church statements about nuns' music present a deliberately limited and misleading picture of a rich and flourishing art. He plausibly traces the stylistic influence on the compositions of a young Bolognese woman whose musical training of necessity lay outside of the better-documented and standardly accepted programs of male professional preparation. The surprisingly modern motets published in Vizzana's *Componimenti musicali* (1623) are analyzed with enough detail to satisfy the musicologically trained but without the technical jargon that could break the concentration of the more textually oriented. Monson provides musical examples in his own modern transcriptions so that the musically literate reader can draw additional conclusions, and he presents enough cultural, social, and liturgical background to enable others to place Vizzana's music in its very specific niche.

Perhaps even more vital than the composer and her music is the wealth of information about the daily life and internal and external struggles of a community of women who lived without male authority on a daily basis. Through extensive documents, mostly in the words of the nuns and their detractors, Monson presents a mesmerizing picture of the deeply complicated psycho-social and political interactions between mem-



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bers of a closed community, of personality conflicts between unlike individuals struggling for power, and of the occasional failed attempts of men to regain firm authority over a unit that normally functioned quite efficiently without their assistance. Through the words of seventeenth-century interlocutors and Monson's deft analyses, we come to see a group of individuals who may have formed a community more out of familial desire and social custom than common temperament; though the music that filtered through the walls of the inner choir may have been harmonious, we see the subversion of internal and external rules and the petty rivalries that escalated beyond the convent walls. Monson's translations are excellent, especially in retaining the deliberate ambiguities and careful, cutting nuances of women for whom the word, with or without musical accompaniment, was central to daily life.

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SANDRA CAVALLO. *Charity and Power in Early Modern Italy: Benefactors and their Motives in Turin, 1541–1789.* (Cambridge History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 280. Cloth $69.95, paper $27.95.

In this book, Sandra Cavallo tells two important stories about early modern Turin, based on extensive archival research. She has mined the state archives and those of the medical and social service institutions she has studied to compose a fine explanation of the complexities in patterns of charitable giving to the sick and poor as well as an important reconsideration of motivations behind such charity. Cavallo finds that the reorganization of charitable institutions in Turin between 1541 and 1789 was linked to much more than Counter-Reformation piety, specifically to patterns in civic politics and to multilevel struggles over control of financial resources. The patterns and struggles, in turn, were affected by both government policies and gender relationships. This book deserves wide readership and will stir debate on early modern Italian social history.

Cavallo's work fits with many recent contributions to the history of the era and is decidedly revisionist. Although Cavallo ostensibly seeks to focus on benefactors and charitable motivations, her work reinforces that of historians rejecting simplistic assessments of early modern Italian government as effectively absolutist in theory and practice. Like them, she has found that, although consolidation of central authority sometimes resulted in expanded taxation, more rigorous administration of justice, and greater social control, it just as frequently brought enhanced power to municipalities, here in the form of authority over charity and its recipients. The problem behind simplistic characterizations of this society, Cavallo correctly explains, is their overreliance on prescriptions issued by disciplining agencies (such as the government and church) rather than investigation of the effect of regulations imposed.

Cavallo urges abandoning stereotypical views of early modern Italy, rejecting, for example, the notion that consolidation of the urban elite was incompatible with the persistence of feudal relations and seigneurial power. She finds both in healthy operation, just as she locates both bishops and lay persons who were active in a markedly "civic" local church long before the completion—let alone the implementation—of the decrees of the Council of Trent. Cavallo also rejects the standard gloomy picture of Italian women in this era as a half-truth: she notes that some women directed their assets toward support of other women as independent contributors. Their giving patterns changed, but not until the middle decades of the eighteenth century, when these women increasingly used their property to create resources for patronage benefiting marital family members.

Cavallo's contributions are many, and she points the way for future research. She creatively relates adjusted patterns of charity and the promotion by charitable organizations of their donors' social prestige to another form of posturing: the development of Baroque rituals for the elite, such as serving the poor at table. There was a complex pattern of political initiative in the capital of absolutist Turin, as additional research into its institutions will likely bear out. Cavallo's study of the seventeenth century may elicit response from historians of the Enlightenment, as she found nothing especially modern, let alone scientific or impartial, about the distribution of relief in the eighteenth century. Gender is a relevant consideration in the study of attitudes toward charity, she argues, and it could be usefully applied in other regional studies. Cavallo has presented a suggestive, sophisticated study, and its assets far outweigh distracting first-person references and minor inconsistencies in the footnote apparatus that could spoil it for some readers.

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STEFANO MAGGI. *Dalla città allo stato nazionale: Ferrovie e modernizzazione a Siena tra risorgimento e fascismo.* (Quaderni di studi senesi, number 80.) Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè Editore. 1994. Pp. viii, 356. L. 45,000.

Many readers may already know the artistic and architectural splendor of Siena. Few, perhaps, arrived there by train; Siena lies on a secondary line and is more easily reached by bus or car. We learn something of the origin of this situation in Stefano Maggi's book. The railroad came to Siena in 1850 when the Siena-Empoli line was opened; subsequently, connections were added to Chiusi and Grosseto. By mid-century "The railroad had become a piece of Italy within the city of Siena, bringing with it mental attitudes from the rest of the peninsula" (p. 153; my translation). Indeed, the original station broke symbolically through the



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city's medieval wall. Here, then, is Maggi's central thesis, explicit in his title: that the railroad helped draw the relatively isolated city of Siena into the life of the national state. Yet the story he tells suggests almost the reverse. For, as was typical in the later industrializing regions of Europe, the railroad did not bring to Siena the hoped-for level of development. Moreover, in spite of local lobbying, Siena never became an important railway hub. The main track from Rome to Florence passed Siena by to the east along the alternate Arno and Chiana valley route, in some ways accentuating the city's isolation. It is difficult from Maggi's text to assess the real impact of this factor, and comparison with similarly sized Arezzo (on the Rome-Florence line) would be illuminating in this regard.

Nonetheless, the introduction of daily passenger and merchandise services, the presence of 500–1000 railway workers or *ferrovieri* (often not Sienese) in a city of 20,000–40,000, and the establishment of Siena's most important factory (closed in 1931) clearly did change the city. This fact was made only too clear by the strike that created serious provisioning and shipping problems in 1905. That strike (and its failure) also marked a turning point, as the *ferrovieri* subsequently abandoned their links with other groups and constituted an autonomous workers' movement.

Indeed, labor organization and agitation, and the leading role played in them by the *ferrovieri*, constitute the other major and parallel theme of Maggi's book. Borrowing from Eric Hobsbawm (*Labouring Men* [1964]), Maggi shows that the *ferrovieri* constituted a worker aristocracy, but not a politically moderate one. Instead the *ferrovieri* represented the vanguard of the workers' movement, bringing first anarchist and then Marxist and syndicalist ideas to the Tuscan province. And, as the administration of the Sienese railroad moved from a local company to the larger Società Mediterranea and, finally, to the state in 1905, so, too, did the concerns of the *ferrovieri* move from Sienese to national issues.

Maggi's work has the merit of local studies in that it gives an intimate glimpse of larger and better known national developments (the rise of socialism, the "red biennium" of 1919–1920, the interaction between political parties and worker organizations) as well as lesser known ones such as the spread of the railroad. Beginning with the 1840s, it is a well-researched study that draws on numerous archives, contemporary newspapers, and journals to show the impact of the railroad and the *ferrovieri* on the political and working life of the city. Maggi ends with the fascist seizure of power and so fascism only occupies the last few dozen pages of his study. Still, true to form, the always trend-setting *ferrovieri* played an important role in that movement as well. Maggi writes in a straightforward and readable style, turning what might at first glance seem a ponderous subject into an engaging narrative. Maps of Siena and regional train lines would have been useful.

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SCOTT W. LACKEY. *The Rebirth of the Habsburg Army: Friedrich Beck and the Rise of the General Staff.* (Contributions in Military Studies, number 161.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1995. Pp. xiii, 253. $59.95.

Scott W. Lackey's study, a carefully reworked dissertation, is a most useful addition to the literature on the Habsburg army in the late nineteenth century, a period which, he contends, has received scant attention. Lackey focuses on the efforts to reform and reorganize the army made by Generaloberst Friedrich Count Beck-Rzikowski, a personal intimate of the Emperor Francis Joseph, head of the imperial Military Chancery from 1867 to 1881, and Chief of the General Staff from 1881 to 1905. He sees Beck as a progressive conservative battling both entrenched reactionaries and antidynastic radicals. Lackey credits Beck with concluding the Military Compromise with Hungary in 1867, passage of the Military Law of 1889, raising the combat effectiveness of the army, and, above all, successfully raising the status and the capabilities of the General Staff.

These achievements, Lackey believes, entitle Beck to a place in the pantheon of the Habsburg monarchy's great soldiers, but, as he repeatedly complains, little in the Viennese military museums, archives, or public statuary commemorates the general. Other historians, however, have not seen Beck and his works in the same favorable light, and considerable doubt exists about the final result of his efforts. It is perhaps significant that even Lackey has chosen to pass over lightly the last ten years of Beck's tenure as Chief of Staff, a decade during which the foundations of the Military Compromise were challenged and the military position of the Dual Monarchy declined relative to the other European powers.

Beck clearly did much to mold the structure of the army after its loss to Prussia at Königgrätz (1866). He was instrumental in gaining Hungarian consent to the implementation of universal military service, but the price paid, the continuation of a joint army and the formation of separate Austrian and Hungarian forces, became one of the major liabilities of the *Ausgleich* of 1867. Passage of the Army Law of 1889 raised the annual recruit quota slightly but also unleashed renewed demands for the introduction of the Magyar language in units of the joint army, thus escalating nationalist tensions in the monarchy and resulting in a deadlock in military appropriations that did much to undermine combat readiness. And while Beck, emulating the Prussian model, greatly enhanced the position of the General Staff at the expense of the War Ministry and the archreactionary Inspector General Archduke Albrecht, he never quite achieved his objective. Finally, although Lackey repeatedly describes the general as a man of peace, he concedes that Beck sought to compensate for the monarchy's exclusion from greater Germany with a forward policy in the Balkans, where "he managed to transform a local



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insurrection into a full-scale Balkan war that threatened the peace of Europe" (p.66).

Beck's record, then, was mixed and rested above all on his personal relationship with the emperor. But, as the two men grew old together, they failed to understand the changed nature of modern war: the need for more manpower provided by a nation in arms, supported by a large industrial and economic base. But perhaps this could never have been created in the multinational Habsburg realm.

These reservations, however, apply to interpretations only and do not detract from the merits of this important monograph. Lackey has based his study on solid work in the archives of the Austro-Hungarian high-command agencies and the Foreign Ministry, as well as the personal papers of some of the major players. He has looked at the printed sources and made good use of the vast range of secondary works. This thoroughly researched and documented book deserves careful reading by scholars interested in what was perhaps the most important institution of the Dual Monarchy, the Imperial and Royal Army, between 1867 and 1895.

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DUMITRU PREDA, VASILE ALEXANDRESCU, and COSTICĂ PRODAN. *La Roumanie et sa guerre pour l'unité nationale: Campagne de 1918–1919*. Foreword by LIVIU MAIOR. Bucharest: Editions Encyclopédiques, for the Institut d'Histoire et de Théorie Militaire and Commission Roumaine d'Histoire Militaire. 1995. Pp. 460.

Only very minor textual changes have been incorporated into this French translation of the Romanian original (*În apărarea României Mari: Campania armatei române din 1918–1919* [1994]). The most noticeable differences are larger print and higher quality paper, the latter greatly improving maps and photographs. Dumitru Preda, Vasile Alexandrescu, and Costică Prodan have utilized a rich variety of archival documentation, not only Romanian but also French, English, Austrian, Belgian, German, and American. Written "with the head, but also with the heart" (p. 29), the book offers a very detailed account of the action of the Romanian army in the creation and defense of "Greater Romania." Although some attention is given to the political and diplomatic context, this is preeminently a military history of the remobilization of the Romanian army in November 1918; the reclamation of national territory from the Central Powers; the progressive occupation of territory promised in 1916 by the Entente; and, finally, the campaign in Hungary and the occupation of Budapest.

These were no mean accomplishments for an army that, in November 1918, consisted of six undermanned divisions scattered throughout Moldavia and Bessarabia. A fervent nationalism fueled its rebuilding, which included the co-opting of veterans of the former Habsburg army. Allied support came in the form of armaments and a grudging acceptance of most of Romania's territorial claims. Unwilling to commit sufficient of their own forces, the Allied leaders came to rely on the Romanian army as the "gendarme of the Balkans," using it for its *cordon sanitaire* against Soviet Russia and in suppressing Béla Kun's Bolshevik regime in Hungary. Yet Allied encouragement for Romanian military action was vacillating and contradictory. (For a more detailed discussion of Allied policy, one should consult Marea Ormos, *From Padua to the Trianon 1918–1920* [1990].) The success of the Romanian army was also aided by the folly of the Hungarian Red Army, which twice provided occasions for a renewed advance into Hungarian territory. In describing the controversial occupation of the Hungarian capital, the authors provide a spirited defense of Romanian conduct and present evidence to answer critics.

The detail and thoroughness of this study make it the definitive Romanian account of this critical period in the restructuring of East Central Europe. It is not without relevance for contemporary debates.

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PAUL D. QUINLAN. *The Playboy King: Carol II of Romania*. (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 52.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1995. pp. viii, 264. $55.00.

Paul D. Quinlan's goal is to offer a biography of Romania's King Carol II (1930–1940) in the "context of his family, his country, and his historical epoch" and thereby to "give Carol his rightful place in history" (p. vii). He focuses on the king's social doings. This anecdotal account is gripping, from Carol's childhood to the last gasp of the former monarch in exile.

From the outset, Carol was a spoiled, irresolute child with an inferiority complex; he blossomed into a frivolous fellow with many romantic adventures. As a teenager, he pursued one of his eldest sister's chums, Ella Filitti. In his twenties, he had a son and daughter with a high-school student, Maria Martini; proposed to Marie, a daughter of the Russian tsar; married and had a son with Ioana Lambrino (the marriage was later annulled); and wed (and later divorced) and had a son with a Greek princess, Helen. In his thirties, he lived with and eventually married a Jew, Elena or Magda Lupescu. Two of these women—Lambrino in 1919 and Lupescu in 1925—led Carol to renounce his rights to the Romanian throne because they lacked regal lineage. Lupescu was also thought an inappropriate match for Carol as a king of a predominantly Orthodox Christian country. Quinlan alludes to constitutional issues here but leaves their nature to the reader's imagination.

Three of the book's eight chapters cover Carol's ten-year reign. Quinlan observes that Carol had "no firm political ideology" yet initially admired and hoped



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to emulate Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler, and Joseph Stalin for "successfully rebuilding and modernizing their countries" (p. 116). Mentioning problems associated with the Great Depression, however, Quinlan only points out Carol's narrow knowledge of economics and continues to dwell more on the king's family concerns than on national issues. Nonetheless, his remarks about the Legion of the Archangel Michael, led by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, are helpful. The Legion was a "homegrown, distinctively Romanian fascist movement," which was "intensely nationalistic, antiliberal, and anti-Semitic" (p. 145). Although Carol rejected the Legion, he and his Jewish lover seemed to be "simply indifferent" (p. 182) to the Jews' fate in 1938, when he established a royal dictatorship that embodied some of the Legion's policies.

Quinlan's research is extensive. He interviewed some of Carol's acquaintances and relations, such as his sister Ileana and his son King Mihai I (1927–1930, 1940–1947). A chief font of information was an unpublished diary by Eugeniu Buhman, a palace secretary from 1898 to 1940. Quinlan also explored the Romanian state archives, the files of the Central State Library in Bucharest, materials at the Hoover Institution, and collections elsewhere. A list of published primary sources in his bibliography comprises over two-thirds English and almost one-quarter Romanian titles, plus some newspapers.

This book leaves some questions unanswered, even about the familial affairs that are the central focus here, as well as on such issues as the influence of Carol and his loved ones (including siblings) on Romania's society and culture. Nevertheless, Quinlan sets forth a stimulating account of a troubled boy and man who vainly sought equilibrium in an unbalanced milieu.

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MICHAEL PALIJ. *The Ukrainian-Polish Defensive Alliance, 1919–1921: An Aspect of the Ukrainian Revolution*. Edmonton, Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. 1995. Pp. 391. $44.95.

Michael Palij is the author of *The Anarchism of Nestor Mahano, 1918–1921: An Aspect of the Ukrainian Revolution*, (1976). His new book has seventeen chapters, including the conclusion; the text comprises 202 pages, the notes 40 pages, the bibliography 118 pages, and the index 21 pages. End maps show the territories and ethnic boundaries of the Ukrainian National Republic in the years 1917–1920, including the Western National Republic (East Galicia).

While most books available on this subject emphasize the history of the Ukrainian National Republic, 1917–1919, Palij is the first to deal with the Treaty of Warsaw and the military convention concluded in April 1920 by Józef Piłsudski (1867–1935), then Polish head of state and commander-in-chief, and Simon Petliura (1879–1926), the head and commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian National Rada. As the book's subtitle indicates, this alliance is, however, treated as an aspect of the Ukrainian revolution. Palij focuses on the Ukrainian struggle and presents it mainly from the Ukrainian point of view. While giving credit to Piłsudski for aiming at an independent Ukraine, which would be an ally of Poland and a buffer between the Poles and the Russians, he faults the Poles both for invading East Galicia (now western Ukraine) and for opposing an independent Ukraine. He emphasizes the role of Ukrainian troops in the joint Piłsudski-Petliura offensive into Soviet-occupied Ukraine in 1920 and in the Polish victory over the Red Army of August that year. Palij concludes that Poland betrayed its Ukrainian ally and was also very short-sighted from the point of view of its own security in concluding the Treaty of Riga (March 18, 1921) with Bolshevik Russia. The treaty, in effect, divided Belorussia and Ukraine between the Poles and the Russians.

While the reader can fully comprehend Ukrainian resentment against the Poles, the same cannot be said for the Polish view of the Ukrainians and especially their attitude toward East Galicia in 1918–1919. It is true that the Ukrainian claim to the territory was justified on the basis of self-determination, for Ukrainians accounted for about sixty percent of the population, with Poles making up some thirty percent and Jews about ten percent. Politics is, however, the art of the possible. It was impossible, in view of the sentiments aroused in Poland by the battle over L'viv (at that time, the mostly Polish Lwów), for any Polish government to do more than accept the compromise solution offered by the French general Joseph Barthélémy in early 1919. The Barthélémy line, accepted by the Polish General Staff and a few Polish politicians, would have left a little over one third of West Ukrainian territory, including L'viv and the oil fields, on the Polish side. The oil fields would be administered by an interallied commission and fifty percent of the oil would go to the Ukrainians. The compromise was, however, rejected by the latter. Palij merely says that it was unacceptable to the Ukrainians and so hostilities resumed (p. 52). In the Treaty of Warsaw of April 21, 1920, Petliura gave up all of East Galicia in order to secure Polish military aid to free Ukraine, but he was condemned for this by most West Ukrainians.

Palij is right in saying that "The Treaty of Warsaw is a symbol of an historical current in Polish-Ukrainian relations that may well assert itself again" (p. 202). For such cooperation to develop, however, more of an effort is needed on the Ukrainian side to give up old resentments. The two countries are now natural allies with no territorial disputes to divide them. It would be a great pity if memories of the past came to overshadow the unique opportunities available to them in the present.

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DON C. RAWSON. *Russian Rightists and the Revolution of 1905*. (Cambridge Russian, Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, number 95.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 286. Cloth $64.95, paper $29.95.

When the Revolution of 1905 forced the government of Tsar Nicholas II to open political space for society, few groups were less prepared to enter the new arena, either practically or psychologically, than the right. Don C. Rawson argues convincingly that Russian rightists entered politics reluctantly to defend an autocracy that seemed unable to defend itself against well-organized and vocal liberal and revolutionary opponents or against treacherous advisors like Count Sergei Witte. The autocracy's diehard supporters were both exasperated and galvanized into action by the concessions Nicholas made during the revolution. As a result, they found themselves in the awkward position of having to operate in an alien and shifting political landscape of mass politics and parliamentary elections that they considered illegitimate. Despite their nostalgia for the days of Nicholas's father, Alexander III (or seventeenth-century Muscovy), monarchists had to organize themselves to contest elections and construct a constituency to support the tsar, Orthodoxy, and Russian nationality. One comes away from Rawson's well-researched book with an appreciation for the skill and speed with which rightists adapted to the new situation and their relative success in appealing to a broad cross-section of conservative Russians that included nobles, officials and various middling urban strata, peasants, and even workers.

Contrary to most accounts, Rawson shows that it was the conflicting acts of February 18, 1905 (commitment to a representative assembly, right of petition, and manifesto appealing to loyalists) rather than the October Manifesto of 1905 that first spurred Russian rightists to action. In four brief chapters, he provides sketches of the leaders, membership, and programs of the most important organizations: V. A. Gringmut's Russian Monarchist Party; the elitist and Slavophile Union of Russian Men; the Russian Assembly; and the Union of Russian People (which did organize in October). Here and elsewhere, he distinguishes between moderate and extreme rightists on the basis of the virulence of their anti-Semitism, tendency to resort to violence, and willingness to work within the Duma.

Elsewhere Rawson examines the important question of links between Nicholas and his government and rightist organizations. He concludes plausibly that the decisions to dissolve the first two Dumas and to change the electoral law were not strongly influenced by rightists. Their well-orchestrated campaigns merely strengthened the tsar's confidence in the soundness of his decisions. Rawson's contention that officials were nearly as suspicious of rightists as liberals, however, can be questioned. After 1905, political participation by state officials in "opposition" parties (the Kadets and groups to their left) was proscribed, while involvement in rightist organizations was not punished and sometimes encouraged. But Rawson is right about the underlying ambivalence in the relationship between the government and rightists. Officials were uneasy about the right's potential to contribute to disorder, and rightists doubted the government's ability to defend monarchical prerogatives.

Rawson's most valuable chapters describe regional rightist organizations and their efforts in the Duma elections. (He does not deal much with rightist activities within the Dumas, and the book stops with the third election campaign). His analysis of the elections to the First, Second, and Third Dumas (supported by extensive tables) demonstrates that rightist viability as a political force owed only in part to government support and manipulation of the electoral law in June 1907. The Second Duma elections provided the most accurate gauge of the country's political mood, because leftist parties participated and the right overcame the organizational confusion and hesistancy that had defeated it in early 1906. In certain areas of the country—the Central Agricultural region and western borderlands in particular—the rightists' message of law and order and Russian and Ukrainian assertiveness against Poles and Jews enjoyed wide resonance. Rightists effectively utilized strong institutional bases in the zemstvos and clerical networks (for example, the Pochaev monastery in Volynia) to expand their base beyond landowners and win victories in several provinces and come very close in others. In Kursk, Orel, and Tula provinces, rightists won nearly half of the peasant vote, and in Volynia and other western provinces they swept the villages. P. A. Stolypin's drastic revision of the electoral law solidified and expanded the right's strength in the Third Duma, but only after it had proven its political viability.

What this peasant conservatism actually meant is less clear, and its roots are barely explored in this book. Patron-client relationships between peasant Duma deputies and local elites have been used by other scholars to explain peasant political affiliation. But this is simplistic. We know that peasant monarchism coexisted quite easily with support for radical land reform. But on the agrarian question, all rightist parties advanced moderate agendas such as land purchases through the Peasant Bank—hardly capable of stirring widespread peasant enthusiasm. Other initiatives may have garnered popular support: for example, in the southwestern provinces before World War I, the Union of Russian People was active in organizing consumers' cooperatives that sought to break peasant dependence on Jewish shopkeepers. While Rawson does not address these questions, his interesting and valuable book points to their importance and should stimulate other scholars to look more closely at rural politics in the decade after 1905.

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WILLIAM CHASE *et al.*, editors. *A Research Guide.* Volume 1, *Guide to Collections/Putevoditel'. Tom 1, Kratkii spravochnik fondov.* (The Russian Archive Series.) Moscow: Blagovest, for the Center for the Study of Russia and the Soviet Union and the Russian State Archive of the Economy; distributed by the Russian Publications Project, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1994. Pp. xx, 679. $33.00.

GENRICH M. DEYCH. *A Research Guide to Materials on the History of Russian Jewry (Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries) in Selected Archives of the Former Soviet Union/Putevoditel'; Arkhivnye dokumenty po istorii evreev v Rossii v XIX-nachale XX vv.* Edited and foreword by BENJAMIN NATHANS. (Russian Archive Series.) Moscow: Blagovest, for the Center for the Study of Russia and the Soviet Union; distributed by the Russian Publications Project, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. n.d. Pp. xi, 149. $33.00.

GREGORY L. FREEZE and S. V. MIRONENKO, editors. *A Research Guide.* Volume 1, *Collections of the State Archive of the Russian Federation on the History of Russia in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries/Putevoditel': Tom 1, Fondy Gosudarstvennogo arkhiva Rossiiskoi Federatsii po istorii Rossii XIX-nachala XX vv.* (Russian Archive Series.) Moscow: Blagovest, for the State Archive of the Russian Federation and the Center for the Study of Russia and the Soviet Union; distributed by the Russian Publications Project, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1994. Pp. xviii, 394. $33.00.

J. ARCH GETTY and V. P. KOZLOV, editors. *A Research Guide/Kratkii putevoditel': Fondy i kollektsii, sobrannye Tsentral'nym partiinym arkhivom.* Assisted by O. V. NAUMOV, V. O. URAZOV, and N. P. IAKOVLEV. (The Russian Archive Series.) Moscow: Blagovest, for the Russian Center for Preservation and Study of Documents of Contemporary History and the Center for the Study of Russia and the Soviet Union; distributed by the Russian Publications Project, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1993. Pp. xxx, 220. $33.00.

V. A. KOZLOV and S. V. MIRONENKO, editors. *Archive of Contemporary Russian History.* Volume 1, *The "Special Files" for I. V. Stalin: From Materials of the Secretariat of the NKVD-MVD of the USSR, 1944–1953; A Catalogue of Documents/Arkhiv noveishei istorii Rossii. Tom 1, "Osobaia papka" I. V. Stalina: Iz materialov Sekretariata NKVD-MVD SSSR 1944–1953 gg.; Katalog dokumentov.* ("Katalogi"; Russian Archive Series.) Moscow: Blagovest. 1994. Pp. 353. $33.00.

V. A. KOZLOV and S. V. MIRONENKO, editors. *Archive of Contemporary Russian History.* Volume 2, *The "Special Files" for V. M. Molotov: From Materials of the Secretariat of the NKVD-MVD of the USSR, 1944–1956; A Catalogue of Documents/Arkhiv noveishei istorii Rossii. Tom 2, "Osobaia papka" V. M. Molotova: Iz materialov Sekretariata NKVD-MVD SSSR 1944–1956 gg.; Katalog dokumentov.* ("Katalogi"; Russian Archive Series.) Moscow: Blagovest. 1994. Pp. 219. $33.00.

Among the many benefits of the fall of the Soviet Union was the opening of the Russian archives to scholars on much the same basis as in Western countries. This boon was qualified, however, by the continuing lack of adequate published archival guides to major repositories. This lack had long been an obstacle to Soviet and foreign researchers alike. Not only were guides to larger repositories sketchy, but smaller facilities sometimes had no published guides, and their in-house lists were not available to researchers. Some help was provided by the indefatigable American specialist on Soviet archives, Patricia Grimstead. Her publications on the history of Russian, Ukrainian, and other archives and her lists of guides to various repositories were and continue to be invaluable. Soviet archivists, badly served by their own central archival administration, translated her publications for their own use. But these were not detailed references to specific collections of the kind now being produced by the Russian Archive Series.

The series includes basic reference works for the principal central repositories, including the Russian Center for Preservation and Study of Documents of Contemporary History (the former Central Party Archive), the Central State Archive of Ancient Acts, the Russian State Archive of the Economy, the State Archive of the Russian Federation (the former Central State Archive of the October Revolution), the Central State Archive of the Russian Republic, and others. In addition, the project includes a set of six volumes (in ten parts) of "Special Files" from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the first four of which are the special files, respectively, of Joseph Stalin, Vyacheslav Molotov, Nikita Khrushchev, and Georgi Malenkov. The last two volumes are archival guides to correspondence between the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1944 to 1959 and correspondence between the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry or Committee of State Security during much of the Soviet period.

Space does not permit a review of all the guides in the series. A couple of examples will have to suffice.

First, the guide for the Russian State Archive of the Economy is a first of its kind. Until now, the only guides for this important archive were a 1973 imprint that included a listing of less than half the collections (and was for all practical purposes an in-house guide because of its press run of only 450 copies). In 1987, the archive published a list of some of its collections of personal papers (*lichnye fondy*) but, again, in a very limited press run. By contrast, the new guide prepared for the Russian Archive Series contains information on eighty-one percent of the archive's document collections (covering 3,861 Soviet economic institutions) and is widely available. Holdings that are still classified could not be included, and some recently declassified



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collections did not make the press date for the volume. Listings of collections of personal papers are likewise not included in this volume. But information on them and on the recently declassified collections is planned for a separate guide.

Second, the guide to the history of Russian Jewry. This remarkable work, compiled by Genrich M. Deych, is a labor of four decades. Deych began to assemble references to Jewish materials in the Russian State Historical Archive in Leningrad at the end of World War II in preparation for the publication of a comprehensive guide to the holdings of this institution, the principal repository for state papers from the nineteenth century. Although the guide appeared in 1956, the editors decided to excise most of the references to Jewish materials (a common censorship practice in the postwar USSR into the late 1980s). At considerable personal risk, Deych continued his search for archival materials on Jews, and when he emigrated in 1989, he was able to bring out his notes. These notes form the basis of the volume, which details the holdings on Jews in the archives of the central government ministries, the reports of the offices of provincial administrations in regions belonging to the Jewish Pale of Settlement, and a large number of personal archival collections from such well-known figures as Leon Trotsky and Isaac Babel and also less prominent Jewish doctors, teachers, historians, and artists.

The disintegration of the USSR and the spirit of openness that accompanied it made this publication project possible and necessary. With Russian and foreign researchers suddenly permitted to work in collections previously restricted, archivists and researchers understood that they needed a clearer picture of what was now available to them. It should, however, be pointed out that the euphoric moment of openness soon passed. A decree of September 1993 set in motion a process of reclassification of some collections. This process affects highly sensitive material in the former Central Party Archive more than the holdings of other repositories, but historians are rightly concerned about how far restrictions might ultimately extend. For now, decisions about reclassification remain in the hands of the archivists, but political winds will be an important determinant of how they approach this matter. Unfortunately, these winds have been blowing ever harder in recent times against the interests of researchers.

We should be grateful for the speed with which Russian archivists and their American editors and funders launched and executed this series of archival guides. They made optimum use of the window that opened to them and in a short time produced works of unprecedented thoroughness and professionalism. No research library should be without this set of guides.

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## MIDDLE EAST

REUVEN AMITAI-PREISS. *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260–1281.* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 272.

The image of Mongol invaders from Central Asia as the scourge of God inflicting widespread devastation from China to Southwest Asia and Eastern Europe during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries remains pervasive, despite several decades of revisionist scholarship. Reuven Amitai-Preiss has set himself the task of analyzing the extended encounter between the Īlkhānid Mongol regime based in Iran and Iraq and the early Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria. Although his ostensible objective is to reconstruct the salient military events of this encounter in a narrative fashion, Amitai-Preiss has produced perhaps the most plausible and soberly reasoned assessment of warfare in the medieval Muslim world that has appeared to date. His exhaustive and probing examination of primary sources generated by contemporary writers on both sides of the conflict stands as an exemplary achievement of meticulous research.

Amitai-Preiss confines his treatment to the initial decades of the Mamluk-Īlkhānid conflict, initiated in 1260 but not conclusively resolved until 1323. Arguing that the complexity of later events will require a separate study to do them justice, he focuses his discussion on the reasons behind the onset of hostilities, developments leading up to the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt (Spring of Goliath) in September of 1260, the twenty-year standoff that ensued, and the background to the decisive second battle of Homs in October 1281. Readers with an abiding interest in logistics, strategies, and tactics of medieval cavalry warfare will relish his detailed portrayals of the Mamluk and Īlkhānid forces and comparisons between their styles of combat. Those whose ardor for such information is less intense may on occasion find these myriad facts something of a chore to absorb. But Amitai-Preiss's level-headed grasp of military realities during the High Middle Ages is noticeable throughout. Density of detail does not obscure carefully considered estimates of troop numbers, logistics of forage and supply, and relative capacities of both sides to launch and sustain an attack.

Amitai-Preiss is keenly aware of the limitations imposed by available sources. The abundance of material by pro-Mamluk Arabic chroniclers writing in Egypt and Syria skews reporting of events and inclines the historian toward an impression of Mamluk sophistication in contrast with the more rustic state of Īlkhānid culture. Nonetheless, not a single case of possible ambiguity in descriptions of events scrutinized by Amitai-Preiss passes unaddressed. By examining contrasting depictions of incidents and then assigning their most plausible sequence according to the proximity of writers, he guides the reader through the ambiguities of the sources. When a definitive judgment remains elusive, he readily acknowledges lacunae.



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The monograph's findings build on the research of its predecessors, which Amitai-Preiss copiously utilizes. Existing hypotheses are modified on the basis of his own interpretations. Readers unfamiliar with the literature of this field will therefore benefit from his summaries of previous scholarship.

Amitai-Preiss has written an insightful, judiciously documented analysis of an encounter between two great powers of the medieval Middle East that significantly transcends its stated objectives. He has shed new light on the concepts of statecraft and imperialism that motivated the Mamluk and Īlkhānid regimes during their formative phases. His claim that the war with the Mongols of Southwest Asia in large measure defined the evolution of the Mamluk Sultanate is well taken.

Amitai-Preiss's methodological approach reflects the influence of his dissertation advisors, David Ayalon and Peter Jackson. Assiduous attention to matters of textual interpretation take precedence over abstract theorizing. No overarching conceptual model has served as the organizational foundation of this monograph. Yet Amitai-Preiss has not neglected the revisionist approaches that have been reshaping the way Islamicists think about the medieval Middle East over the past thirty years. Preferring to integrate their revisionism into his detailed discussions, he alerts the reader to changes in methodology without submitting to the domination of theory over fact.

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HALIL İNALCIK and DONALD QUATAERT, editors. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxxi, 1026. $120.00.

The publication of this book is a happy occasion for historians of the Middle East, and for historians of the Balkans and Eastern Europe as well. The massive volume, edited by Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, brings together much of the best research on the Ottoman era in a four-part examination of economic and social history from the approximate founding of the Ottoman state to the start of World War I. Each of the volume's parts is separately authored, by İnalcık for the period 1300 to 1600, Suraiya Faroqhi for 1590 to 1699, Bruce McGowan for 1699 to 1812, and Quataert for 1812 to 1914. Şevket Pamuk contributes a valuable appendix, "Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326–1914," and İnalcık adds a glossary and separate addendum on "Weights and Measures." Each of the four parts plus the appendix also has its own bibliography, which adds to the volume's usefulness for scholars.

The book's primary ambition—to offer an analytical representation of the economic and social history of one of the largest empires in history over the course of six hundred years—is not fully realized. There is considerable information on Ottoman social structure, but the work as a whole is weighted toward the presentation of economic data and economic questions. Collective authorship poses its own set of problems—in this case unevenness of style, historiographical texture, and, occasionally, interpretation—across the various sections. Nonetheless, the volume is a monumental achievement, richly deserving of the central place it will occupy in the literature.

Part one, İnalcık's section on the three hundred years to 1600, occupies close to half of the book's expository text. Densely written and encyclopedic in scope, these first chapters on "Empire and Population," "The Economic Mind," "State Revenues and Expenditures," "State, Land and Peasant," and "Trade," each with multiple subsections, explore the myriad institutions and practices of Ottoman socioeconomics as the Ottoman state moved geographically, institutionally, and culturally from Byzantine and Seljuk borderland to multinational imperium. Readers hoping for a new interpretive grid to replace the much-assailed "rise and decline" paradigm will be disappointed. To the extent that the decline paradigm itself appears, as it does explicitly in the "General Introduction" and in the sections by İnalcık and McGowan, it is more as idiom than as explanation. For İnalcık, the documents are the thing, and these he sets out in detail, throughout his written text and in eighty-four figures, tables, and maps. The resulting level of description does not always make for an easy read, and much of what the chapters have to say can be found (inevitably, given the staying power of İnalcık's scholarship) in his earlier publications. Still, there is much that is new here, particularly in its incorporation of recent historiography and in İnalcık's acute syntheses of primary data from a remarkable variety of sources. In any case, the section will not be superseded for a long time to come. It is virtually a primary source in itself.

Part two, "Crisis and Change, 1590–1699," finds an engaging voice in Faroqhi, whose account moves deftly between the economic and the social "crises and transformations" of the seventeenth century. Beginning with a necessary if perfunctory review of the principal political events, Faroqhi's chapters address "Making a Living: Economic Crisis and Partial Recovery"; "Trade: Regional, Inter-Regional and International"; "Finances"; "The Ruling Elite between Politics and 'the Economy'"; "Social Life in Cities"; and "Symbols of Power and Legitimation." Thanks to the overlap of chronologies and Faroqhi's attention to the deeper roots of phenomena that are closely identified with the seventeenth century, her observations, particularly those on trading patterns, social mobility, and elite reconstruction, effectively bridge the two sections. Her discussion of women's roles and activities in the period gives evidence of two recent trends in Ottoman historiography, both of which Faroqhi herself has pioneered: the prominent use of Islamic court records and the revisionist consideration of women in the empire.



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Part three, "The Age of the *Ayan*s, 1699–1812," by McGowan, takes up "Population and Migration," "The Elites and Their Retinues," "Peasants and Pastoralists," "Merchants and Craftsmen," "The State and the Economy," and "Trade." McGowan employs a more impressionistic narrative style that students especially will find appealing, but the approach occasionally opens the way to dubious assertions. These are all the more striking given the restraint of the preceding sections. Among other claims, the idea that "few great mosques were built in the eighteenth century" because of "a lack of confidence" needs rethinking not only in the light of imperial practice regarding mosque funding but also in terms of the relationship between domestic sociopolitics and the built environment. In fairness to McGowan, however, much of the research that is opening up the study of the eighteenth century—on women, household formation, consumption practices, and eighteenth-century urbanism and architecture—was published after this volume was written.

Quataert's "The Age of Reforms, 1812–1914" delivers a strong finish for the volume with interesting essays on "Population," "Transportation," "Commerce," "Agriculture," and "Manufacturing." Readers will find especially instructive Quataert's comparative framework, which views the Ottoman economy within the context of international and regional trends. By setting Ottoman production, growth rates, per capita incomes, and the like alongside data from other national economies, many of them outside Western Europe and the Middle East, the section is an effective antidote to the "Islam and the West" reductionism that elsewhere has haunted the field.

Throughout the volume, the chapter headings do not do justice to the wealth of research, judgment, sifting, and spadework that a survey of this kind, for so complex a geopolitical presence, entails. Errors and inconsistencies remain, but they are remarkably few given the range of the scholarship. Readers may wish that the book had taken a stronger or different theoretical slant or that it had added general summaries for individual sections, but the study's enormous value to the field dwarfs all of these concerns and will continue to do so for many years to come.

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L. CARL BROWN, editor. *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 337. $49.50.

Almost eighty years have passed since the demise of the Ottoman Empire, and an objective assessment of the Ottoman impact on history has yet to be written. A more recent generation of writers is attempting to evaluate Ottoman history on its own terms and not through the prism of nationalism and ideology. For that reason, this volume edited by L. Carl Brown, is most welcome, although there are questions that require further elucidation.

The book contains seventeen essays (including an introduction and an epilogue), seven maps, fifteen illustrations, and an excellent index. The contributors have advanced challenging interpretations and insights. The diverse experiences, cultures, lengths of Ottoman rule, types of Ottoman association, and geographic location pose problems in addressing and assessing the Ottoman legacy. The length and character of Ottoman rule explain why the Ottoman influence is more profound in some instances than in others.

Brown looks at the Ottoman Empire as a kind of continuum of earlier Near Eastern and Mediterranean empires, particularly those of Rome and Byzantium. He provides an overview of the Ottoman Empire from its emergence in the thirteenth century to its demise at the end of World War I and sees the Ottoman Empire as "the successor state to the Byzantines, just as the Byzantine Empire was the successor to Rome" (p. 1). The Ottoman Empire was also a Muslim state, which "represented the fullest flowering of Islamic political institutionalization, building on the foundations put in place by the earlier Muslim polities" (p. 1). Halil Inalcık writes on the image of the Ottoman Empire in world, regional, and national history. He examines some of the general legacies of the Ottoman Empire and endeavors to show that national, confessional, and ideological blinders prevented the West from understanding the scope of the Ottoman legacy. Norman Itzkowitz contends that past and present perceptions of the Ottoman Empire have led to distortions of western Balkan, Arab, and modern Turkish views of the Ottoman Empire. He says that Western writers often denigrated the achievements of the Ottoman Empire, which they misnamed the Turkish Empire or Turkey. But he fails to note that the Ottomans, and even present-day Muslims, looked down on Westerners; the historiography of both sides made use of unflattering epithets. While one can agree with Itzkowitz that the growth of nationalism led to the breakup of the Ottoman Empire after the early nineteenth century, it is significant to note that the breakup was preceded by two centuries of Ottoman institutional decline, internal disorder, and military setbacks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Four essays in the book deal with the Ottoman legacy in a regional context, examining particularly Ottoman influence on the Balkans, Yugoslavia, and the Arab world. Maria Todorova's essay presents intriguing analyses of two interpretations of the Ottoman legacy: the more negative nationalist or Marxist view of the Ottomans as an alien retrogressive force in the Balkans, and the more positive view of the Ottomans as instrumental in creating a symbiotic cultural milieu that allowed for the coexistence of both Islamic and Christian religio-cultural traditions. Todorova discusses how the Ottomans influenced the Balkans in politics, culture, economy, and society. Of consider-



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able interest is Denison Rusinow's essay on the Ottoman and Habsburg origins of pluralism and multiculturalism in Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia. Rusinow sees the breakup of Yugoslavia not as a product of Ottoman rule or old ethnic animosities but as a result of twentieth-century national/ideological developments. Karl Barbir and André Raymond explore the Ottoman influence on the Arab Middle East and the development of modern Arab nation-states.

Other parts of the collection include thematic aspects of the Ottoman legacy. An essay by Ergun Özbudun on the Ottoman legacy in state tradition in the Middle East is followed by Carter Findley's analysis of the influence of the ninteenth-century Ottoman administrative reforms in the modern Middle East. Roderic Davidson traces the nineteenth-century history of Ottoman diplomacy and foreign relations and points out that modern Turkey is the most direct heir of the Ottoman Empire's diplomatic principles and practices.

Two short but authoritative essays in the book are on the imperial language. One of them, by Bernard Lewis, examines the influence of Ottoman Turkish upon modern political Arabic, and the other, by Geoffrey Lewis, comments on the influence of the imperial language on modern Turkish. Charles Assawi and Dankwart Rustow probe the Ottoman legacy in economics and war, while William Ochsenwald assesses the Ottoman legacy in Islam, and Joseph Szyliowicz discusses the Ottoman legacy in Middle East education.

Despite the number of authors, there is no sharp disparity in the scholarly and literary quality of the essays. Each contribution is preceded by the editor's helpful suggestions. The assessments of the Ottoman legacy are objective, and are valuable as antidotes to the nationalistic interpretations of the modern Balkans, Turkey, and the Arab States. If there are weaknesses in the book, they are not in interpretation but in omission. In the thematic sections on politics, language, economics and war, and religion and culture, not enough is said on the imperial legacy in the Balkans. Analyses of the Ottoman legacy in Christianity and Judaism, and the Ottoman influence on Balkan statecraft, military institutions, and education would have enriched this already superior work.

A more encompassing inquiry into the Ottoman impact on the Balkan national languages would have been particularly useful. Except for a few paragraphs in Geoffrey Lewis's essay, little is said on Ottoman linguistic influence in the Balkans. While a large number of Ottoman terms have been expunged from Balkan official languages as well as from modern Turkish and Arabic, many are still widely used in colloquial and literary Balkan languages. Some of them are so domesticated that non-Turkish speakers cannot even sense their alien origin. Much of the finest of Balkan literature in this century could not have been written without the use of Turkish terminology and motifs from Ottoman life. Such authors as Ivo Andrić, Nikos Kazantzakis, and Ismail Kadare have made extensive use of Ottoman themes and words in their works.

What is true for language and literature applies also to music as, for example, the South Slav *sevdalinka*, an urban love song cherished by Christians and Muslims alike. The same can be said, more or less, of the Greek *rebetika* and *amanes* particularly popular among Greeks of Anatolian origin. Finally, an essay on the influence of the Ottoman millet system upon the development of the Orthodox Christian, Jewish, and other scriptuarian communities in the Balkans and the Middle East would be useful. The comments made here should not detract from this excellent work, however, which will have lasting value and be of substantial interest to the scholar and informed reader.

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FATMA MÜGE GÖÇEK. *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. vi, 220. $45.00.

This book will interest all students of Ottoman social history. Fatma Müge Göçek argues that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, war and commerce "interacted with the existing social structure" to create a bourgeoisie that was "segmented" along ethno-religious lines (p. 3). This segmentation "led to the demise of the empire (p. 138)" and, more problematically, to modern Turkey's relegation to the periphery of the world system (pp. 3, 141). To substantiate her interpretation, Göçek analyzes evidence of Westernization in goods, institutions, and ideas. While some of her arguments are familiar, the quantitative analysis, the consideration of Westernization in terms of material culture as well as ideas and institutions, and the historical-sociological approach yield new insights and a new perspective.

For Göçek, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the emergence of bureaucratic and commercial bourgeoisies able, "for the first time, to wrest resources . . . from the sultan's control" (p. 44). The bureaucrats emerged out of elite households, about which Göçek offers original observations. The commercial bourgeoisie emerged among the non-Muslim minorities, who were quicker than Muslims to Europeanize. The sultans sought to control both segments through confiscation, visited on fallen members of the ruling elite and on wealthy subjects, and through educational reforms intended to train new elites to defend the empire. In either case, cultural resources—knowledge of languages and of the outside world—did as much as material ones to empower the emerging bourgeoisie (p. 81). Leaders of the commercial bourgeoisie escaped the sultan's control by acquiring commercial privileges and foreign protection under the capitulations. The bureaucrats crossed a critical threshold when their education led them to shift allegiance from the sultan to "the abstract idea of the



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state" (p. 45), a momentous change in Turkish political culture.

Even scholars most appreciative of this book will have questions. Among period chroniclers, for example, Göçek cites Naima (covering 1591–1659), Cevdet (1774–1826), and Lutfi (mid-nineteenth century), but not those in between. Among modern works, she neglects Madeline Zilfi's *The Politics of Piety* (1988) on the *ulema*. Leslie Peirce's *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (1993) would have enriched discussion of the households.

Signs of authorial and editorial haste appear frequently. The explanation of the quantitative methodology of the tables is laconic (pp. 57, 98, 105). Presumably, it was not the "Sultan's failure to issue" a decree contrary to Islamic law that could "lead to his deposition" (p. 30) but rather his issuance of one. Specification of monetary units only as "gold coins" (p. 49) will not satisfy economic historians. "Immanent" appears for "imminent" (p. 52) and for "eminent" (p. 96), and "precedence" appears twice for "precedents" (both on p. 69). References to the "Office for Islamic Religious Opinion" (p. 98) do not refer to "religious opinion" in the common sense, but to rulings (*fetvas*) issued by the empire's highest religious authority on problems in Islamic law. Two successive paragraphs (p. 103) contradict each other on whether estates of decedents in Istanbul were, or were not, representative of estates elsewhere.

Questionable interpretations and factual errors also are not lacking. The argument that the sultan's treasury shrank during the nineteenth century (p. 73) is wrong for the reign of Abdülhamid (1876–1909). In name, the "gnosticism of the mystics" (*'irfan*) may be related morphologically to the new-style education (*ma'arif*); but gnosticism scarcely "formed the basis for the new 'modern' world vision" (p. 73). The 1896 education law must be that of 1869 (p. 122). Sultan Abdülhamid was deposed by the Young Turks in 1909, not 1890 (p. 129). Many works treat Ottoman history as the prehistory of the Turkish republic, and this does, too, as the statement that "nomads existed mostly in Eastern Anatolia" shows (p. 36; cf. p. 155 n. 55). The book neglects both the Arab lands and the Balkans, has more to say about the Muslim bureaucratic bourgeoisie than the non-Muslim commercial bourgeoisie, and has nothing to say about relations among non-Muslim minorities. More troubling in a study of Ottoman social organization, Göçek privileges the organizational model of the elite households, dismissing other models (pp. 126, 131, 182 n. 32). More like the voluntary associations that Göçek finds noteworthy in the nineteenth century, the dervish orders did differ significantly from the households (cf. p. 153 n. 7), as the literature on sufism shows.

Such rough edges detract; yet the book remains a valuable contribution to the neglected field of Ottoman social history.

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W. TRAVIS HANES III. *Imperial Diplomacy in the Era of Decolonization: The Sudan and Anglo-Egyptian Relations, 1945–1956*. (Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies, number 30.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1995. p. x, 190. $55.00.

The volume of documentary evidence on the post–World War II Middle East makes any comprehensive, research-based monograph a formidable task. Narrowing the focus of the research has benefits in terms of what can be managed in a comprehensive way but will not, of course, appeal to publishers who want to market the book to as wide an audience as possible. W. Travis Hanes III has clearly attempted to straddle these conflicting goals in his account of British policy in the Sudan between 1945 and 1953.

The strength of the book is its analysis of the role played by the Sudan Political Service, and Sir James Robertson in particular, in Britain's attempts to define policy within the obscure framework of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. Hanes has examined Robertson's and others' private papers and done extensive work at the Public Record Office at Kew. What he reveals is the determination of the Sudan Political Service to resist Egypt's attempts to increase its influence in the Sudan and to oppose the tendency of the British Foreign Office to make concessions to the Egyptians (inevitably termed "appeasement") for the sake of better Anglo-Egyptian relations and defense requirements. Central to this strategy, until the Free Officers' coup brought Mohammed Neguib to power, was British support for Sudanese self-determination and for the constitutional arrangements necesary to achieve self-government quickly while preserving the influence of the Political Service. Such efforts were thwarted when Neguib agreed to deal with Sudanese leaders, behind the backs of the British, on a route to self-determination involving the Sudanization of the administration.

The interesting question of what motivated of the Sudan Political Service to fight for Sudanese self-determination is addressed, and this whole issue has relevance for the broader debate on the relative importance of the determinants of decolonization. Hanes argues that what drove the members of the Political Service was a sense of Sudanese "national" identity, even though the book itself does not provide any clear sense of Sudanese nationalism, as opposed to the religious and other differences that influenced Sudanese political parties in the pre-independence period.

In addition to the decolonization question, the title of the book indicates that Anglo-Egyptian relations are covered. In a sense this is true, given that British attempts to deal with the Sudan of necessity involved the Egyptians, who had a number of aims regarding the unity of the Nile valley under a common crown. The Sudan was one of two key issues bedeviling Anglo-Egyptian relations, however, the other one being the future of the British base in the Suez Canal



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zone and the peacetime presence of British troops. Attempts to settle these issues were pursued for much of the period up until 1954 and are so complex and important that several theses have already been written on them (covering different time periods). To try to relate all the various discussions to the Sudan question is beyond the scope of any single monograph, and the British "Documents on the End of Empire" series is devoting separate volumes to the Sudan and to Egypt's role in Middle Eastern defense.

Nevertheless, some analysis of the general relationship of these two issues cannot be avoided. Was it the Sudan that delayed the settlement with Egypt for eight years, as Hanes argues, or were Egyptian and defense matters the key stumbling blocks until 1953–1954? Clearly, the failure of the negotiations in 1946 was largely connected to the failure to reach an understanding on the Sudan, given the agreed draft treaty based on the peacetime evacuation of British forces. Yet because the British refused to concede this point again until 1953, the latter issue remained a cause of deadlock regardless of Britain's position regarding the Sudan.

Readers should be warned that there is no comprehensive coverage of Anglo-Egyptian relations. They should also be aware that there are only three pages dealing with the post–1953 period and that three quarters of the book deals with the years 1945–1948. In that sense the book's coverage is limited, but it does provide fascinating detail on the role of the Sudan Political Service that will be of interest to all those concerned with the broader questions of the end of the British Empire.

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FAWAZ A. GERGES. *The Superpowers and the Middle East: Regional and International Politics, 1955–1967.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1994. Pp. xiii, 274. Cloth $60.00, paper $18.95.

As British and U.S. archival materials from the 1950s and early 1960s have been declassified over the last decade, a spate of publications have examined what is certainly the most complex era in the post–World War II Middle East. There were a number of countervailing historical forces at work during this period, such as the decolonization process and Arab state-building in its wake, the rise of Arab nationalism, the formalization of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the beginning and intensification of the Arab cold war, and the imposition upon all of this of the superpower Cold War. In order to understand (and comprehend) this complex matrix, one must engage in a multi-level examination of these intertwined historical forces by analyzing events at the domestic, regional, and international levels. It is an arduous task for the researcher, and the result is often more complicated and ill-defined than the actual course of events. By conducting multi-archival research that utilizes both Arab and Western sources, however, Fawaz A. Gerges has delivered an excellent treatment of the period that is at once readable, informative, and objective.

The period Gerges covers is immensely important to the modern history of the Middle East; indeed, the origins of almost every significant element in the Middle East equation can be traced back to this block of time. The book substantively begins its examination in 1955, a year comprised of such momentous events as the formation of the Baghdad Pact, the Israeli raid in the Gaza Strip, and Egypt's pathbreaking arms deal with the Soviet Union. It was at this time that the international Cold War interfered in domestic and regional Middle Eastern politics. This set the stage for a linkage of events that culminated in the 1956 Suez war, the Jordanian/Syrian/Lebanese crises of 1957–1958, the intensification of the Arab cold war, and, finally, the watershed 1967 Arab-Israeli war, which, in and of itself, created the "occupied territories" situation, internationalized the Palestinian problem, sounded the death-knell to Nasserism, resuscitated Islamism, and intimately engaged the superpowers in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Most books on superpower-Middle East relations usually begin and/or focus on the dramatic confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union in the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. Gerges's book offers a cogent look at how this relationship developed and reached that point.

In addition, Gerges offers three important conclusions gleaned from factual evidence, the third of which has been overlooked far too often in the past: that the superpowers' ability to influence events in the Middle East was limited, and that, in fact, the "tail wagged the dog" as often as the obverse; that the relationship between the superpowers themselves, often waxing and waning between detente and Cold War confrontation, affected their relationships with the Arab states; and that the Israeli issue resulted in divisiveness within the Arab world as often as it united Arab states, in the process of which it laid the groundwork for the heightening of tensions and inter-Arab one-upsmanship that led to the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

A truly complete treatment of this period, however, awaits the distillation of Soviet archival sources. In addition, many of the books (including my own) that have come out in recent years on this and related topics have probably not given enough attention to the Israeli position in this complex matrix compared to that given to the relevant Arab states, possibly (and unconsciously) overcompensating for what has typically been in the past a dearth of analysis dissecting the positions of the Arab states and utilizing Arab sources. Regardless, however, Gerges's work, armed with newly available resource materials, expertly expands upon the foundation built by earlier works such as Malcolm H. Kerr's *The Arab Cold War* (1965) and Patrick Seale's *The Struggle for Syria* (1965). It is invaluable for Middle East history, political science, and international relations courses.

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ANNELIES MOORS. *Women, Property and Islam: Palestinian Experiences, 1920–1990*. (Cambridge Middle East Studies, number 3.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 274. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

There is a growing literature, both historical and anthropological, detailing the experiences of Palestinian women in the twentieth century. As Annelies Moors notes in her introduction, Middle Eastern studies in general has been characterized by relatively consistent attention paid to the position of women. As she correctly points out, however, there has at times "been a strong tendency to define women from this region as 'Muslim women' " (p. 2). The result has been not only a culturalist perspective but also an assumption of homogeneity that inhibits our ability to theorize an understanding of the specific lived experience of women's lives. In this study, Moors sets out to examine women's access to property both as a way of understanding processes of historical change and as a way of developing new theoretical perspectives. Her introduction is particularly thoughtful in its concise discussion of the ways she has conceptualized her work.

The main body of this book is divided into three sections. The first creates a framework by introducing the reader to the lives of four women. Each conveys specific individual experiences and makes clear differences of class as well as location (such as urban/rural differences). The discussion of women and inheritance further places the subject in the framework of historical and anthropological research, partially determined by divergent sources as well as differing methodologies. Moors raises the question of whether urban/rural dichotomies that appear in the literature might reflect more about the researchers and their methods than the subject they are studying.

The second section deals with the dower as a way of further understanding women's access to property. These chapters provide rich evidence of the complexity and variability that can be found by exploring the details of dower arrangements. They help us understand the position of women vis-à-vis their families of origin as well as their expectations of marriage. In this context, Moors makes clear the class as well as regional factors that influence women's strategies with regard to property. Moreover, she acknowledges from the first that her own access to information was affected by class distinctions: urban wealthy women were less willing to develop more informal open discussion with her.

Although Moors is always cognizant of factors that limit women's options, she focuses on the decision-making processes that integrate access to property into a broader perspective of women's efforts to ensure their own and their families' interests. Although she underlines evidence that points to a shift from the extended family to the conjugal family and with it the husband as provider, she does not develop this line of argument beyond the parameters of her focus on access to property. Similarly, Moors recognizes the distinctiveness of mother-daughter interactions with regard to property but does not go beyond noting it as an area for further work.

The last section of the book examines paid labor as affording access to property. In some ways, this section goes beyond the earlier focus on the family as the primary group mediating access to property, bringing in a broader social context. At the same time, the nature of Moors's study necessarily limits the degree to which this material can be developed. This results in statements that are inadequately elaborated such as the suggestion that women use gender as a form of resistance to the dictates of the market (p. 209).

The strengths of Moors's study lie in its detail and in the ways this detail is linked to issues of larger theoretical substance. It is far weaker in the provision of social and political context. The references to different historical periods, like the discussion of changes in economic organization, are at times too fragmentary, as they are seen primarily through their impact on individuals or families. The subtitle of this study, "Palestinian Experiences 1920–1990," is accurate to the degree that it is based on the experiences of Palestinians in the region of Jabal Nablus, but the ways in which this evidence can be generalized or understood to typify the broader Palestinian experience remain to be explored. Nevertheless, this is in many ways a fascinating and suggestive ethnographic study that raises questions about the relationship between written evidence and social practice that are useful for historians to consider.

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## AFRICA

MARY LEFKOWITZ. *Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History*. (A New Republic Book.) New York: BasicBooks of HarperCollins. 1996. Pp. xvii, 222. $24.00. MARY R. LEFKOWITZ and GUY MACLEAN ROGERS, editors. *Black Athena Revisited*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xxi, 522. Cloth $55.00, paper $18.95.

The two books under review appeared at about the same time and immediately became the subject of intense discussion, in part by Martin Bernal, whose *Black Athena* (1987) is the object of much of the criticism they contain. Both represent a defense of traditional scholarly approaches to the history of Greece and Egypt against the radically different claims that have been put forward by Bernal and the Afrocentrists.

Mary Lefkowitz's monograph is the more general of the two, in that it attacks the entire phenomenon of Afrocentrism, a movement most charitably seen as an attempt to view history without the distorting assumption that European culture is the goal toward which all other civilizations strive and to focus instead on the



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great achievements of African civilizations. But Lefkowitz's view is far from charitable. She views Afrocentrism as a direct attack on scholarship and democracy. Her final chapter is a plea for administrative action by universities against professors who teach what is "untrue."

Lefkowitz presents the evidence and arguments underlying classical scholars' objections to Afrocentric claims clearly and concisely, in tones of long-suffering exasperation that occasionally crescendo to outrage. She argues convincingly that neither Egypt nor its Hyksos overlords conquered Greece (as Bernal has claimed), that the Egyptians and other North Africans were not "Ethiopian," and that Cleopatra and Socrates were Greek rather than black. Her arguments are well supported by the evidence she cites, although in at least one case her interpretation overreaches: noting that "Minoan Greek" frescoes have now been found at the Egyptian site of Tell el-Daba, the capital city of Egypt's Hyksos conquerors, she erroneously suggests that "the Hyksos came from Greece to Egypt rather than vice versa." Not only were the Hyksos clearly Syro-Palestinian, but their taste in wall decoration is hardly a good indication of their origins; and there is no evidence that Minoan culture prior to the Thera eruption was "Greek."

The centerpiece of the book is its argument against the view that an Egyptian system of mystical and philosophical knowledge was adopted by the Greeks, as claimed by the ancient (Greek) sources themselves, by the Masonic tradition, and by modern Afrocentrists. In dealing with the ancient sources, Lefkowitz argues that Greek writers exaggerated and invented Egyptian influences to connect themselves to an older and more impressive culture, noting that the postulated Egyptian-Greek connections became more intense and detailed in later texts than they were in earlier ones, which suggests that the stories grew in the telling.

Against the early modern Masonic traditions of an "Egyptian Mystery System," Lefkowitz argues that Egypt had no such system and that the Hermetic literature and secret initiation rites from which the tradition derives are purely Greek. This oversimplifies a complex problem. Some Egyptologists, including the two writers Lefkowitz depends on for Egyptian religion, T. G. H. James and S. Morenz, have claimed that Egyptian religion was neither systematic nor mystical; but there is an increasing recognition that control over a restricted body of knowledge was important for cult functionaries and that the acquisition of such knowledge was probably marked by an initiation rite. (See E. F. Wente, "Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* [1982] and J. Baines, "Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* [1990].) Interestingly, Baines quotes Morenz and James specifically as examples of the "patronizing" belief that the Egyptians had no "system." Similarly exaggerated is Lefkowitz's claim that Egyptian hieroglyphs were "used primarily as letters" (and not as arcane symbols, as the Greeks thought); in fact, the "enigmatic" use of hieroglyphs was quite common in temple inscriptions of the Late Period and had a long history. Although such points may not affect Lefkowitz's ultimate conclusions, the Egyptian evidence deserves more care than she seems to have given it. The Hermetic writings also have more direct Egyptian influences than Lefkowitz allows, as G. Fowden has argued in *The Egyptian Hermes* (1986) and as seems likely to be confirmed by the recent discovery by K.-Th. Zauzich and R. Jasnow of a "Book of Thoth," a demotic Egyptian text that parallels the Hermetic texts in form, though not in content.

Lefkowitz's arguments against the more radical claims of Afrocentrists such as M. Garvey, G. James, and C. A. Diop are more straightforward, coming down in many cases to chronology. For example, Aristotle could not have "stolen" his philosophy from the library at Alexandria because it was not founded until long after his death. Overall, while a better case might be made for the Egyptian origin of the mysteries of the Isis cult and the Hermetica than she allows, Lefkowitz seems justified in concluding that there is no evidence that the Greeks "borrowed" or "stole" their tradition of philosophical argument from the Egyptians.

*Black Athena Revisited*, edited by Lefkowitz and Guy MacLean Rogers, is a collection of twenty essays more specifically critiquing Bernal's *Black Athena*; it is less consistently polemical than Lefkowitz's solo volume. Like *Black Athena* itself, the critiques cover a broad range of scholarly disciplines. In general, their authors agree that Bernal's critique of the racism of nineteenth-century classicists has some justice (although the amount varies), but they argue that throughout his work he has ignored the requirements of modern historical, linguistic, archaeological, and literary method, as well as evidence that might weigh against his thesis.

Lefkowitz introduces the book with a short version of her *Not Out of Africa* thesis followed by a critique of the work of Bernal, whom she views as "culpable" for providing "an apparently respectable underpinning for Afrocentric fantasies."

The first three essays are by Egyptologists. J. Baines's essay is a cogent critique of Bernal's methodology, noting his Eurocentric attitude toward the Egyptian evidence and his credulity and lack of context in dealing with ancient sources. D. O'Connor points out specific misinterpretations of evidence, showing that the textual sources that Bernal cites for Egyptian dominance in Asia during the Middle and New Kingdoms do not support his conclusions. He also compares the archaeological evidence for an Egyptian presence in Nubia (where Egypt really did exercise "suzerainty") to that in the Aegean and finds markedly different patterns. F. Yurco attempts a broad Egyptological review of Bernal's claims, offering a good summary of the discredited Dynastic Race hypothesis and a survey of Middle and New Kingdom Egyptian



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relations with Western Asia and Europe. Much of his argument will be obscure to non-Egyptologists, however, and his discussion of chronology is overlong, given the obvious methodological problems with Bernal's outdated chronological framework.

The section on "Race" begins with an essay by K. Bard. Her claim that the linguistic evidence demonstrates "the relative isolation of speakers of Egyptian" is overstated, given that no other contemporary African languages are known. She leaves the question of biological race open and concludes with a brief description of artistic representations and a survey of Egyptian-Nubian relations. F. Snowden's essay discusses the color terms used by the Greeks to describe Egyptians, Nubians, Indians, and other foreign people. Based on his opinion that *only* people described as *aethiopes* (Ethiopian) "correspond roughly to the concept of blacks or Negroes as generally understood in modern usage," he concludes that the Egyptians were not black since they are not so described. L. Brace attacks the question of the ancient Egyptians' race by comparing cranial dimensions that offer no evolutionary adaptive advantage (to rule out traits that might be selected for in unrelated populations). He produces several "dendrograms," illustrating contradictory patterns of relationship among various populations; but clearly not all adaptive factors have been excluded from his analysis, since he cites one of these dendrograms to illustrate the effect of an adaptive trait: long noses moisten dry air, so the inhabitants of hot, dry Somalia cluster with the inhabitants of cold, dry Europe rather than hot, wet West Africa. He concludes, as have many other physical anthropologists, that racial categories have no scientific reality.

The section on the (non-Egyptian) Near East contains only a single short article by S. B. Morris, who protests that Bernal has given undue attention to Egypt's contributions to Greece, obscuring Western Asia's role as a transmitter of those contributions and its own. Her discussion of the political and social effects of *Black Athena* is overstated, however; at one point she seems to blame it for the troubles in Bosnia, and she claims that the debate "has terrorized teachers and campuses."

The critique of Bernal's linguistic arguments by linguist J. H. Jasanoff and classicist A. Nussbaum is devastating. They first introduce linguistic method, describing the consistent patterns of sound changes and preserved meaning that can be found in undoubted borrowings; they then demonstrate the inconsistencies in the etymologies Bernal has proposed, both in phonetics (Bernal sees Egyptian b in Greek b, p, and ph) and in semantics (Greek *xeno*, meaning "a person from another city . . . with whom one enjoys a warm and often generations-long friendship," is, Bernal claims, derived from West Semitic śn' "hate, enemy"). The early Mycenaean forms of many of the names and words Bernal analyzes also argue against his etymologies.

The chapter on Egyptian sciences by R. Palter argues that the Egyptians never developed the mathematical astronomy, mathematics supported by demonstration, and analytical medical research that are known from ancient Greece. He makes a convincing case, but it does not necessarily follow that the Egyptians' more general observations and hypotheses were unimportant in the development of the more rigorous Greek sciences. Bernal does not stress science, so much of the chapter is devoted to refuting the claims of other writers such as C. A. Diop and J. Papademos.

The section on Greece begins with E. Vermeule's essay on Bernal's archaeological evidence for his claims of Egyptians in Greece. She points out that speculative linguistic connections and Greek mythology and literature outweigh archaeology in the purportedly archaeological volume of *Black Athena*, and she shows how badly the archaeological evidence correlates with Bernal's hypotheses. The essay by J. E. Coleman covers similar ground, demonstrating problems with Bernal's methods in analyzing language, archaeology, and myth. Coleman also argues that Bernal's "Aryan Model" is a "straw man," since modern interpretations, like the ancient views of his "Ancient Model, " are far from unanimous. L. A. Tritle focuses on what he sees as Bernal's extreme diffusionist views and the flimsy archaeological evidence that supports them. He also notes instances in which Bernal has misrepresented the evidence or the views of the scholars whose work he criticizes.

The historiographical section begins with E. Hall's critical discussion of Bernals mythological sources. Hall argues that Bernal has ignored the earlier versions of myths in favor of later variants that tend to show foreign origins, often because of Athenian attempts to stress the non-Greek nature of rival city states. Articles by R. Palter, R. E. Norton, and R. Jenkyn contest Bernal's characterizations of individual scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth century as racist, showing several clear cases where Bernal has misunderstood European intellectual history. M. Liverani accuses Bernal of throwing out the baby (nineteenth-century methodological advances in historical research) with the bathwater (nineteenth-century racist opinions). In the final chapter and the conclusion, Rogers, co-editor of the volume, charges Bernal with writing about his personal identity crisis rather than the ancient Mediterranean, on very little evidence. Unsurprisingly, he concludes that Bernal's work is flawed throughout.

The most telling points made by the authors concern the chronological problems with Bernal's work, his unscientific approach to linguistic borrowing, his overreliance on the historicity of myths, and the general Eurocentricity of his approach.

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R. W. BEACHEY. *A History of East Africa, 1592–1902.* (International Library of African Studies, number 3.)



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London: I. B. Tauris; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1996. Pp. xxxi, 464. $59.50.

R. W. Beachey's account of the East African past from the end of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth is more noteworthy for what it does not provide than for any particular contribution to the subject. It does not provide, first and foremost, a history of East Africa. Rather, it is an account of European involvement in the region in great, and often boring, detail. Although 1592 is given as the starting point of this involvement (the date Beachey gives for the first English visitor to the east coast of the continent), more than three-quarters of the text details the period from the 1880s to 1902.

What is also noteworthy about Beachey's book, and most unfortunate, is the absence of any account of the history of the indigenous inhabitants. When they are mentioned, it is always from the perspective of Europeans. This is not the only fault that specialists in East African history will note with regret. Beachey's use of outdated and misleading terminology (such as Hamite and Nilo-Hamite) suggests a lack of appreciation of the past experiences of those people who figure so importantly in the history of the region but are absent from this work. Endless references to such figures as Frederick Lugard and Karl Peters contrast with little or no mention of peoples such as the Luhya or Sukuma.

Even in its exclusive focus on European activity in East Africa, including the "scramble for Africa" and the establishment of colonial rule, Beachey's book is noteworthy for its almost complete lack of new information or analytical insights that might make it of interest to academic specialists. The assertion, for example, that the introduction of the "hut tax" in the East Africa Protectorate "brought to the fore African personages" among the Kikuyu "who might be designated as 'chiefs' " (p. 436) can hardly be called revealing.

Perhaps in its emphasis on an engaging narrative at the expense of analysis, Beachey's book is meant to appeal to the general reader in Europe or the United States. As it stands, however, the book is noteworthy as a relic of the old imperialist school of historiography that I had hoped was long dead and buried.

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SEPPO SIVONEN. *White-Collar or Hoe Handle? African Education under British Colonial Policy 1920–1945.* (Bibliotheca Historica, number 4.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1995. Pp. 264.

The few Africanists in Finland should be proud of Seppo Sivonen book. Not only does it validate the legitimacy of a fledgling field, it also shows the value of international academic collaboration. Resources on Africa are meager in Finland, but Africanists there have developed contacts with scholars in other countries from which they are now beginning to reap rewards. Scholars of education should also be happy with the book, for it devotes attention to a period that has so far been neglected. We know much about education in Africa in the years from 1842 to 1919, when the foundation was being laid, and the post–1945 era, when schools expanded at a phenomenal pace but far less about the intervening decades. Sivonen has missed an opportunity, however, to compare and contrast the essential characteristics of the various phases, especially those relating to educational planning, and the increasing role of the colonial state.

"I hotly oppose the extension of the system of European education to the great majority of natives who are still untouched," declared Charles Temple, Lieutenant-Governor of Northern Nigeria in 1918, because Africans "should be encouraged and assisted to develop on lines natural to them to become valuable members of the empire" (p. 11). Sivonen's book appears to have been constructed around this arrogant statement regarding the objectives of Western education and the various responses to it by egoistic British officers, overzealous missionaries, and ambitious Africans. The book deals with educational planning in the British African colonies, as initiated both by the colonial state and the International Missionary Council (IMC). It is a dense historical narrative, written with sympathy for the views of those in power.

As Sivonen points out in chapters two to six, from the point of view of the colonial government, the actualization of its selfish objectives decided the educational policy to pursue. By and large, it was thought that education must not instigate political radicalism but should provide sufficient manpower to meet the demands of trade and administration. The majority of the population, colonial administrators believed, should be left uneducated so that they may serve as agricultural producers, and higher education should be ignored in favor of primary education. Contrary to the impression created in the book, official policy was rather fluid and much influenced by the fear of nationalism, shifts in the implementation of colonial objectives, and constant pressure by an emerging African elite.

Christian missions occupied a preeminent position in the delivery of education, doing more than administrators wanted them to do. The missionaries, too, had an agenda: Christianity was to displace indigenous cultures and supply new moral and social values. Although it is true that the collaboration between the state and church led to some coordination, the end results were not as satisfactory as Sivonen claims. Missionaries were not happy that the state slowed down the expansion of education and Christianity in Islamic areas. The colonial officers did not appreciate the Christianized African elite's willingness to stand up to them and aggressively demand independence. Africans regarded educational progress as slow and always demanded changes, far beyond what the colonial regimes could offer. Chapters seven and eight make



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excellent comments on the nature of these demands, notably the establishment of universities and more secondary schools. The voice of the African champions seems subdued, however, owing to Sivonen's reliance on largely British sources. Also, he fails to evaluate adequately the impact of African demands on educational planning.

The book is successful in its interpretation of the functions of education. Sivonen establishes the connection between Western education and the political and economic objectives of British rule as well as the desire for evangelization by the IMC. The stress on the impact of education on African culture is important, although the presentation does not do sufficient justice to how Africans interpreted the outcome. Neither does the book comment adequately on the failure of colonial education to attain political integration, minimize the problems of ethnic conflicts, promote the education of women, and lay a solid foundation for genuine economic development. The sources at Sivonen's disposal cannot enable an analysis of the profound consequences of Western education and what it represented to a new generation of Africans in a colonial milieu. Its weaknesses notwithstanding, the book marks a significant beginning in the understanding of modern educational planning in Africa during the interwar years.

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TERENCE RANGER. *Are We Not Also Men? The Samkange Family and African Politics in Zimbabwe 1920–64*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann or Baobab, Harare, or David Philip, Cape Town, or James Currey, London. 1995. Pp. x, 211. Cloth $60.00, paper $24.95.

This is the biography of an extraordinary Zimbabwean family. The lives of the Reverend Thompson Douglas Samkange and his sons, Sketchley and Stanlake, span the dramatic period from the first white presence in Zimbabwe in the 1890s to independence in 1980. With subtlety and sensitivity, Terence Ranger weaves together the ideas, aspirations, and ideals of the Samkanges. The book is anchored in primary sources and interviews. Ranger rescued the Reverend Samkange's papers, which had been kept in a tin trunk in a damp, termite-infested laundry; interviewed those who were still alive and who knew different members of the family; and examined newspaper articles and letters in the National Archives. Above all, he has recorded "the history of the Samkange family in their own words. These allow the reconstruction not only of events but also of ideas, and profound ideas at that" (p. x). Through the Samkanges, Ranger also charts the increasing significance of Zimbabwean elites in African politics.

The Reverend Samkange was a Methodist minister, but he was more than a man of the cloth. For him, the road to politics was through the Methodist Church. Thompson's wife, Grace Samkange, was a central participant in all of this. She was a "modernizer" and "a woman with a voice." His education and personal growth allowed him to move beyond conventional gender roles as a family man. Theirs was a progressive marriage and a real partnership at a time when minister's wives were expected to take the lead in "women's work" (p. 39).

Thompson Samkange was elected president of the Southern Rhodesia Bantu Congress in 1943, when the movement was becoming a mass membership organization. This was a time of change for African nationalism. With the end of World War II, a move toward radicalism became part of the discourse. By the time Thompson's tenure ended in 1948, he faced contradictions and disappointments. "Ideologically, he was really not in sympathy with a 'totalitarian' view of nationalism, in which a single movement would organize and orchestrate the 'branches of the people's life' . . . he stood for a 'representative' view, one in which recognized (and Christian) leaders were entrusted by the branches of civil society with the right and duty of representing them" (p. 120). He was feeling tired, under great pressure, and increasingly out of touch with what "the new order of things demanded" (p. 119). He was not only running the Congress but also the African Missionary Conference. He was criticized for the way in which he was administering the Pakame school, fighting with officials and white missionaries. After serving the movement, he retired as president in 1948, opening the way for a new generation of leadership that he had helped to nurture.

Thompson's sons Stanlake and Sketchley shared common values but differed in temperament, ideology, and commitments. Stanlake showed intellectual promise, and his parents made sacrifices to send him to Fort Hare College in South Africa. On his return from Fort Hare, Stanlake chose not to participate in nationalist politics but played a prominent role in the multi-racial Central Africa Party. Stanlake's journey was to lead him to Indiana University, first in 1957 and then again in 1965, when he began work on a Ph.D. in African history. Unlike Stanlake, Sketchley, the youngest of the Samkange children, did not excel at school. He became involved in nationalist politics and, in 1959, when the government declared a state of emergency, he was arrested. On his release he no longer had a job and was no longer wanted as a Sunday school teacher. Soon after, however, he became involved in the founding of an organization, the National Democratic Party, which moved African nationalism in new directions. Ranger argues that "Sketchley did indeed work hard to set up party structures, including Youth League branches, that he intended these structures to produce massive demonstrations and campaigns of passive resistance; but he neither planned nor could control the spontaneous urban violence which broke out from July 1960 onwards" (p. 181). The contrasting roles of the brothers are clearly etched. Stanlake watched Sketch-



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ley "as journalist, brother, and politician—with astonished admiration" (p. 183). Ironically, in the charged atmosphere, both brothers ended up in prison. Stanlake was ultimately to resign from the Central Africa Party and Sketchley died in a tragic drowning accident in Malawi in 1961. In 1964, Stanlake joined the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), the successor of the National Democratic Party, and did a great deal to sustain it within Zimbabwe, especially after it was banned. In 1965, he returned to the United States to work on a doctorate. This opened up a new period in Stanlake's life. He became an influential novelist and historian with such works as *On Trial for My Country* (1966), and *The Origins of Rhodesia* (1968). He founded and nurtured Nyatsime Teachers College and, later, played an advisory role in the mid-1970s in Bishop Abel Muzorewa's interim government.

The issues raised by the father and the sons continue to be salient: "The questions which have arisen in this book remain all too relevant to the new Zimbabwe. Thompson and Stanlake's reluctance to see all associational life devoured by an engrossing nationalism has found many echoes in the recent resistance to the idea of the one-party state and in the current revival of civil society" (p. 206).

This is an elegant and insightful book that makes a splendid contribution to social history and widens our understanding of important actors in Zimbabwe's political evolution.

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SHARON E. HUTCHINSON. *Nuer Dilemmas: Coping with Money, War, and the State*. (A Centennial Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 408. Cloth $50.00, paper $18.00.

Americans should respect the history of any community whose commitment to libertarian values in some significant respects exceeds their own. One such culture is that of the Nuer of South Sudan, whose recalcitrance under colonial rule summoned the attentions of the eminent E. E. Evans-Pritchard, in whose gifted hands they became the personification of certain principles in classical anthropology. Key Nuer institutions (marriage being a conspicuous example) structured society along the axes of gender and age. Politics in the community typically comprised struggle or settlement among the elements of this array of differently endowed groups. Significant history, in the absence of kings or other known leaders, lay in transformation of the institutions that governed how the array of age and gender statuses were distributed and rewarded. Sharon E. Hutchinson, a contemporary anthropologist alert to the chronological dimension of human experience, has traced with care how institutions central to the society of the Nuer have changed between their encounter with Evans-Pritchard in the early 1930s and her own fieldwork in the early 1980s. This volume combines four previously published articles and an equal body of new material.

After a graceful and helpful chapter devoted to orientation, chapter two discusses the impinging demands of a money-oriented world on Nuer society over the period 1930–1980. It charts the elaboration of an intricate and evolving architecture of morally charged spheres of exchange involving variously valued categories of people, cattle, and cash. "[I]f there is one conclusion of my analysis that merits special emphasis," Hutchinson writes, "it is this: One cannot predict a priori how money will be conceptualized and incorporated by other peoples" (p. 102). Yet the overall direction of historical process is unmistakable: the presence of even a potential option to commoditize values has opened a whole series of renegotiations of received ways of thinking and acting.

Until recently, Nuer who desired to kill did so with spears, and they acted in the conviction that homicide brought with it a state of profound ritual pollution. There was a remedy, but it entailed both identification of the killer and payment of compensation to the family of the victim. Chapter three describes the catastrophic transformation of Nuer homicide since 1930, as the introduction of firearms made possible anonymous and increasingly guilt-free killing.

An extended fourth chapter, couched in conventionally anthropological idiom, fills important ethnographic lacunae concerning gender relations. It goes on to analyze the rise of Nuer womanhood at the expense of their menfolk since 1930 as successive governments imposed by Khartoum stripped male Nuer of their erstwhile roles as defenders of the community. Colonial courts might have sought to bolster the still-dominant but increasingly shaky power of males in matrimony, but they simultaneously weakened the bonds that kept females married in the first place. The gerontocracy was increasingly beleaguered; new sources of wealth available through labor migration and trade allowed the young and restless to defy their elders' grip on access to female sexuality. On the strength of Hutchinson's evidence, a far-reading redefinition of the institution of Nuer marriage is presently underway.

In 1930, important sets of interactions in Nuer society were patterned by extensive networks of relationship defined in terms of the incest taboo, the violation of which was said to produce unhealthy children who died (a self-fulfilling prophecy in an environment where more than half of all children died in any event). Chapter five describes the loosening of some, but not all, of the incest restrictions during the last half century under the cumulative impact of money, Christianity, and war. The pace and nuances of change differ among the eastern and western branches of the Nuer community.

Chapter six focuses on the rite of facial scarification with which boys of the 1930s were initiated into manhood. The rite was increasingly rejected in the decades to follow by those who attained Western



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education or urban occupations. Because it was the latter groups who attained positions of local authority under successive Khartoum governments, the pros and cons of scarification became an idiom for the discussion of Nuer participation in modern politics.

Chapter seven discusses the lessening role of cattle sacrifice in Nuer religious practice. It also traces the diverse channels through which Christianity and Islam have increasingly impressed themselves on the community. Hutchinson gives special attention to living bearers of the Nuer prophetic tradition, who she sees as striving toward cultural synthesis and peace.

In this exemplary work of social history, Hutchinson touches at points on the controversial role played by the Nuer in the long Sudanese civil war, but *caveat lector*: she assumes that the reader already possesses substantial background understanding and a sophisticated critical acumen. For example, one would need to know from elsewhere that Hutchinson's most frequently named informant, Riak Machar Teny, was, during the period of her fieldwork, on the verge of defecting from the southern cause and has since joined the Islamic fundamentalist regime in Khartoum.

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## ASIA

LINDA COOKE JOHNSON. *Shanghai: From Market Town to Treaty Port, 1074–1858*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 440. $49.50.

This book comes replete with good intentions and seeks to fill an important gap in the rapidly developing literature on the important city of Shanghai. Aspects of Shanghai's twentieth-century experience have received much recent attention, but the nineteenth century and the city's pre–treaty port history lack assessment and synthesis. Linda Cooke Johnson sets out to reconstruct the history of Shanghai's past before the establishment of the foreign settlements after 1843.

Johnson quite rightly argues that the widely propagated triumphalist myth that foreign residents found empty mud flats at Shanghai and turned them into China's greatest city is just plain wrong. Using county gazetteers, Maritime Customs archives, and guild materials, she develops the thesis that, although in relative decline, the city had been and continued to be an important port before the arrival of the British. Why, after all, insist on opening up Shanghai to foreign trade in the first place if it was not already recognized as an important trading center? Recent secondary Chinese literature, liberally cited in this study, also serves to strengthen this view. Johnson's second aim is to present a "China-centered" history of the city in the years immediately following the Western arrival, locating treaty-port practice in existing Chinese modes of accommodating and containing foreign traders and internal migrant or sojourner groups. There is much in this approach that adds usefully to what we already know about the Inner Asian origins of the treaty port system. Johnson is also aware of the histories of other cities and other countries, and she is keen to locate her work and its conclusions outside the Chinese history ghetto.

Johnson's good intentions are not, however, adequately realized. The first half of this volume deals with Shanghai from 1074 to 1842, but there is little of interest that has not already been presented in Johnson's estimable article, "Shanghai: An Emerging Jiangnan Port, 1683–1840," in the volume she edited, *Cities of Jiangnan in Late Imperial China* (1993). Moreover, her methodological concern with reconstructing the morphology of the city leaches the color out of the text. This city is strangely devoid of people and lived experience.

The second half of the book, which documents for comparative purposes the establishment of the foreign presence and the continuities, difficulties and mutual incomprehensibilities of the process, adds little to John Fairbank's analysis of the same process (*Cambridge History of China*, volume 10, *Late Ch'ing: 1800–1911*, part 1 [1978]). Johnson is certainly more robust in her China-centered take on these events (although her use of sources is less so), but her account is problematic. Her parallels between the British settlement (the "English guild" [p. 202]) and other "outsider" guilds are witty but overdrawn. The salient difference is that Shanghai was one of five British settlements, operating under the direction of a minister based in Hong Kong and answerable to London.

The wider treaty port context, and the context of empire, are both largely ignored by Johnson, but empire matters. This error is not hers alone; much recent writing on Shanghai in particular and China generally makes the same mistake. But Johnson plainly does not understand the British (nor the difference between English and British, nor the fact that the "British" presence included Parsees and Sephardic Jews from British India). Her treaty port residents are unrecognizable to me as a historian of the Western presence: they are caricatured as resolutely bourgeois, white, Anglican, and racist. Moreover, to suggest that Franco-British tensions in the city in 1853–1854 were "ethnic" in character (p. 244) is plain daft. Historians of British imperialism certainly need to be made aware of the impact and character of the British presence in China, but this sketch is a disappointment.

Two areas in particular concern Johnson and thematically bridge the two halves of the text. The first is her identification of the development of a public sphere in the city. Much of the evidence presented, however, is morphological and unconvincing—her sources here are just too narrow—and it does not engage the fierce debate in progress about the utility of this concept in the Chinese context. The second, related theme is guild organization and activity in and adjoining the city. Much space is devoted to description, but the arguments Johnson derives from this description are not enlightening. The reader would be



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better directed to the work of the here-ignored Bryna Goodman, especially her *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853–1937* (1995).

Johnson's approach and language present further problems. Anachronistic terms and concepts pepper the volume—"When the Yuan government came to power," for example (pp. 38–39)—and the text is highly repetitive. We are informed three times that Mark Elvin has written of a fire brigade operated by one particular guild (pp. 153, 263, 342), although the number of men it employed does at least vary from page to page. There is little life here and no sense of the wildness of the new order developing along China's coast. This partly results from Johnson's limited use of foreign sources; this work on commerce fails to use the archives of Jardine, Matheson, and company, to point out just one example, and the centrality of religious practice to her arguments has not prompted her to examine the archives of the London Missionary Society.

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EDWARD L. DREYER. *China at War, 1901–1949*. (Modern Wars in Perspective.) New York: Longman. 1995. Pp. x, 422.

The history of China in the first half of this century is a history of warfare. Western academic studies, however, have generally focused on political, economic, and social concerns; military matters get slight treatment. Edward L. Dreyer's work, part of Longman's "Modern Wars in Perspective" series, is a valuable corrective. Here is a textbook survey of five decades of Chinese history from a military perspective—the first such work since F. F. Liu's *Military History of Modern China, 1929–1949* (1956). In Dreyer's study, the Revolution of 1911 is covered as a military event, a departure from the standard emphasis on emerging political and social forces. The May Fourth movement gets quick treatment, while the organization, size, and weaponry of the warlord armies are detailed. The later civil war between the Nationalists and Communists is examined as a military conflict, with Chiang Kai-shek's overextension into the northeast in 1945–1947 presented as the key to Communist victory rather than peasant mobilization.

Dreyer begins his study with a discussion of Peking's December 1903, plan for creating a new modern army of thirty-six divisions. Although so large a force was never realized, the resulting Peiyang Army dominated Chinese politics for much of this period. Dreyer also covers the technical details of equipment and tactics, generally taking a very negative view of the caliber of the Chinese military. He argues that "until 1949 China's civil wars could be fought with an obsolete and essentially early nineteenth-century (by Western standards) infantry tactics" (p. 81).

Dreyer's study is a synthesis based on secondary sources. He extensively uses recent research by Donald Sutton, Donald Jordan, Gavan McCormack, Hsi-sheng Ch'i, Frank Dorn, and myself as well as classic studies by John Fairbank, Chalmers Johnson, Li Chien-nung, Charles Romanus and Riley Sunderland, and F. F. Liu. His coverage of such sources is thorough, although this work might have been strengthened had Dreyer used *China's Bitter Victory: The War with Japan, 1937–1945*, edited by James C. Hsiung and Steven I. Levine (1992), particularly the new material in the chapter by Hsi-sheng Ch'i, as well as Steven Levine's *Anvil of Victory: The Communist Revolution in Manchuria, 1945–1948* (1987). I personally would have adopted more of the analysis of Hsi-sheng Ch'i on Japan's ICHIGO offensive rather than relying on the much earlier study by Charles Romanus and Riley Sunderland.

This is a time of great flux in the study of modern Chinese history, with both the opening of new archives in China and an explosion of academic work there since the mid-1980s. Much of this material is only now being worked into the secondary literature. Forthcoming work by established scholars such as Arthur Waldron (on warlords), David Barrett and Timothy Brook (on Japanese puppet governments), and Japanese historian Mark Peattie, as well as studies by recent Ph.D.s such as Yu Shen (whose dissertation covers Tai Li, Milton Miles, and SACO), will probably require Dreyer to update his book within the next few years.

In the meantime, this remains a useful corrective to the previous neglect of military factors. It will serve as a supplementary text in standard courses on modern China or in those that treat comparative military history.

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JOSEPH K. S. YICK. *Making Urban Revolution in China: The CCP-GMD Struggle for Beiping-Tianjin, 1945–1949*. (Studies on Contemporary China; An East Gate Book.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1995. Pp. xxv, 233. Cloth $60.00, paper $22.50.

In recent years, studies of the Chinese Revolution have focused strongly on the local forms of struggle that proliferated in China's different provinces and localities, seeking to overthrow the idea of a single revolutionary process controlled by Mao Zedong and his armies. Another recent trend consists of studies, published and in press, that explore China's urban labor movement and themes in urban political sociology. This outstanding book by Joseph K. S. Yick on Beiping (now Beijing) and Tianjin joins together these two approaches, studying the urban context of the Chinese civil war of 1945–1949.

Yick argues that old explanations of China's Communist revolution that stressed peasant mobilization and military power do not go far enough. They must be complemented by an understanding of the role played



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in the victory of the revolution by political conflict between Communists and Nationalists on the "second battlefront" in the urban areas (p. 110). He criticizes the dearth of studies in the West on Chinese Communism in the cities, despite the abundance of primary sources and secondary works published in China since 1978. His book is the first outside of China to make systematic use of these materials.

Yick finds that the principal focus of Communist political action in Beijing and Tianjin after 1945 was the student movement and that workers, ostensibly the revolution's vanguard, were rarely targeted by the party's urban strategists. It was crucial that the urban movement built by the Communists in the two cities (which Yick analyzes as models for the "peaceful liberation" (pp. 176–177) of other cities in the civil war) was coordinated with military attacks by Communist armies based in the surrounding countryside. The urban movement also functioned as a second power that preserved property and administration during the period of dual power in the cities on the eve of the Nationalist collapse, and it came to form the backbone of a stable urban administration during "national reconstruction" after 1949.

The urban movement assisted peasant revolution by politically neutralizing the Nationalists in their strongholds. The urban policies of the Nationalists alienated precisely those educated classes that the communists chiefly targeted. The Communists in the towns, Yick contends, formed an urban shield behind which their comrades in the villages could build military and political power. Despite Mao Zedong's anti-urban rhetoric, the cities were always a powerful support for armed struggle in the countryside; in the last stages of the civil war, the cities were the chief objects of Communist attention. Although their fall was essentially due to outside military pressure, agitation from within critically weakened the Guomindang's resistance.

Yick's study adds to and radically revises our understanding of the causes of Communist success in the civil war. Clearly organized, lucidly written, and based on a vast research effort in newly available materials, its impact will extend beyond Chinese Communist studies to the growing literature on Chinese urban sociology and the broader field of labor history.

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W. G. BEASLEY. *Japan Encounters the Barbarian: Japanese Travellers in America and Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 252. $30.00.

Intriguing questions confront historians assessing Japan's decision to initiate the direct study of the Western world in the 1860s, after Americans and Europeans—the "barbarians" in the title of the book under review—forced open Japan's doors to trade and diplomatic relations with the West. How and why were official (and in some instances illegal) voyages organized toward the end of the Tokugawa period and in the early years of the Meiji government? What effect did the trips have on the travelers (who included six future prime ministers) and on the course of Japan's modern development? What were "the fruits of their experience" in terms of policies and ideas?

To assess the influence of these early voyages and voyagers on Japan's modern history, W. G. Beasley examined a rich collection of contemporary letters, diaries, reports, newspaper stories, Foreign Office archival materials, and other documents in both English and Japanese. In separate chapters, he describes the groups of Japanese diplomats and students who traveled abroad in the 1860s and 1870s "to do what needed to be done" in order to strengthen Japan (p. 201): the 1860 mission to America to ratify the 1858 U.S.-Japan Commercial Treaty; the 1862 mission to Europe to plead Japan's case for postponement of the opening of several ports to trade and also to study the reasons for the West's wealth and strength; another mission to Europe between 1865 and 1867, when Japanese representatives visited the Paris Exposition; the 1871–1873 Iwakura embassy to America and Europe to secure international recognition for the recently restored imperial regime and further efforts to renegotiate the unequal treaties; and the voyages of Japanese students between 1862 and 1868. Setting the stage for this narration of Japan's first official on-site inspection of Western countries, three introductory chapters cover the history of Japan's contacts with China, the European (mainly Dutch) influence in Japan between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the unequal treaties of the 1850s.

Beasley emphasizes the central role of the government in cultural borrowing: the acquisition of Western military skills and of related technology needed for maritime defense became part of government policy rather than private scholarship. Moreover, although no "unequivocal link [existed] between success and travel," a "very high proportion of the Japanese who traveled and studied overseas, even those who went privately, later pursued careers in government" (pp. 198–99). Like those Japanese emissaries who went to China in ancient times, students who visited the West returned home "experts on an alien civilization" (p. 183). Many entered occupations for which their newly-acquired Western learning prepared them, such as education, modern banking, and the engineering branches of the military.

The principal value of the book, however, lies not so much in these conclusions, which essentially confirm rather than challenge existing interpretations, as in the colorful details, enhanced by eight contemporary illustrations (one wishes there were even more) that help to convey the politics and logistics of Japan's initial efforts to learn from and about the West. Beasley describes, for example, exactly how and when samurai from the rebel domain of Satsuma, assuming false names, managed to sneak out of Japan in 1865 and, with the help of Scottish merchant Thomas Glover,



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reach London, where "members of the mission, except those who would be returning soon to Japan, had their hair cut short in the western manner" (p. 108). The future president of the Bank of Japan managed to outfit himself for study in the United States when he was thirteen by "put[ting] together an inelegant collection of odds and ends, including a pair of women's shoes" (p. 137).

Readers will savor the frank assessments of early Meiji leaders by English officials who met them in London in the early 1870s. Describing some of the men who had helped topple the Tokugawa regime, British chargé Francis Adams called Itō Hirobumi (whose English was apparently fluent) "a clever useful fellow, but easily got hold of by foreigners not always of the best class" and Kido Kōin (who did not understand English) a man of "the most fearless courage." Adams reserved his highest praise for Iwakura Tomomi, noting that "the Mikado's most trusted counsellor" not only "treats questions broadly, without that tendency to wander from the point which is a characteristic of so many Japanese" but also had "a conservative turn of mind," which served as "a wholesome check upon the almost republican tendencies of some of the ultra-progressive members of the government" (p. 161).

Unfortunately, Beasley gives only passing mention to the five girls who joined the Iwakura mission and stayed in the United States to study. The youngest, seven-year old Tsuda Umeko, spent eleven years abroad and eventually opened the first private college for girls in Japan. Tsuda College remains a leader in women's education. Another young woman on the mission later helped introduce Western musical education into Japan. As Dorothy Robins-Mowry has noted, the Meiji emperor even issued a special rescript in 1871 that "directed his aristocracy, when traveling abroad, to take with them their wives, daughters, and sisters, so that they might learn how women receive education and bring up children in other countries (*The Hidden Sun: Women of Modern Japan* [1983], p. 43).

More information on such female travelers would have added an important dimension to Beasley's description of overseas study missions and their significance for modern Japanese history. Still, students and scholars alike will appreciate the book's many other virtues, including the clear writing style, the thorough notes, and the thoughtfully prepared annotated bibliography.

GAIL LEE BERNSTEIN
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PETER DUUS. *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895–1910.* (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book; Twentieth-Century Japan: The Emergence of a World Power, number 4.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 480. $45.00.

Peter Duus returns to familiar ground with new primary source material to examine the motivations behind the Japanese penetration of Korea in the late nineteenth century. Duus first probes the motives of the imperialist coalition of metropolitan Meiji leaders, then surveys the composition and occupation of the Japanese business community in Korea, and concludes with images of the colonized and a new morphology of late nineteenth-century imperialism. A careful chronology and cogent analysis of motives among politicians and military leaders at home in the earlier section give way to broader profiles of investment on the peninsula and migration in the latter section. The former may bring closure to some controversies over Japanese motivation and planning regarding Korea, while the latter establish benchmarks to define early Japanese business policy and practice on the peninsula.

Among the rich lode of debates and policies in the initial section, three motifs lend credence to the theme of industrialization as a necessary but not sufficient condition of Japan's advance. Duus carefully documents the close linkage between Japanese promotion of institutional reform on the peninsula and Japan's own economic and political goals. A progression from the ambiguity of early Meiji policy to the clarity of Aritomo Yamagata's "cordon of interest" by 1890, culminating in the detailed plans for the Protectorate by May of 1904, suggests a growing consensus balancing strategic geo-political and market priorities. Yet a third motif highlighting policy conflicts such as that between General Hasegawa's "coerced change" and Itō Hirobumi's "guided change" through 1909 offers further evidence against the clear dominance of economic interests.

If politics and personalities dominate the first section, migration policies, marketing procedures and profiles, and a variety of enterprises and entrepreneurs take center stage in the second section. Countering the emphasis on Japanese state support for economic penetration by larger firms, Duus cites statistical evidence to argue that "trade developed not through a few large investments in an enclave but rather through the collective efforts of a large number of small entrepreneurs." More attention to issues of an enclave versus integrated economy would strengthen the argument, as would analysis of the interplay of large-scale infrastructural investment in transportation and finance supporting the entrepreneurial efforts of the expatriate community. Portraits of entrepreneurs and of community institutions embed the economic overview in excellent drama and detail and suggest tensions between economic motives of the immigrants and political priorities of the metropole.

The opening narrative about Meiji leaders provides abundant evidence for Duus's claims of a mixture of motives in the home islands, but the expansive rather than intensive narrative of the abacus does not sustain arguments for tension between state priorities and the material interests of an emerging expatriate society.



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The suggestion that "if the economic objectives of the abacus and the sword often matched, that did not mean that their political interests always meshed as well" (p. 363) indeed deserves further study, but it does not establish the thesis of a mixture of motives. Similarly, claims for "the synergistic nature of imperialist penetration where efforts of one set of Japanese with one set of motives reinforced the efforts of another set of Japanese with another set of motives" (p. 288) appear more a hypothesis than a conclusion. It is this remarkable synergy between sword and abacus on the peninsula that will prompt some to question Duus's initial emphasis on controversies and inconsistencies in Japan's Korea policy. Further study of mechanisms promoting a synergy or matching of strategic, political, and mercantile interests may bring to light the effective or dominant motives of Japanese imperialist expansion.

Scholars of comparative colonialism, imperial expansion, and Japanese and Korean history will find here a very ambitious monograph that both offers conclusions and generates new hypotheses regarding Japanese imperial expansion. Duus achieves his goal of disaggregating the imperialist coalition and reconstructing a mental world of imperial ambitions, nationalist ideals, and material interest. Subsequent scholarship on the institutions, associations, and personalities of a material world riven by military conquest and material gain may complete the picture of expansion so admirably documented and cogently argued here.

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GEORGE HICKS. *The Comfort Women: Japan's Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1995. Pp. 303. $25.00.

Scholars have produced a mountain of paper on imperial Japan, but they have neglected the story of enforced prostitution by the military. This absorbing and important book by George Hicks is, therefore, an especially welcome addition to the literature on Japan's invasion of China and the Pacific War.

The first "comfort stations" under direct control of the Japanese Army were established in Shanghai in 1932; prostitutes were imported from Japan to staff the new facilities. Over the following years, the number of stations grew as the military overran East and Southeast Asia. As the system expanded, however, the military, for the most part, turned the management of the stations over to private operators. "These civilian operators were given paramilitary status and rank, while the Armed Forces retained overall supervision and provided support in transport and health services as required" (p. 47).

By the end of World War II, between 100,000 and 200,000 young women had passed through the Japanese military's sex system. Although most recruits during the early years were volunteers, as the number of volunteers proved inadequate those who supplied women for the stations turned to abduction and coercion. "Slave raids" into Korea, which netted women for comfort stations and men for factories and mines, were not uncommon. Indeed, the majority of comfort women were Koreans. Hicks documents the terrible ordeal faced by these women: sexually transmitted diseases, malnutrition, tuberculosis, and brutality by drunken troops. One former comfort woman, who was kidnapped, recalls that she "was forced to have sex with ten to twenty men a day. As a result I was continuously raw. Red raw. Sex was excruciating. Oh, you have no idea how painful it was!" (p. 13).

The most interesting chapters deal with Japan's collective amnesia on this subject. Although a book was published in Japanese in 1973 and more followed in the 1980s, authorities studiously ignored them. In 1991, however, a legal action taken by three former Korean comfort women brought the issue of enforced prostitution to worldwide attention. Documents uncovered in the Self Defence Agency Library, which proved the link between comfort stations and the military, were published in 1992. Faced with this proof, the government admitted the military's involvement but refused demands for compensation by former comfort women. Meanwhile, supporters of these women were urging the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations to investigate the matter. After Hicks completed his manuscript, a United Nations report (1996) recommended that Japan pay compensation to surviving comfort women, and the Japanese government encouraged the creation of a private fund for that purpose.

Hicks deserves praise for presenting this topic to a wide readership and for drawing upon sources in Japanese, Korean, and other languages. Nevertheless, the author and his editor also deserve criticism for producing a poorly organized book in need of severe editing.

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P. POSPOS and MUHAMAD RADJAB. *Telling Lives, Telling History: Autobiography and Historical Imagination in Modern Indonesia;* Aku dan Toba *and* Semasa Kecil di Kampung. Translated, edited, and foreword by SUSAN RODGERS. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 333. Cloth $55.00, paper $20.00.

Susan Rodgers has made a substantial contribution to scholarship on Indonesia with these translations of two autobiographies of boyhood in Sumatra, one of the major islands of the postcolonial state of Indonesia. Although the memoirs describe life in the waning years of Dutch colonial rule, both books were published in 1950, less than a year after the Indonesians won their independence after fours years of war and revolution. The two books are well chosen and make for interesting comparisons: *Aku dan Toba* (Toba and Me) by P.



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Pospos tells a tale of growing up in a patrilineal Protestant area of northern Sumatra, home to the Toba Batak people, while *Semasa Kecil di Kampung* (Village Childhood) by Muhamad Radjab takes place in the matrilineal Islamic Minangkabau region of west Sumatra, just south of the Batak lands.

I decided to read the texts before Rodgers's introduction, and I found the translations lively and, I suspect, particularly accessible for non-Indonesianist readers. The use of endnotes means that the texts can be read without distraction; Indonesian-speakers, however, might wish for some examples of the original texts to illustrate Rodgers's translation strategies. What struck me as I moved from Pospos's text to Radjab's was the change in tone: Radjab's writing seems filled with nostalgia, more honest and more intimate than Pospos's crisp, ethnographic style.

Other comparisons and questions arose as I read the second text. There is an understandable absence of Dutch or European people in Radjab's tale of life in and around the rural Islamic schools (*surau*) of western Sumatra. In contrast, Pospos recounts the many encounters with Dutch or German teachers in the Dutch-language schools of the Protestant Batak region. The reader feels the oppression of colonial life much more strongly in Pospos's book: the young students are embarrassed to speak their stilted Dutch in front of their Dutch teachers, and the Batak women in the Dutch Middle School are ordered to stay away from their male student friends by the German churchwoman who ran the women's dormitory. As Rodgers briefly notes in her introduction, Radjab's story is concerned with the contradictions of village Islam and the inconsistencies of Islamic beliefs taught in the Minangkabau schools. Despite Radjab's growing disillusionment with his Islamic teachers and the knowledge they have to offer him, he paints a picture of an idealized village life full of friends, adventures, holidays, and feasts. This is the life he leaves behind with mixed emotions in order to pursue adventure and a more secular higher education in Batavia.

Rodgers's seventy-five-page introduction covers a lot of ground, but it does not answer several of the questions that her useful translations raised for me. Rodgers chooses to focus on the similarities between the two texts rather than their differences. While noting that Radjab's tale is "darker" (p. 22) than Pospos's and twice mentioning the feeling of longing in Radjab's book (pp. 47, 49), she offers no insights into this difference in tone. Rodgers is more concerned with the transitions from "tradition" to "modernity" evoked both books, and, surprisingly, she envisions the boys "imagining an Indonesian nation" (p. 44) as they leave their villages to encounter wider worlds and other Indies ethnic groups. For me, the boys' desire to leave the confines of village life fits in with older patterns of the Sumatran journey into adulthood rather than evoking particularly nationalist mentalities. Of more interest are Rodgers's discussion of autobiography as a literary genre and her analysis of the literary predecessors of her chosen texts.

Although an anthropologist, Rodgers has chosen to situate these texts within a discussion of their historical value, as the title of the book suggests by juxtaposing the idea of "telling lives" with "telling history." Here again, the results are less than satisfying, as the reader seeks answers to the kinds of historical questions that the texts raise. Although the texts may be similar to other fiction and autobiography written around the same time—as Rodgers clearly illustrates—I wanted to know how the texts compared with other histories and ethnographies of Sumatran life in the 1930s. What were the constraints on writing that may have shaped these stories? Most important, since the texts were published in 1950 after independence, why do both authors avoid any direct or even subtle discussion of the national activities of the late colonial period that led to the formation of Indonesian consciousness or the struggle against the Dutch? Are these texts evidence for an argument that the colonial experience in Sumatra may have been less about Indies peoples against the Dutch than historians have suggested?

More than anything, the authors of these texts imagine their boyhood selves seeking adventure and challenging the limits of both Islamic and European types of knowledge. Certainly questioning authorities is an important first step in imagining a postcolonial nation, but the story of how that postcolonial nation became a uniquely "Indonesian" one is not the focus of these books. *Toba and Me* and *Village Childhood* do more to evoke the pleasures and poignancies of village life under Dutch rule, and perhaps that is the point. After ten years of war, occupation, and revolution, those village boyhoods seem especially picturesque, mourning the loss of older ways of life as their authors face the challenges of the new nation. We must be grateful to Rodgers for allowing us to glimpse these vivid and nostalgic worlds.

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FRANCIS X. HEZEL. *Strangers in Their Own Land: A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands*. (Pacific Islands Monograph Series, number 13.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 473. $38.00.

Like the many islands of Micronesia, there are numerous details in this history of colonial rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands. Embedded in those details, however, is a history for the generalist as well the particularist. Repeatedly throughout this excellent book, a small incident contains a profound argument about power, styles of governance, and the meanings of national sovereignty. Francis X. Hezel modestly tells his readers that his is not a new historiography (p. xvi). Less modestly, he announces his intention to provide "a tale of the transformation of the Microne-



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sian people during a century of cultural upheaval that was probably unequaled in their history" (p. xv).

The tale is one of interplay between four sequential colonial regimes (Spain, Germany, Japan, and the United States) and the diverse island cultures they governed. It is also a tale of relationships among islands whose inhabitants did not always see eye-to-eye and among individuals who fought private and public battles in those islands. Hezel conveys both the unity of purpose exerted by a colonial government and the subversion of that purpose by administrators, teachers, islanders, and visitors. Unfailingly, too, he lets the reader know that Yap is as different from Chuuk as Japan from the United States, while at the same time he reminds us that certain dilemmas and debates haunt the colonial process (and the use of power) wherever colonialism occurs.

An outstanding element in this fine-grained analysis are the pictures—not only the illustrative photographs but also the visions of spectacle and spectator that, Hezel shows, constitute history for the actors. Islanders donning one uniform after another, watching quonset huts go up and go down, observing the cut through trees that began a road, seeing Japanese and then American soldiers run across the beaches: these and other scenes evoke a history through "their eyes." This history is thoroughly supported by archival materials, first-person testimonies, and secondary sources. Hezel acknowledges the power of the visual when he ends his book by describing the distinctive flags that now replace Spanish, German, Japanese, and American symbols of rule (p. 366). The scene epitomizes a theme of the book: global political and economic forces, whether colonial or post-colonial, cannot erode the distinctiveness each island claims.

Specific issues structure Hezel's historical account and are central to an understanding of the colonial experience anywhere in the world: the role of religion, education, health services, and civilian and military police in determining the transformation of thousands of people. The loaded issue of economic development receives a good deal of attention, and Hezel chuckles at its idealistic implementation by John F. Kennedy's Peace Corps.

Hezel's account of Japanese rule forms a centerpiece, not only in time but also in the lessons to be read from this scheme of colonization. In the sections on Japan, Hezel delineates the controversies and cross-pressures that make up a colonial agenda as well as the ambivalent and divided responses of a colonized population to the bringers of change. In contrast to the perhaps more benign but also more baffled American government, the Japanese knew what they were doing and therefore, Hezel implies, did the islands some good. The story of World War II and the American aftermath is one of rationalizations and of confusions about what it means to rule kindly and to value strategically—compounded by an attempt to respond to islander demands that ignored the real social and economic needs of island peoples.

There is no end to the tale, Hezel points out, but only the beginning of another period of transformation. In his sense of the ongoingness of these processes, of the importance of one man kicking a decrepit school (p. 297) and another noticing that while once he could park his car anywhere, now pick-up trucks fill island spaces (p. 321), Hezel tells a new history. His conventional historical techniques, including massive documentation, belie his unique vision: the humane perspective of a man who has spent three decades of his life in the islands and could not have told their histories conventionally if he had tried. This is a book worth reading for the specialist in Micronesia, for anyone who thinks about the changing forms and content of power, and for a lay reader who might like to know the fate of places (unfortunately) known chiefly for a bathing suit and a bomb test.

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MICHAEL BASSETT. *Coates of Kaipara*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. 1995. Pp. 325. $NZ39.95.

Gordon Coates was one of New Zealand's leading politicians in the 1920s and 1930s. He was Prime Minister from 1925 to 1928, heading the last government formed by the Reform Party. He returned to office in the coalition government formed by United and Reform parties in 1931 and played a leading role in the formulation of policies to meet the economic and social crisis of the Great Depression. He later served as a minister in the Labour government during World War II.

This was an impressive record, but Coates's reputation was damaged by his identification with depression-era government policies repudiated by the electorate when it swept Labour to power in 1935. The postwar National Party virtually wrote him out of its history as it sought to start anew, avoiding identification with the harsh pre-1935 era.

Coates tried to take a constructive approach to the problems of the era only to be marooned politically by the circumstances of the depression and the political backlash against all politicians of the period, irrespective of how creative and sympathetic particular policies had been. Attempts over the years to produce a biography of Coates have come to nothing for a variety of reasons, but a revival of interest in him is under way. Michael Bassett presents him as a transitional figure in the politics of New Zealand. Because Coates placed country before party and because there is now renewed interest in pre-1935 nonsocialist solutions to the crisis in the capitalist economic order (given that the interventionist welfare-state approach inaugurated then has now lost much of its support), he has enjoyed cross-party appeal.

Bassett is an academic historian who entered politics in the 1970s, serving in the Labour government of 1984–1990 that was responsible for the sweeping restructuring of the state's involvement in economic



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management. In Bassett's account, Coates is presented as a hero for a new age in which the old party boundaries are fragmenting. Coates was an interventionist: he established the Reserve Bank that has subsequently played a key role in managing the economy of New Zealand. But Bassett argues that he stopped short of the controls and regulations that his successors turned into a way of life, producing the distortions in economic management that Bassett and his colleagues faced in the 1980s.

All this makes Bassett's book sound like a tract for our times. But any political message is unobtrusive, subordinated to a display of his skills as a professional historian. Bassett retired from parliament in 1990 and has since devoted himself to historical research and writing. This book is his second political biography; *Sir Joseph Ward: A Political Biography* (1993), treated the man who served as New Zealand's Prime Minister from 1906 to 1912. Both books are characterized not just by thorough research and a clear, vigorous writing style but also by a close familiarity with the practical workings of politics that clearly owes much to Bassett's personal experience. Their special flavor derives from this fruitful combination of perspectives.

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KUMKUM ROY. *The Emergence of Monarchy in North India: Eighth–Fourth Centuries B.C.; As Reflected in the Brahmanical Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 344. $29.95.

The book under review by Kumkum Roy is based on her Ph.D. dissertation. Her sources include "the principal Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Śrauta Sūtras, supplemented with the earlier Ṛg Veda and the later Gṛhya Sūtras and Dharma Sūtras" (p. 13). Roy also uses whatever meager archaeological evidence is available as well as comparative anthropological data. She combines a conscious Marxist perspective with a marked feminist awareness in order to analyze a most complex period that is riddled with contending issues and conflicting interpretations. Roy explores the institutionalization of relationships of power in early north India, where monarchy is viewed as only one of a range of possible power relations rather than a unique institution imposed from above. Here monarchy, or, more accurately, some aspects of its emergence, is understood as the result of a complex process of social change. Monarchy as such is never brought into the discussion. There is no analysis of actual kings, and the work remains at an abstract level of ideas.

Roy has taken up a most challenging and difficult problem. The possibilities of power relationships are explored through an examination of certain technical terms, notions, and concepts, such as *śreṣṭha* (the best, first, leader); *adhipati*, *virāj*, and *svarāj* (ruler, king); and major sacrifices related to the empowerment and legitimation of the *rājā* (king). Chapter seven deals with the broader social context of *varṇa* (class) hierarchy and chapter eight with kinship structure and household organization. The latter contains a fine discussion of the transformation and subordination of women as gender relations were redefined during the period. The context provided by the development of these institutions influenced and was, in turn, influenced by the consolidation of the state (*rājya*). The concluding chapter attempts to arrive at an understanding of the changing content and context of political power and authority and explores the intermeshing of the *rājā* and the social order in north India from 800 to 400 B.C.

In this study, gods and divinities seem to occupy the central stage. They enter and exit at will, where human kings and nobles fear to tread. Roy casts only a secondary glance at the human condition. When she does, she extrapolates from the gods to present a picture of contending leadership occurring in the Brahmanical system, where the king-priest combination secures support of the householders and village headmen and, in turn, empowers them. Roy mentions these factors together with the use of the Dharma texts to reveal how the king's position emerged as an indispensable protector of the social order (p. 241). He was to prevent intermixture of classes and to control productive and procreative forces. With dominance over coercive power (*daṇḍa*), chariots, share of the crops, and support of big men (*ratnins*), the king could propagate the message of his legitimacy and authority through the performance of large sacrifices.

Theoretically, the king's example and support inspired the householders' control over women in the family. The female role even in procreation was devalued, while those of the male and progeny-begetting rituals were sanctified. Women were enumerated as property, gifted away to priests or others in marriage. The emergence of the householder and his support of the king dramatically changes the king's position during this period (p. 284). Thus, Roy implies the path was cleared for the emergence of monarchy.

Despite more than 300 pages of text and the treatment of hundreds of technical terms, this study remains rather abstract and unclear. A glossary is severely missed, as are countless diacritical marks from the top lines of pages after 105. My review copy is also missing four pages (317–20), thus leaving both the bibliography and index incomplete. A number of terms such as *puruṣamedha* (pp. 21, 126 n36), *puṃsavana* (p. 256), and *tryambakā iṣṭi* (p. 267 n26) are mentioned but not explained, while numerous others are only cursorily dealt with. A more thorough treatment of them is called for. As the book endeavors to explore the emergence, not the workings of monarchy as such, the reader interested in Indian monarchs and monarchy will be sorely disappointed. It seems that the author has only cleared the ground here for the treatment of monarchy, hopefully in more concrete fashion in her next volume. The book represents a valiant effort to elucidate many ideas in unraveling the multifaceted



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intricacies of the later Vedic period, and we can all learn something from it.

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KUMARI JAYAWARDENA. *The White Woman's Other Burden: Western Women and South Asia during British Colonial Rule*. New York: Routledge. 1995. Pp. x, 310. Cloth $59.95, paper $17.95.

This book addresses the subject of European and American women ("white women") in colonial South Asia from a feminist point of view. This perspective gives needed focus to an ambitious topic that borders on the unwieldy and adds interest to a narrative that might otherwise have been too narrowly chronological.

Kumari Jayawardena's clearly defined approach brings thematic unity to her subject. She wishes to consider the different intersections of race and gender in the lives of the women she studies as well as to problematize issues of feminism and nationalism in their lives. This is not a book about "*memsahibs*'—women who were the wives of European bureaucrats, merchants, planters, or military men. Rather it is about the other Western women in South Asia—the missionaries, theosophists, and socialists—and about the multiple and often contradictory roles such women played. Jayawardena's interest is in Western women who took up a woman's "other burden"; by this she means a woman's obligation to "attempt to liberate women, in terms of a Western or Eastern ideal, and in terms of a vision of a better society" (p. 8).

The book divides its subjects into five sections. Part one focuses on missionary women whose work combined a proselytizing Christianity with a desire to better South Asian women's lives and living conditions. Part two looks at secular "social reformers"—from Annette Ackroyd in the nineteenth century to Katherine Mayo in the twentieth—whose ideas about how South Asian women's lives should change were shaped by their own culture and society. Parts three and four look at a range of Western women—from theosophists and Orientalists to Gandhians and "Holy Mothers": women united by their belief in the inherent value of Hindu civilization and culture and, often, by their decisions to live out their lives in South Asia. Finally, part five discusses contributions made in India and Sri Lanka by Western women socialists. For Jayawardena, it is the socialist women who correctly perceived the direction in which the women's struggle must move: "The earlier women missionaries and social reformers had asserted their rights as women to travel, lead missions and work for other women . . . The theosophists . . . rejected orthodox religion and appropriated Eastern religions and cultures . . . opting out of patriarchal Victorian society and disassociating themselves from Judeo-Christian culture and Western traditions. But it was the Socialist women who . . . opposed capitalism, imperialism and patriarchal structures, advocating instead secularism, national liberation, women's rights and revolutionary change" (pp. 221–222).

Although broad and ambitious in conception, the book is too often narrow and constricted in execution. The introduction and conclusion do justice to Jayawardena's themes and interests; the actual discussion of her subjects' lives is more chronological and factual. Readers are left to draw their own connections between the life histories of the various women and the author's broader themes.

Yet the overall conception behind this book is so rich and Jayawardena's insight that the lives of the non-*memsahib* "white women" in colonial South Asia have some historically interesting connections to each other is so valid that the juxtaposition of these women's lives often makes fascinating reading. Parts three and four are particularly interesting, moving across a wide range of theosophist women to the Gandhian Madeleine Slade and the "Mother" Mirra Alfassa. These sections testify to the validity of the suggestion (quoted here from another source) that there was an intrinsic link between late nineteenth and early twentieth-century women's interest in the occult and the anti-Establishment, anti-patriarchal, pro-suffragette impulses of the period's "new woman." This linkage, however, deserves more attention than Jayawardena has been able to give it here. Indeed, a more rigorous selection of which "white women" were going to be studied in this volume—perhaps, for example, Annette Ackroyd and Katherine Mayo in part two but not all the others in between—might have made this a more successful book.

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SANJAY SETH. *Marxist Theory and Nationalist Politics: The Case of Colonial India*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage. 1995. Pp. 256. Rs. 275.

Sanjay Seth presents a "history of Marxist theory" focusing on India and "not a history of the communist movement in India" (p. 14). Thus, the analysis moves concisely (in part one) from Marx's and Lenin's ideas about Asia to their application in the Communist International. The bulk of the book deals directly with Marxism in India, starting with Marxist theorists such as M. N. Roy and S. A. Dange in the 1920s, "who sought to link class struggle with the nationalist struggle" (p. 140).

The explanation here is lucid and cogent, but more archival work on Roy especially would have improved its quality. Roy's thought was, as Seth stresses, "*representative*" because he managed to signal virtually all of the ideological permutations of Indian Marxism that followed. Seth barely mentions, however, Roy's preoccupation with M. K. Gandhi, evident in published and unpublished sources such as *India's Message* (2d rev. ed., 1950) and abundant private papers, including Roy's extensive correspondence with Communist asso-



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ciates. Roy wrote in his *Memoirs* (1964) that "The role of Gandhi was the crucial point of difference" between Lenin and himself, but Gandhian nationalism is examined only tangentially here. The dynamics of Gandhi's power eluded Roy, and he is indeed representative of Indian Marxists in this respect.

Perceptive chapters on "The Politics of the United Front" and "Nehruvian Socialism" carefully dissect the vicissitudes of communist theory and practice in the 1930s. Yet amid these drastic shifts, Seth never loses sight of the unifying preoccupation of Marxist doctrine, its struggle to forge a viable conceptual relationship between class and nation. The strength of this study lies in its incisive analysis of how this doctrinal orientation dominated the enterprise of communism in India with its manifold implications.

The recurring irony is that a theory so directed at awakening India's masses should fail utterly to reach them. Seth aptly quotes the Communist Party's own grim verdict on its first decade of intense effort: "The CPI was actually reduced to a number of small circles functioning without a centre, continuously fighting one another and even denouncing the old leadership"(p. 137). He concludes that "This failure to build the CPI was part of a broader political failure. In early 1930 the second great wave of nationalist struggle began, as Gandhi launched the Civil Disobedience movement. At the very moment when the nationalist struggle once again became a mass struggle . . . the CPI was confined to a carping role at its margins" (pp. 137–38). This pattern persisted throughout the independence struggle: a striking inability to grasp the symbols or sense the imagination of the movement despite incessant theorizing on correct ideology and organization.

Seth neither assigns blame nor asserts inevitability in this account of "the appropriation of Marxism by a modernizing nationalism" (p. 221). Instead he shows in a deft, thoughtful, and compelling manner how India, like many other countries of Asia and Europe, found the appeal of nationalism so irresistible that Marxism had to accept this or perish.

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JOYA CHATTERJI. *Bengal Divided: Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932–1947.* (Cambridge South Asian Studies, number 37.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 303. $59.95.

Joya Chatterji argues in this account of the Bengal Hindu community and Bengal politics in the two decades leading to the 1947 partition that the upper strata of Bengal Hindus, "the bhadralok" as she refers to them, felt threatened in a Muslim-majority province and eventually demanded the partition of Bengal as part of the partition of India. Her argument is generally well documented and clearly presented but neither original nor surprising, although she makes loud claims for her uniqueness in calling attention to Congress support for the division of Bengal.

The origins of the threatened-Hindu theme in writing about twentieth-century South Asia can be found in Valentine Chirol's *Indian Unrest* (1910) and, in its bhadralok guise, in J. H. Broomfield's *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth Century Bengal* (1968). The cooperation of the Bengal Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha during 1946–1947 is described in my 1978 article, "Divided Bengal," recently reprinted in a volume edited by Mushirul Hasan, *India's Partition* (1993), and by Sugata Bose in *Agrarian Bengal* (1986).

This volume is useful for its extensive documentation of the culture and political fears of the Bengal bhadralok from the 1920s to the 1940s. In this respect, it should certainly be placed on the short list of works to consult for this period. Chatterji makes good use of literary works, particularly those by Sarat Chandra Chatterji, to work out the cultural worldview of many within the bhadralok strata of society.

At the same time, one wonders about the virtual absence of a similar exploration of the works of Rabindranath Tagore and leftist writers of the period who offered a less communal and more national perspective. Such writers and the left secular strand within Bengal politics have to be underplayed if Chatterji is to persuade us that all blended into the Hindu bhadralok communalist line as their nationalist outlook withered. It is not that the secular strand is not mentioned, but it is so marginalized in this version of modern Bengal that one would never understand the long-term strength of the left through the century if this book were one's only source.

Chatterji seems also to have decided that, as her task was to emphasize Hindu anti-Muslim narrow-mindedness, she should minimize Muslim communalism, arguing that it has been sufficiently documented. That may be, but the burden of guilt consequently falls totally on the bhadralok Hindus, with Muslim communalists and even British imperialists escaping unscathed.

Using my *Brothers against the Raj* (1990) would have saved Chatterji from a host of errors having to do with the role of Subhas and Sarat Bose in Bengal politics. She has Sarat Bose attending a Calcutta meeting when he was imprisoned at the time (p.26); she has Subhas Bose not taking up a leadership role in 1927, although he was in prison and became president of the Bengal Provincial Congress upon release; and she has him expelled from the Congress when he was suspended from leadership roles for three years (p. 124). She has Sarat Bose dropped from the Congress when he had resigned in disgust (p. 265). Chatterji also makes mistakes about the formation of coalitions in Bengal politics between 1937 and 1947 (pp. 123ff), and she seems unaware that Sarat Bose rejoined the Congress immediately after his release from prison in 1945 and was a key player in the Bengal and national Congress campaigns for the crucial 1945–46 election (pp. 145–49). Chatterji seriously underplays the effort at alliances made by the Bose group in the Congress, other left groups in Bengal, and Muslim organizations in this



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period. These efforts did fail at the time of partition, but the left, secular strand has survived and flourished in West Bengal and to some extent in Bangladesh since 1947.

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## UNITED STATES

RUPERT COSTO and JEANNETTE HENRY COSTO. *Natives of the Golden State: The California Indians*. San Francisco, Calif.: Indian Historian Press. 1995. Pp. xxii, 369. Cloth $36.00, paper $16.00.

In 1989, the death of Rupert Costo ended a decades-long writing, editing, and publishing collaboration with his wife, Jeannette Henry Costo. The two American Indian activists—he, a Cahuilla from California and she, an Eastern Cherokee—founded and edited the *Indian Historian* and published several book-length studies on Native America through their San Francisco-based American Indian Historical Society's Indian Historian Press. The book under review is a partially posthumous work completed by Jeannette Costo.

The authors' intent was to provide "an alternative to many academic monstrosities, as well as to textbooks purporting to be the true history of our people, but distinguished by failure" (p. xxii). This goal was to be achieved by a research design relying on oral testimonies of California natives, archival resources, and the publications of academic historians, anthropologists, linguists, and ethnographers. Throughout the text, the Costos repeatedly rail against false and "tilted" scholarship that has distorted and misled the general public and serious students about the realities of California Indian life. This, then, is an avowedly revisionist history.

Arranged chronologically, the narrative's strongest and best written passages occur in the first three of the book's five parts. They span the thousands of years of Native American existence before European contact through the Spanish conquest and colonization of California. Graced by several excellent maps and apt illustrations of native life and material culture, the Costos render the rich and varied cultures of California's tribal peoples comprehensible and fascinating. They successfully group the dozens of Indian groups by language and geographic region, stressing the vital roles of climate and geography as determinants of culture. Especially interesting are the descriptions and analyses of California natives as explorers, miners, land managers, and developers of an extensive multi-tribal trade system that utilized ridge trails connecting otherwise isolated groups.

Unsurprisingly, the Costos condemn the Spanish missionization of California Indians as demographically and culturally genocidal; however, their prose is suitably restrained and quite convincing. The same cannot be said for the remainder of the book, which covers the Mexican and Anglo-American periods of California history. It appears that the Costos did not resolve the two dilemmas confronting scholars essaying to construct tribal or regional Indian history: how do you cope with an overwhelming mass of available source materials for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries without unbalancing your overall narrative, and how do you link local Indian history with national Indian affairs?

Desperately trying for parity with the lengthy earlier history, the Costos only cursorily treat twentieth-century people and events while offering fairly solid coverage of the nineteenth century's gold rush and Indian land disputes. They do worse in attempts to juxtapose state and national Indian activities, most noticeably by including a lengthy chapter on the Dawes Severalty Act that offers an unnecessary general discussion of the legislation. Finally, a repetitious writing style, perfervid rhetoric, and a bewildering inattention to contributions to California Indian history published since 1987 make this a disappointing effort.

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JAN WILLEM SCHULTE NORDHOLT. *The Myth of the West: America as the Last Empire*. Translated by HERBERT H. ROWEN. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 1995. Pp. xi, 227. $23.00.

This book's title suggests another visit to the campground of Henry Nash Smith, Richard Slotkin, and John G. Cawelti. Jan Willem Schulte Nordholt mentions only the first of these scholars; he is concerned with broader and deeper matters. His West is western civilization, though the American West of the nineteenth century is foregrounded.

Since the classical era, "the west" has signified a beginning; politically, a new world that will replace and revitalize the old. As commonly perceived, the history of civilizations proceeds from east to west. This historical and religious movement, *translatio imperii*, completes its "circle" when shifting from California back to Asia, whence it began. Such a theory is itself a myth, as he points out, yet one that has been central to our culture's historical thought. Throughout the Renaissance—and later—philosophers and learned ecclesiastics thought that history and nature should coincide, from which assumption only myth could arise.

According to the book of Daniel, for instance, the world is to be under the successive influence of four or five "empires": Babylon, Persia, Macedonia, and Rome. The theory of the ascendancy of empires was thought to be heliotropic—ever following the sun—and so is sacred and natural as well as historical, political, and demographic. And mythic. "Westward the course of Empire takes its way / The first four Acts already past," wrote Bishop Berkeley; "A fifth shall



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close the Drama of the Day / Time's noblest Offspring is the last" (p. 74).

The United States, according to more recent theorists, is the fifth and last empire prophesied. It may thus be said to have been "invented" as the New World. As recent and as important a man as Columbus was both well informed (though he vastly underestimated the distance to the Indies of his fantasies) and superstitious. He knew the earth was not a disk, but he was searching for Asia, and to his death he did not believe that he had discovered a new world. For him, paradise lay on the western horizon.

The American response to heliotropism was conceived in Europe. Here Nordholt cites the English poets Henry Vaughan and George Herbert, who wrote that Christianity was tending westward. The pilgrim's aspirations to establish a Christian society in the New World, free of the errors (and the oppression) of the Old, assumed that civilization would move from east to west.

Nordholt has written a fascinating intellectual history in the tradition of learned European scholarship. He does not use the contributions of folklorists to cope with his questions, and he makes barely a foray into popular culture. This is a conventionally learned, sophisticated study: data are gathered from ancient Rome and classical Greece, from Germany, Holland, France, and Spain (non-English material is translated following the original quotation). Nordholt writes fluidly and interestingly, and his translator, Herbert H. Rowen, is polished and lucid. Not at all a rehash of mythic theories of the American West, this book makes an important contribution to our understanding of American myths in the context of world history.

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MARY BETH NORTON. *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society.* (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1996. Pp. x, 496. $35.00.

In this thoroughly researched book filled with perceptive insights, Mary Beth Norton has tackled questions relating to gender and power in the seventeenth century. Focusing on the years between 1620 and 1670, Norton argues for the dominance of a Filmerian view of the world where family and state were inextricably intertwined, and where hierarchy and patriarchy ruled consistently in theory and usually in practice. This outlook, she reminds us, contrasts with the later Lockean view of society as a contractual agreement among men, which led to consensual state formation and which severed the link between government and family. The unified Filmerian model, Norton argues, allowed high-ranking women to exercise a small amount of power both in and outside of the household because female status paralleled that of the male who governed her and thus bestowed on her the right to deference from those below. The Lockean model, on the other hand, relegated women to the familial arena alone and denied them any role in the public realm. According to Norton, regional differences modified the general rule; the American South was less Filmerian and more Lockean than New England because of its unbalanced sex ratio and unstable family structure.

Through excellent use of courtroom vignettes that speak to the expectations and realities of the early seventeenth century, Norton provides convincing evidence to support her interpretation of the gendered nature of colonial society. The family was, more than metaphorically speaking, an arm of the state. It was the executive branch of government, the place where male heads of households faithfully attempted to execute laws designed by male heads of state. Norton's distinction between a formal and informal "public" (as well as her nuanced view of the notion of "private") rings true, and her approach adds subtlety to the contrast between public and private. Her evidence also demonstrates the violent nature of seventeenth-century society, the strength of separate male and female networks (which frequently intersected and clashed), and the power of gossip to reinforce social standards.

Norton also draws our attention to geographical differences in legal systems and the application of law. Southern codes were based on common law; New England (except for Rhode Island) looked to the Bible for legal guidance. New Englanders prosecuted fornicators and wife beaters more enthusiastically than southerners. Colonial laws governing widowhood also varied by region. Moreover, in the South, ordinary people brought cases to the attention of officials; in New England, the authorities themselves were more likely to prosecute those whose actions destabilized the social fabric.

Although Norton's focus on legal documents considerably enriches our understanding of the seventeenth century, her reliance on that material may be excessive, especially because many laws were ignored and unenforced. The notion that laws retain a symbolic importance simply by remaining on the books for years or decades is questionable (p.75). Similarly, criminal matters only reached court under controversial circumstances, making them aberrational situations to begin with; the resulting decisions do not necessarily imply that the community—the informal public—subscribed to the positions taken by the court. Indeed, there is no way of knowing whether the conditions precipitating court proceedings were representative of familial behavior in general.

Furthermore, it is dangerous to translate inferences derived from a single case into a general theory. For example, Norton argues that the vast majority of men knew enough to record gifts in writing but the majority of women did not, and that such a dereliction "opened their decisions to prolonged contestation" (p. 155). Perhaps, perhaps not. Norton also confuses the formulaic language of submissiveness with deliberate subversion. There is no evidence to confirm that women were ignorant of the law. If "the courts usually made



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allowances for widows' lack of expertise" (p. 157), it was just as likely that women took advantage of such stereotypical perceptions for their own ends. An "ignorant" widow who failed to submit an estate inventory in a timely fashion had opportunity to waste or conceal a considerable portion of personal property that might otherwise have gone to creditors. In the same vein, Norton asserts that two high-ranking women refused to submit to male authority because, as women, they did not understand the unwritten rules that governed such situations (p. 201). But why would these women be oblivious to social norms? If they had internalized their prescriptively submissive roles, they would have known when to retreat.

For the most part, Norton's description of a seventeenth-century New England world responsive to Filmerian ideals is supported by the evidence she presents. At the same time, any systematic discussion of congregational church formation in this context is conspicuously absent, and it is difficult to reconcile the organization of New England churches with the Filmerian model. In the churches, claims to legitimate authority did not rest on "grants from appropriate higher authorities," God notwithstanding (p. 12). Congregations assembled voluntarily and chose ministers whose authority emanated from below, not above. Norton maintains that church covenants were not Lockean but rather a device "in which initial consent preceded an ongoing, obligatory acquiescence to a traditional hierarchy" (p. 13). But church covenants were renewed from time to time, which suggests that consent needed updating at regular intervals. Furthermore, both male and female members had liberty to break the contract by withdrawing to other churches. This would seem to place the church in the Lockean rather than the Filmerian camp. In addition, it is not altogether clear that the formal public was composed exclusively of adult men in the church structure, as Norton suggests. If the disciplinary apparatus of the church is included in that definition, visitation committees composed of men and women more appropriately fall into the category of formal public.

While there are other minor points (perhaps even a major one or two) that one could choose to dispute, on the whole this is an extremely well-written and important book for those who are interested in seventeenth-century gender relations. And that group should be rather inclusive because, as Norton makes eminently clear, there is little in seventeenth-century society that escapes a gendered interpretation.

ELAINE FORMAN CRANE
*Fordham University*

CEDRIC B. COWING. *The Saving Remnant: Religion and the Settling of New England*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1995. Pp. 351. Cloth $39.95, paper $19.95.

Over the years, Perry Miller's magisterial view of the rise, reign, and fall of the New England Way was supplanted by two important perspectives. One perspective, developed by "literary" historians like Sacvan Bercovitch, contended that New England Puritans created a myth of American exceptionalism rooted in millennial expectations. The other perspective, crafted by David Hall and a group of "seminary" historians, argued against exceptionalism. Those historians concluded, in opposition to Bercovitch and Miller, that New England theology, while having many strands, was not unusual and was well within the "Reformed" tradition.

While literary and seminary historians debated, a third perspective developed quietly. That view, crafted by seminary historians, literary historians, and, may I say it, "ordinary" historians, argued that the evolution and development of colonial New England reflected the contradictory and often conflicting ideals and experiences of English men and women in both the Old World and the New. That interpretation is given new and powerful support by Cedric B. Cowing. Cowing's book should command the attention of every serious student of colonial New England. It is a major reinterpretation of the Puritan story.

Following David Hackett Fischer, Philip F. Gura, Stephen Innes, Janice Knight, Keith Stavely, and others, Cowing argues that early New England was marked and shaped by two different "Puritan" perspectives. Cowing is not offering another treatise on theology, however. His hero is David Hackett Fischer. Cowing traces New England names and surnames, both lay and clerical, and discovers patterns of settlement in New England representing English geographical locales. Essentially, he contends, Puritans from the southeast of England settled in and around Boston, while Puritans from northwest England settled in a great semicircle around Boston. Initially, the southeasterners of the Great Migration outnumbered the northwesterners. Over time, though, the northwesterners narrowed the gap.

Cowing contends that the Puritanism of southeast England was very different from the Puritanism of the northwest. The southeast was crowded, commercial, literate, and worldly. Puritans of that region both endorsed their world and feared it. They wanted prosperity, but they wanted order and discipline, too. They were "gradualists" in religion, Cowing contends, and "they inclined the same way in social and political affairs" (p. 7).

Conversely, the northwest was a sparsely populated region. The land was poor, and so were most of the people. Northwesterners shared an oral culture, and they tended to be individualistic, "westering" wanderers who raised sheep. They had been weak Catholics and now they were weak Anglicans. As Puritans, they were evangelicals, followers of the prophetic Pauline tradition, and admirers of "soul liberty." They were the "twice born." They wanted to be transformed by the Spirit in a great, emotional, moment. In short, they liked their religion "hot." They called themselves the



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"saving remnant struggling to keep religion alive in a trough of apathy" (p. 1).

In New England, Cowing charts the struggles between northwesterners and southeasterners. The Antinomian controversy was the first struggle. The Quakers were from the northwest, as were the Baptists. Rowley and New Haven were outposts of the northwest, Hingham represented the southeast, and Dorchester included both. The Salem witchcraft episode involved persons from the two regions. Most "dissenters" in the traditional story of early New England were from the northwest; the "orthodox" were from the southeast.

In the eighteenth century, the descendants of northwestern and southeastern England fought a cultural war in the Great Awakening. Cowing supports the reality of an Awakening, but he argues that it swept only those areas of New England settled by evangelically oriented northwesterners. It had little impact on those from the southeast. The Awakening encircled Boston, essentially, because northwesterners encircled Boston. Northern New England, old Plymouth colony, and the Connecticut River Valley were the centers of the Awakening. Boston and the towns surrounding it remained, mostly, Old Light. After the Awakening, descendants of the southeasterners tended to endorse religious rationalism and Arminianism. The heirs of northwestern evangelicals spread over the colonies and advanced into the nineteenth century. They helped to shape America's revivalist, evangelical tradition, just as they helped to create a radical Spiritist tradition.

Cowing's book will anger many. It does not discuss New England "declension," and it offers breezy, rather vague explanations of complicated theological distinctions. It plays a little fast and loose with English history. Cowing does not explain why the Great Awakening broke out in the 1740s, although he does discuss George Whitefield and John Wesley and places both men, along with Jonathan Edwards, in the tradition of the evangelical northwest.

What Cowing's book does do is marry theological and ecclesiastical positions to social and economic circumstances in a way that makes an important part of our colonial experience intelligible and more clearly an extension of a contentious and very diverse Tudor and Stuart England. In short, Puritans did not come to the New World to save the Old or to build the United States as the New Jerusalem. They came to continue cultural and ideological battles that had started in England nearly a century earlier. Those battles still resonate in our twentieth-century cultural "wars."

PAUL R. LUCAS†
*Indiana University, Bloomington*

ELAINE G. BRESLAW. *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies*. (The American Social Experience Series, number 35.) New York: New York University Press. 1996. Pp. xxv, 243. $24.95.

Tituba, servant and slave of the Reverend Samuel Parris, was among the first to be accused of witchcraft in Salem, Massachusetts in 1692. The Salem witch trials are commonly believed to have begun with her entertaining Satan and a group of young girls in the village parsonage. Her confession is often seen as having given the people of Salem village reason to believe that the devil was in their midst, thereby unleashing the largest witch hunt in the history of the British colonies of North America.

Her key role in the Salem witch trials notwithstanding, the facts of Tituba's life and her role in the crisis of 1692 have attracted little serious attention. Perhaps due to the paucity of records, those who have told her story have relied on conjecture and romanticization worthy of the most imaginative of writers, and they have largely, it now appears, struck wide of the mark. In this intricately researched and carefully told biography, Elaine G. Breslaw puts an end to fiction and conjecture.

Employing West Indian colonial records never before examined, as well as a cultural critique that explores Tituba's Caribbean Creole culture and its relationship to that of Puritan New England, Breslaw paints a portrait of this previously elusive figure. Her account not only sets the record straight but also incorporates the different roles Tituba played in Puritan society and the Salem witch trials. Breslaw presents Tituba as woman, slave, American Indian, and outsider. In reference to the Salem witch trials, she shows Tituba not only as a victim, as she is usually seen, but also as a willing participant: not only a scapegoat but also a manipulator of Puritan fears.

In part one of her book, Breslaw resolves the various conflicting conjectures as to Tituba's origins. Rather than being African, Wampanoag, or Carib, as has been suggested, Breslaw shows that she was quite likely Arawak. Moreover, the evidence indicates that she may have been born on the coast of South America, to which Arawaks fled in the wake of the Spanish invasion of the Caribbean. She was then captured and sold into slavery on Barbados.

Breslaw examines the Barbadian culture into which Tituba was thrust and that molded the world view she took with her to New England when she was still in her twenties. It was a syncretic, Creole culture, Breslaw writes, that shared elements of English, American Indian, and African lifestyles. African culture dominated, she shows, but Tituba's Indian origins were not insignificant.

In part two, Breslaw focuses on Tituba's life in Massachusetts. She examines the working conditions to which she was likely subjected, her legal status, and the religious influences she encountered among the Puritans. Breslaw separates fact from fiction in the various accounts of events leading to the witch hunt and Tituba's arrest.

Breslaw examines the substance of Tituba's confession, the first of nearly fifty that the witchcraft investigations produced. She does not quarrel with those



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who have insisted that Tituba's confession was the result of the physical and mental pressure Parris brought to bear upon her or that it was a desperate attempt on her part to avoid hanging. Breslaw also shows, however, how those who would follow her lead by confessing to witchcraft themselves made creative use of what Tituba revealed, reformulating her Indian-Creole notion of evil to conform to their own Puritan preconceptions.

The value of Breslaw's work lies not only in her clarifying Tituba's life and role in the Salem witch trials but also in the support it lends to an as-yet-underdeveloped approach to the study of colonial New England. The approach, perhaps best employed by Richard White in *Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (1991) but more widely utilized by historians of New Spain, recognizes the role of non-English influences on the region's cultural development.

"Tituba's prominence in Salem and the reaction of Puritans to her fantastic story," Breslaw writes, "suggest that there may have been other non-English ethnic influences on early New England history and that the process of cultural borrowing—the creation of a syncretic culture—did not stop at the edge of the Caribbean" (pp. xxiv-xxv). New England, too, Breslaw suggests, came under the influence of a dynamic exchange among red, white, and black peoples. The effect may have been more subtle and thus more difficult to discern in New England as compared to New Spain, but, as Breslaw insists, "the nuances of change were just as tenacious and imaginative" (p. xxv).

Particularly intriguing is Breslaw's assertion that the folklore of the American Indian, embedded in Tituba's confession, for example, influenced English folk beliefs and elite notions of evil, thereby initiating a modification of orthodox Puritan ideas and laying the groundwork for the rationalism of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. This shift to a more secular society, Breslaw concludes, was not conceived by the elite and imposed on the masses. It was "change from the bottom up, initiated by an Indian woman slave" (pp. 180–81).

BRYAN LE BEAU
*Creighton University*

RICHARD D. BROWN. *The Strength of a People: The Idea of an Informed Citizenry in America, 1650–1870.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 252. $29.95.

Given his previous studies of modernization and information diffusion in the early United States, Richard D. Brown would seem superbly qualified to write the first systematic history of the ideal of an informed citizenry. Not surprisingly, this excellent book is illuminating and provocative; it is timely as well, because Brown's account suggests that several contemporary issues—the "crisis" of public education, debates over multiculturalism and identity, the balance between public and private resources in the creation of an informed citizenry, and populist resentment of experts and elites—have long histories.

Brown's early chapters move rapidly through sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth-century English history, with increasing attention to the colonies in the decades before the American Revolution. He traces not the emergence of the ideal of an informed citizenry but rather discussions of the role of subjects as citizens, free speech and freedom of the press, religious toleration, and the appropriate extent of education in a hierarchical society (usually conceived of as limited to gentlemen). Brown explains that, although "the baroque ideal of an informed citizen" was intrinsically and relentlessly elitist, the ideal nevertheless possessed a latent expansive and dynamic energy that made it difficult to stay tied to the service of stasis (pp. 24–25). Thus, by the mid-eighteenth century, the connotation of an informed citizenry already was "much looser in the colonies" (p. 38), and the ideal was moving away from a citizenry composed exclusively of gentlemen on both sides of the Atlantic.

The imperial crisis leading to the American Revolution finally activated the idea of an informed citizenry. As the American gentry mobilized opposition to British policy, they "elevated to prominence a concept that had hitherto lain inert in the background of Whig thought. What had been merely a last resort of liberty in Radical Whig doctrine was suddenly of central practical as well as theoretical importance" (pp. 52–53). But, as soon as the full-blown ideal found expression, it was contested, encountering—as it repeatedly would—practical obstacles to realization.

The questions of who should be informed and what should they know had been present from the beginning, indeed in one sense they had been midwives to the ideal of an informed citizenry, but, in the early national period and subsequently in the nineteenth century, they assumed paramount importance. Differences over the role of the state, struggles between religious and secular advocates, and above all Americans' unwillingness to pay for concrete programs (especially in the public schools) to implement a goal to which rhetorical consent had been readily given have persisted to the present. A further complication, deftly handled by Brown, involved the original idea of the politically informed citizen being overtaken during the commercial and communications revolution of the early nineteenth century by aspirations to social and cultural mobility geared to personal, individual fulfillment.

Rejecting state paternalism, advocates of the ideal of an informed citizenry relied on the marketplace and exhortations. Messages of self-improvement designed for secure white males, however, also reached workers, African Americans, and women, who soon asserted their claims for inclusion as full-fledged citizens or voters. Brown's final chapter, "Testing the Meaning of an Informed Citizenry, 1820–1870," deals with the



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strivings of these groups to gain acceptance. One ironic result of those struggles, evident in the enfranchisement of freed African-American males while women's suffrage was denied, was the severing of the notion of being informed from voting, the symbolic center of citizenship.

Brown covers a great deal of territory in relatively few pages, including an epilogue in which he frankly opines (as more historians should do) about the meaning of his study for the present. But omissions or reductions result. The economy of his narrative makes the workers, African Americans, and women he discusses into almost monolithic blocs possessing unity of motive and purpose. For example, labor activists were either "workingmen" or "factory workers," with hardly a mention of the artisans and skilled workers who occupy so prominent a place in the recent history of nineteenth-century producer radicalism. Brown's general theme, however, is not weakened by his not pausing to disaggregate.

Brown's reflections on contemporary affairs emanate good sense, moderation, and a whiff of elitism. Given the perpetual uncertainty about the exact definition and parameters of an informed citizenry—save the republican touchstone that "people must be sufficiently informed in public affairs to safeguard liberty and act responsibly"—Brown adds the caution that "deference [also] in public affairs can be legitimate" (p. 206). Yet he recognizes that the polity is far removed from the conditions under which public officials themselves might aid in restoring a healthy degree of confidence. Readers who turn to this book, however, may be assured of acquiring a solid grounding in the origins and complexities of the idea of an informed citizenry.

RON FORMISANO
*University of Florida*

DAVID B. MATTERN. *Benjamin Lincoln and the American Revolution*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 307. $39.95.

This new book by David B. Mattern shows that although Benjamin Lincoln is hardly a household name, he deserves recognition for his role in the struggle for American independence and the creation of the Republic. By the time of Lincoln's birth, Hingham, Massachusetts, had been home to four generations of his family. The Lincolns were rooted in the land, and through farming and political activity they had achieved some degree of success and local fame. His father, known as the "Colonel," was elected both to the House of Representatives and to the Governor's Council. He was a moderate man who in the heady days of the 1760s tried steering a course between serving the interests of the royal governor and those of the rising Whig faction at home. In the meantime his son, following in his father's wake, moved ahead on the local stage and became a major in the county militia.

His father's neutral position notwithstanding, Benjamin joined the patriot cause. Elected to the House and then to the Provincial Congress, Lincoln emerged as a leader and a man to whom his colleagues turned for advice on military matters. Lincoln's zeal earned him an appointment as a brigadier general in the Massachusetts militia. After serving at the siege of Boston, Lincoln marched with George Washington to New York.

Few American generals, Washington and Lincoln included, distinguished themselves in the New York campaign, and Lincoln must stand in the group of military leaders that took the American army to the brink of disaster. Despite his lack of tactical or strategic acuity, Washington had faith in Lincoln. At a time when he was surrounded by carping critics, Washington knew that he could rely on Lincoln as a brave and steadfast officer. Indeed, Washington seemed to develop a particular fondness for Lincoln, and it was with the commander in chief's support, aided by the considerable political pull exerted by the Massachusetts delegation to the Continental Congress, that Lincoln was named a major general in the Continental Army.

If Lincoln's appointment was in part political, so, too, was his posting to the northern army in the summer of 1777. Under fierce attack by New Englanders for his pusillanimous abandonment of Fort Ticonderoga, General Philip Schuyler needed support. Lincoln and another New England general, Benedict Arnold, were sent north to assist Schuyler. Lincoln played an important, albeit hardly key, role in the campaign of 1777. The victory at Saratoga shone brightly enough to illuminate all reputations. With his star ascendant Lincoln was despatched to his first independent command, the Southern Department.

Although nearly always sympathetic to Lincoln, even Mattern might agree that in this post Lincoln was in over his head. He had neither the political dexterity nor the military skill to deal with the convoluted machinations of southern politicians, or stand against the fine-tuned and well-led redcoat battalions. Southern leaders were determined to drive the enemy out as long as Congress would forward the troops and pay the bills. Alas, the impecunious assembly in Philadelphia had neither the means nor the desire to send either. Short of men, money, and supplies, Lincoln was forced to withdraw in the face of the enemy. His position turned desperate when the British ministry elected to focus its full strength on the American South, hoping to recoup there what they had lost in New England and the middle colonies. The arrival of Sir Henry Clinton's army sealed Lincoln's fate. Trapped at Charleston, Lincoln surrendered an entire army.

Given the overwhelming odds against him at Charleston, Lincoln's reputation suffered only a light tarnish. Washington himself commiserated with his friend, and, in the next year, he ordered Lincoln to accept the British surrender at Yorktown.

Lincoln's career after the war followed a trajectory common to many high American officers who served in the Revolution. During the years of Confederation, he



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added his voice to the chorus crying for a powerful central government, one that might be strong enough to pay its debts, including some owed to him, and to control the more radical elements let loose by the revolutionary storm. His willingness to use force to suppress the Shaysites and send their leaders to the gallows reflected a deep conservative reaction and a complete inability to sense the betrayal felt by these men, who had given much in the cause of independence only to have their property taken from them by a government they had helped to create. Lincoln's dogged support for Federalism and the new Constitution won him a place in the new government. His reward was the undemanding yet lucrative post as collector of customs for Boston, a position he held until the eve of his death.

Mattern's mastery of the sources is admirable. No major archive has been left unexamined. This is a thorough, painstaking biography. If there is a flaw, it is one common to most biographies. Mattern likes his subject. To be sure, there is much to admire in Lincoln; nonetheless, this ought not to mask the fact that Lincoln, like many of his contemporaries, used the Revolution to advance his own interests. Should others rise to challenge him, he could be as ruthless as any Tory in striking to preserve his new-found position.

WILLIAM M. FOWLER, JR.
*Northeastern University*

CHARLES PATRICK NEIMEYER. *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army*. (The American Social Experience Series, number 33.) New York: New York University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 244. $35.00.

Charles Patrick Neimeyer has authored an important study of the Continental Army that should be read by all specialists in the American Revolution. He challenges what he labels the "older, frequently mythic history of 1776" by viewing the army from the bottom up. Many of Neimeyer's conclusions are not as fresh as he would have his readers think, but there is sufficient originality to warrant the judgment that this is a significant book.

It has long been recognized that after 1777 the Continental soldiery consisted largely of men drawn from the lower social orders. Neimeyer adds to our knowledge by demonstrating that considerable numbers of these soldier were recent Irish and German immigrants or the sons of first-generation immigrants from Europe. He also argues persuasively that African Americans comprised a greater percentage of the Continentals than heretofore recognized and demonstrates that some Native Americans, such as members of the Stockbridge tribe in Massachusetts, enlisted in the Continental Army. During the dark, forlorn winter of 1778, nearly one-half of the men who shivered and starved at Valley Forge and other cantonments were immigrants and black Americans. Most of the remainder were native-born colonists who were landless or unskilled artisans. General Charles Lee, like many British officers in earlier colonial wars, labeled such men "riff raff." Clearly, they were not yeomen farmers. Most were young and poor and drawn from ethnic minorities. Neimeyer calls them "men on the move," mobile males who had not sunk down roots in any community.

Neimeyer asserts that such men were rarely altruistic patriots. They did not bear arms to resist British tyranny or to fight for American independence. They enlisted for bounty pay, the promise of land following the war, and the prospect of steady work, for which they would receive adequate food, clothing, shelter, and pay for three years. As a result, the perspective of these soldiers was unlike that of the officers and quite different from that which most historians have imagined. They had bargained with the state, selling their labor and time, and in the course of time, Neimeyer contends, a class consciousness developed among them. Consequently, when the state abrogated the contract it had entered into with the soldiery, the men resisted, fighting back in ways that were "rooted in [their] class experience." They expressed dissatisfaction by resisting discipline, deserting, stealing, and engaging in far more mutinies than previously recognized. These defiant actions were protests against their officers; in fact, Neimeyer contends, the soldiers revolted against oppressive officers just as the colonial elite rebelled against the despotism of the Crown.

There are disquieting aspects to this book. The Continental Army was comprised of officers and men, yet in what purports to be a social history of the army, the officers are ignored. One is left to wonder at the social origins of various ranks of officers and at how the composition of the officer corps might have changed over the course of an eight-year war. Neimeyer villifies the officers as brutish, arrogant elitists whose behavior toward the enlisted men was grounded in class bias. Although there is considerable truth to such a point of view, it fails to recognize the difficulties that the officers confronted. They had to forge soldiers from among an individualistic citizenry that—according to Neimeyer—was without ideological motivation, and in the face of a national economic collapse, the officers had to hold together an ill-provisioned army. Moreover, despite Neimeyer's contention, economic enticements cannot entirely explain why men agreed to serve in this army. Better, safer alternatives existed for white men in a wartime milieu in which labor shortages were not uncommon. Many men, like Private Joseph Plumb Martin, who is frequently quoted by Neimeyer, served at least in part for nationalistic and other ideological reasons. For instance, when Martin reenlisted in 1777, he compared himself to a husband who loved his unfaithful wife too much to leave her. Finally, in perhaps the cruelest blow to the men in the army, Neimeyer never assesses their quality as soldiers. Readers who are unaware that many contemporaries, including European observers, lavished praise on these naked and starving soldiers who often performed quite



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capably may judge the soldiery to have been merely indifferent, selfish, and mutinous men.

These reservations notwithstanding, Neimeyer's thoughtful and penetrating study of the Continental Army's soldiery adds to our understanding of the American Revolution and the era in which it occurred.

JOHN FERLING
*State University of West Georgia*

WILMA A. DUNAWAY. *The First American Frontier: Transition to Capitalism in Southern Appalachia, 1700–1860.* (The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 448. Cloth $49.95, paper $21.95.

This significant and challenging examination of the arrival of capitalism in Appalachia has already generated considerable attention, and for good reason. Sociologist Wilma A. Dunaway, using Immanuel Wallerstein's world systems approach and an impressive statistical and archival database from 215 counties in nine states, proposes a "paradigm shift" (p. 5) that compels a serious reconsideration of antebellum Appalachian history.

Dunaway makes a strong case for contesting several conventional, romanticized generalizations about the region. She asserts that Appalachia was never isolated. It was incorporated into the global capitalist system soon after the first European contact with Cherokee tribes, who became enmeshed in economic activities that led to destructive commodity production, unequal market exchanges, and the loss of their culture. Frontier egalitarianism hardly existed. Instead, most of the region's land and resources were rapidly concentrated in the hands of absentee speculators and compliant local elites. Poorer residents may have idealized the subsistent family farm, but they had little chance of actually getting one. The majority of the agricultural households in Appalachia constituted a landless agrarian labor force, economically marginalized through sharecropping, tenancy, unreliable wage labor, slavery, and other mechanisms. Subsistence farming itself was rare in the region, according to Dunaway's strict definition of the term; landowning farmers overwhelmingly produced surpluses for the marketplace and for export.

Appalachia eventually suffered the fate of other capitalist peripheries. Industrialism came to the region in the early nineteenth century. Elite-owned, small-scale, and disproportionately linked to the processing of agricultural surpluses, timber, and mineral ores for distant markets, regional industries displaced artisanship, developed unevenly, and deterred the emergence of a diversified manufacturing base necessary for sustained growth. International commodity chains were extensive, with Appalachian raw materials traded for finished goods from core economies and tropical imports. But this inherently imbalanced commerce, along with the subordination of local interests to the world system, meant that after 1840, when the terms of trade became more advantageous elsewhere, when regional economic activity had virtually stagnated—when global capitalism had wrung out all it wanted from Appalachia—residents were peripheralized from the world economy and polarized from the rest of their own country.

This study, exemplifying the increasingly sophisticated scholarship in Appalachian studies, highlights the diverse, complex, and evolving impact of the world economy on the region. Dunaway demands an end to nostalgic descriptions of a supposedly precapitalist era. She is most clearly successful in locating the origins of the region's poverty in the decades before the Civil War.

As analysts have noted in studies of the world systems approach to other geographical areas, however, Dunaway too readily attributes regional development solely to external forces and dismisses notions that Appalachians were ever able to influence, much less control, their destinies. In revealing the flaws of some dated literature, she replicates statistically the same hierarchical "outsider/insider" dichotomy depicted by earlier generations of scholars. Yet if Appalachia was indeed one of several frontiers absorbed into the capitalist world economy, one should also consider (as Dunaway's evidence suggests) how the emergence of multiple patterns of commerce and exchange contributed to networks of cultural dialogue rather than a straightforward matter of domination and dependence. The region's transition to capitalism might not have been as truncated and one-sided as presented here.

This multifaceted issue surely will be explored further as the scholarship on nineteenth-century Appalachia continues to flourish. Dunaway's thoroughgoing demonstration of the region's relationship to the rest of the world helps lay to rest any lingering notions about Appalachian isolation. It is essential reading for anyone in the field and offers to others an instructive account of regional economic development.

JOHN M. GLEN
*Ball State University*

ROBERT S. WEDDLE. *Changing Tides: Twilight and Dawn in the Spanish Sea, 1763–1803.* (Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University, number 58.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 352. $49.50.

Robert S. Weddle has been writing and editing books about the history of the Gulf Coast and its hinterland since 1964. In 1985 he wrote *Spanish Sea*, the first volume of a trilogy bringing much of his previous work together. It was followed in 1991 by *The French Thorn* and is now capped by the book under review. The first volume attempted to cover the Gulf of Mexico from 1500 to 1685 and was criticized by some readers for being excessively condensed and for lacking analysis. *The French Thorn* (covering 1682–1762) and the present volume (1763–1803) cover a shorter span of



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years, which allows Weddle fully to describe events and developments.

This book is highly detailed and fully documented, covering the period from the Treaty of Paris in 1763 to the sale of the Louisiana Territory to the United States in 1803. The French were obliged to give up all their American territory in 1763; the Spaniards gained the huge territory of "Louisiana" while losing the Floridas to the British. Weddle describes the musical chairs that ensued as the Spaniards tried to consolidate their hold over their new lands, while the British asserted their sovereignty over the former French and Spanish colonies east of the Mississippi. Most of these regions had been only very summarily mapped, so the story is as much about reconnaissance and surveying as it is about conventional political maneuvres. Weddle offers an admirable description of the work of surveyors like José Antonio de Evia on the Spanish side and George Gauld on the British. Nor are the indigenous inhabitants left out of the picture, for the activities of about fifty Indian tribes enter the story, from the Alabama to the Yuchi. It now seems ironic that all this work by the officials and soldiers of Spain and Britain should have led, in the end, to the gaining of the territory by the infant United States. But their work lives on as the essential documentary foundation for understanding the early European presence in many parts of the Union.

The book draws in every province bordering the Gulf, from Florida to Yucatán, and it provides a large number of contemporary maps to elucidate the text. Weddle knows the country well and often includes his own photographs to bring the reader into touch with present realities. Some readers may be put off by the lack of analysis, but this is a book describing how things actually seem to have been; it draws together information on a vast range of often neglected developments, and will no doubt serve for many years as the standard reference in its field.

DAVID BUISSERET
*University of Texas, Arlington*

EDWIN S. GAUSTAD. *Sworn on the Altar of God: A Religious Biography of Thomas Jefferson*. (Library of Religious Biography.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 1995. Pp. xiv, 246. $15.00.

Edwin S. Gaustad states that Thomas Jefferson, the "most self-consciously theological of all America's presidents," was "mesmerized" by the subject of religion (p. xiii). Moreover, he asserts, despite his Enlightenment roots, the multifaceted statesman recognized a theocentric world and ultimately would not have resisted "novel" nineteenth-century evangelical expressions like those of the Latter-Day Saints and Seventh-Day Adventists, because variety meant that "tyrannical religious monopoly need no longer be feared" (p. 214). Despite Gaustad's idiosyncratic premise, this study is a thorough treatment of Jefferson's thinking on religious freedom as well as his private testaments of faith.

Jefferson's love of learning was awakened in an Anglican world, his first teachers clergymen. Gaustad traces Jefferson's religious consciousness from his early participation in congenial Anglican society through his collaboration with James Madison in promoting religious freedom, the production of his miracle-free *The Life and Morals of Jesus*, and his lively conversations with Unitarian Joseph Priestley and the avid Benjamin Rush, the latter of whom was dismayed by Jefferson's resistance to the marriage of republicanism and Christianity. The most persuasive section of the book treats Jefferson's insistent call for liberty of conscience, evident in his thinking in the preparation of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom. Federalist attacks on Jefferson as "an enemy to pure morals and religion" (p. 92) and thus a traitor to America are also powerfully recaptured.

But what makes Jefferson, who took his scissors to the New Testament to eliminate all but humanistic moral teaching, the "most self-consciously theological" of the presidents? This is where Gaustad, like Jefferson, cuts and pastes text to manipulate his subject toward a more spiritual posture than seems reasonable. The overwhelming hatred Jefferson expressed toward clerical dogmatism and intolerance, which permeated his correspondence on religious subjects for decades, Gaustad has to navigate through to find in the end a religious man. Whereas Rush hoped that Christianized republicanism could defeat political and religious corruption at once, Jefferson pugnaciously defended, as he specified in a letter in 1801, whatever encouraged "liberty, science, and the freest expression of the human mind" (p. 120). What, then, was the pure and primitive gospel Jefferson claimed he found appealing? When Gaustad is not asserting Jefferson's Christian credentials, as when he writes that "what sounded like freedom to Jefferson could sound very much like Unitarianism to others" (p. 180), he fudges: "Jefferson did not fit neatly into any category" (p. 145). Jefferson wrote in 1819: "I am of a sect by myself, as far as I know" (p. 145). Jefferson's Christianity was one of simplicity and benevolence. He asserted that Jesus never claimed to be on a divine mission (p. 117). By what measure could he be called a Christian? Gaustad tries to be thorough, but Jefferson remains enigmatic.

Oddly, the dramatic quote that provides the title of this book, citing Jefferson's "eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man" (p. 181), is not analyzed in the context in which it was written, the candidate's dilemma during the election of 1800. Instead, it frames a much later discussion concerning the larger meaning of the Jefferson-Rush dialogue. And here, too, Rush's identification with evangelical Christianity and the idea of a personal savior is overstated.

There is much disquieting speculation in this otherwise comprehensive work. Gaustad, who has unhappily



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forsworn footnotes, selectively arranges excerpts from the so-called "Jefferson Bible" to suggest that particular passages "must have more than once brought comfort to a beleaguered president and vilified reformer" (p. 127). He on occasion pairs statements of the 1780s with others from the 1820s without specifying the dates, and this muddies an already mixed corpus of quotations from Jefferson. Understatement borders on deception, as in "Jefferson thought less highly of miracles than did Priestley" (p. 113), when Jefferson in fact dismissed miracles as superstition. Neither does he explore Jefferson's relations with his Quaker friend George Logan, although the lack of dogmatism in that creed met with Jefferson's favor. (Gaustad sees a contradiction in Quaker ties to England that he might have pursued further.)

As usual, the collected writings of Jefferson can be used to place him on all sides of an issue. He was not the earthbound "Newtonian deist" Gaustad at one point calls him (p. 143). None of the old categories—Anglican, Unitarian, or Deist—entirely describes him. Surely, then, he cannot be placed in partnership with evangelical moral reform, as Gaustad suggests.

ANDREW BURSTEIN
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NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR. *The Presidency of James Monroe*. (American Presidency Series.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1996. Pp. xvi, 246. $29.95.

Noble E. Cunningham, an accomplished scholar in the field of American politics during the early national period, has contributed an excellent volume to the series on the presidency published by the University Press of Kansas. It is a well-researched, attractively written biography of James Monroe as president (1817–1825). Drawing from a large range of original sources and pertinent secondary literature, Cunningham offers a reliable, interesting portrait.

The last of the so-called Virginia dynasty, Monroe has not enjoyed a historical reputation equal to that of his mentor, Thomas Jefferson, or that of his fellow Republican, James Madison. Instead, he usually appears as an early example of a professional politician, holding various high offices but lacking the color and substance of other chief executives. From his youthful military service during the Revolution through membership in state and national legislatures, election as governor, assignment to several critical diplomatic missions, and appointments as secretary of both state and war in the Madison administration, he brought to the presidency a rich variety of experience. Added to this was a personality that was unpretentious and remarkably approachable. In his presidential years, Monroe projected the image of a much-admired surviving patriot of the nation's founding era.

Unquestionably, he had a good grasp of practical politics. His openness to common people as well as the elite proved to be an asset as chief executive. Perhaps drawing from Washington's precedent of traveling about to meet the people, Monroe took two long tours through the East and the transmontane area soon after inauguration. Frequent stops allowed innumerable elaborate ceremonies of welcome and admiration. He handled them effectively, much as some of his twentieth-century successors would, and built a good foundation for popularity and leadership. Added to this was Monroe's style of work. Attentive to detail, well prepared on many topics, and quite pragmatic, he managed responsibilities well. Yet near the close of his second term, surrounded by colleagues hungry for the presidential succession, he lost some effectiveness.

Like others of his day, Monroe deprecated the rise of political parties and sought to stand above them. Here he was in tune with the trend of the moment, when the first two-party system crumbled and Monroe seemed to personify the Era of Good Feelings. Nevertheless, his appointments and his support were not shared with the decrepit Federalists but went decidedly to those of the Jeffersonian faith, and the same was often true of his approach to important questions.

Cunningham seems to judge Monroe's principal achievement to be diplomatic, perhaps reflecting the president's extensive involvement in foreign relations. His caution and ultimate success in concluding the treaty to acquire Florida are praised, together with his strict disapproval of Jackson's invasion of Spanish territory, a dangerous constitutional infraction by a military figure, he believed. But Cunningham rates the Monroe Doctrine highest among his contributions. The chief executive moved carefully and efficiently in reacting to the British invitation for a joint warning against European intervention in the Latin American revolutions. There were consultations with Jefferson and Madison and many cabinet discussions hour after hour. The result was a document that met existing conditions and supplied a long-range policy. Did Monroe merely follow Secretary of State John Quincy Adams's formula? Not so, he says, for the president rejected or modified a number of the secretary's arguments. Saying this, Cunningham still adopts the verdict of diplomatic historians that Europe was already dissuaded from intervention by the French Polignac memorandum, which stipulated against it.

On economic issues, Monroe does not appear at his best. He took an unproductive, strict-constructionist position on federal internal improvements, especially road building, despite his lively interest in facilitating canal construction and unilaterally ordering layout of military routes. His adversary on internal improvements, as in other respects, was Speaker Henry Clay. Likewise, his support of protective tariffs was mild, chiefly a nationalist token. Cunningham says that "this potentially explosive issue . . . remained under control."

A still more difficult issue was Missouri statehood. Monroe was extremely worried that unwanted, unconstitutional, antislavery conditions would be attached to the congressional compromise. It was only after provisions with meaningful restrictions on the state itself



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(not on other territory) were removed that the president was pacified. The time was near at hand, of course, when Monroe's opinion on slavery would undergo intensified attack.

Overall, this is a welcome study of important topics and will be a useful resource for a long time.

MAURICE BAXTER
*Indiana University*

JAMA LAZEROW. *Religion and the Working Class in Antebellum America*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1995. Pp. xxi, 353. $39.50.

On the face of it, the formative role of religion in early working-class organization would seem commonsensical. The antebellum era, after all, witnessed perhaps the greatest outpouring of religious sentiment in American history, and religion and reform became so closely intertwined during the period as to be often indistinguishable. It is all the more curious, then, that most labor historians have given religion such little credit for its salutary role in the labor reform movements of the 1830s and 1840s. Jama Lazerow thus joins only a small group of labor historians who have argued that religion truly mattered to laboring men and women in the antebellum labor movement.

Lazerow divides his book into three sections. In the first, he establishes the importance of religion to working people, both in their everyday lives and in their response to the rise of capitalist manufacturing. Antebellum working people, like nearly all literate people living in the period, took their first lessons in literacy from family Bible-reading, and the language of religion was thus as familiar to working people as were republicanism, liberalism, or any other form of discourse. Having established the religious culture of working people, Lazerow turns to two of the most pressing general problems faced by early labor leaders and their organizations: charges of infidelity and the antipathy of institutionalized religion to the labor cause. The coexistence of religion and working-class protest was not always an easy one, and labor leaders and their organizations frequently found themselves charged with infidelity and outright atheism by anti-labor forces who sought to raise one of the most powerful ideological weapons of the age against the cause of labor reform. Infidelity did, in fact, exist among a small, mostly urban, section of the working class, Lazerow admits, but the bulk of the working class was nonetheless staunchly Christian. Professions of Christianity and church attendance were not the same things, however, and antebellum labor leaders were as likely to work from within established congregations as do without them. Local differences—a sympathetic or antagonistic minister or a pro- or anti-labor congregation—determined the particular affiliation of labor leaders, but, again, whatever their relation to the church establishment, these leaders considered themselves Christians.

In the second section, Lazerow offers a series of case studies of the relationship between religion, established churches, and the antebellum labor movement. Ranging from mill towns in Massachusetts to the riverine ports of Wilmington, Delaware, and Rochester, New York, Lazerow details the local circumstances that shaped the church affiliations of local labor leaders. Rochester churches, for example, were the sites of an ideological struggle between working-class and middle-class congregants, each attempting to define Rochester Christianity in their own ways. In Fitchburg, Massachusetts, on the other hand, church divisions ran through the working class itself, with union leaders attending the old, established Congregational, Unitarian, and Baptist churches and the rank-and-file allying themselves with the newer and more marginal Methodist church. Lazerow offers no general pattern for the relationship between antebellum churches and their working-class constituencies; instead he uses his case studies to underline the importance of antebellum churches in shaping working-class protest throughout the era.

In the final section of his book, Lazerow turns to ideology and challenges the current orthodoxy among antebellum labor historians, which views republicanism as the defining ideology of the early nineteenth-century labor movement. Labor activists may have spoken the language of republicanism, Lazerow admits, but they also spoke the language of radical religion. For these leaders, the labor movement was more than a crusade for the rights of labor; it was also a holy crusade for a national Christian community. By joining together religious and secular criticisms of competition, poor working conditions, and long hours of labor—the hallmarks of the new capitalist order—labor leaders fashioned a powerful ideology that appealed, both to working people and to citizens of the communities in which they lived.

Lazerow's book offers an important counterpoint to much recent work on the rise of the American working class and clearly establishes the vital role of religion in the antebellum labor movement. Yet it also leaves some important questions unanswered. Despite its inclusive title, this is mostly a book about New England. Even Rochester was, according to one contemporary, "a peculiarly Puritan city" (p. 111). New England religiosity is, of course, legendary, and religious concerns never lay very far below the surface of most Yankee affairs. If one wished to search for working-class religiosity, New England would be the most likely place to find it.

But what about urban production centers such as New York City, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati? In his very brief discussion of labor and religion in antebellum Boston, Lazerow finds local churches hostile and labor leaders mostly unchurched. He also admits the powerful attraction that Boston's Freethought movement had for local working people. If religion had such a meager role to play in Boston, hardly the center of urban capitalism in the antebellum years, what can be said of its urban counterparts to the south and west?



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Had religion no part to play there as well? Recent works by Dee Andrews on New York and Philadelphia and William Sutton on Baltimore suggest otherwise.

These questions aside, Lazerow makes an important contribution to the current reconsideration of religion's vital role in the history of the American working class.

RONALD SCHULTZ
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AMY GILMAN SREBNICK. *The Mysterious Death of Mary Rogers: Sex and Culture in Nineteenth-Century New York*. (Studies in the History of Sexuality.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 218. $25.00.

On the morning of July 25, 1841, a beautiful young woman left the New York City boarding house that she ran with her mother, supposedly to visit her aunt. She never returned; her body was retrieved from the Hudson River three days later. Twenty-year-old Mary Rogers had become the apparent victim of sexual assault and brutal murder.

In this provocative and creative study, Amy Gilman Srebnick skillfully invokes the Rogers saga as an entrée into a dazzling array of themes, all of them concerned with the emergence of a modern urban culture: class, gender, sexuality, identity, criminal justice, "high" and popular culture. The result is an innovative combination of social and cultural history that employs Mary Rogers as a "connecting link between the more traditional approaches to social, women's, and urban history and the new discourses of critical studies and cultural theory" (p. xiv). Indeed, a fortuitous coincidence makes the retelling of Rogers's story possible and explains much of its significance: her death took place in precisely the same era as did the appearance of new literary forms. Rogers not only received sensational coverage in the recently established penny press but inspired both the detective stories of Edgar Allen Poe and the pulp fiction of writers such as J. H. Ingraham, Ned Buntline, and Charles Burdett. In short, she became a "cultural text" (p. 74).

While a brief review cannot capture the richness and complexity of her analysis, Srebnick's primary purpose is to explain why antebellum Americans found Rogers's story so compelling. The answer, she suggests, lies in its appeal to fears and fantasies about the city. A recent migrant from the coast of New England, Rogers, like many of her contemporaries, entered a world where the social arrangements, obligations, and identities of the past carried little weight. There she participated in a new public culture that offered young working-class women both sexual pleasure and sexual danger. Lurid press accounts portrayed her as both the victim *and* the embodiment of urban perils; in either case she became a symbol for all that was wrong with city life. Popular novelists raised the stakes by symbolically connecting Rogers's fate to that of the American republic. Nor did these anxieties remain within the realm of metaphor; they provoked campaigns to protect women with improved policing and to control their sexuality by criminalizing abortion. (Here Srebnick does not posit a direct causal connection between the publicity surrounding Rogers's death and subsequent legislative action but rather sees both as parts of larger political and social debates.)

Perhaps inevitably in a work that emphasizes cultural representation, some of Srebnick's assertions may raise questions in the minds of readers. Her discussion of the links novelists forged between Rogers's destiny and the fate of the nation, for example, needs further elaboration. And she reveals the "real" cause of her subject's death far too quickly, forfeiting an opportunity to convey to a modern audience the suspense that the historical Rogers must have inspired. Nevertheless, this is a pathbreaking book, one that will make it impossible to write urban history in quite the same way again.

WENDY GAMBER
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SUSAN J. TRACY. *In the Master's Eye: Representations of Women, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Antebellum Southern Literature*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 307. $42.50.

Discussing novels by William Alexander Caruthers, James Ewell Heath, John Pendleton Kennedy, William Gilmore Simms, George Tucker, and Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, Susan J. Tracy argues that their social vision shows the planter class committed to preserving gender and class hierarchies as well as race inequities and that this triple agenda is revealed in a repeated basic plot. Supported by loyal black slaves, the planter hero rescues a heroine of his class and race from a demonized lower-class white male intent upon invading the planter class. Tracy believes that her study offers a new way of understanding southern proslavery arguments as well as insight into why this fiction has been forgotten. Conservative to its core, "every line and every scene in this literature was written to assure the reader of the natural superiority of men to women, of whites to blacks and Native Americans, and of the planter class to all other classes" (p. 5).

Tracy shows that the philosophical and political foundation of this literature is eighteenth-century republicanism. With the patriarchal family serving as the model for all social relations, the planter controls and dominates his wife and children, his black slaves, and poor and yeoman whites living beyond the perimeters of the plantation. The degree of absolute power and of explicit violence may vary across these gender, race, and class lines, but the underlying paradigm of a "natural superior" governing "natural inferiors" justifies the planter's control in all instances. Thus, this proslavery fiction does not join the rest of the nation's celebration of individualism—typically embodied in a rugged white male adventurer, according to Tracy—



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even as it develops and valorizes a planter "cult of masculinity." That cult shows up in "planters who have demonstrated their virility and 'toughness' by conquering Native Americans and black men, defeating the British, and subduing a reckless and immoral poor-white class, and thus 'winning' the pure heroine" (pp. 183–84).

Tracy's book has many strengths. Her treatment of the "cult of masculinity"; her attention to the interlock of gender, race, and class; her identification of an underlying shared plot; and her complication of the category "white" in her distinction between poor whites and yeoman white farmers all offer valuable historical vantage points.

As a book about literary texts, this study could be stronger. Tracy states that she has read widely in contemporary literary theory and criticism—written, in her view, during "one of the more confusing decades of literary discourse" (p. 3)—but found little useful. Only Simone de Beauvoir, Sheila Rowbotham, Adrienne Rich, and Cynthia Griffin Wolff were important influences. As these names suggest and the bibliography confirms, the literary critical orientation of this book is dated. A 1963 critical position, for example, is cited to generalize about American literature (p. 41). The result is literary analysis that misses opportunities. Tracy observes that her authors repeatedly kill off the planter wife and put the daughter in her place, simply calling this erasure "curious" (p. 104). Similarly, she labels "odd" the refusal to portray blacks as religious (pp. 145–46) and notes without comment the representation of menacing poor whites as "dark and swarthy" (p. 185). Aided by contemporary literary theory, Tracy might have read such signs differently. She might speculate about the buried plot of incest in these novels, displaced from the slave daughter onto the planter daughter. She might consider the possibility that African-American spiritual belief systems outside the planter's control hover in the texts' silences about religion. Or she might perceive the covert figuring of the imagined, sexually frightening black man, supposedly absent in these novels, in the dark and swarthy poor white just beyond the boundaries of the planter's hegemony.

However, if the book weakens in its literary analyses, it remains cogent in its central historical argument. In grouping these six authors and identifying a shared reactionary plot, Tracy very persuasively demonstrates the importance of considering gender and class as well as race in examinations of southern proslavery rhetoric.

ELIZABETH AMMONS
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NELL IRVIN PAINTER. *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol.* New York: W. W. Norton. 1996. Pp. xii, 370. $28.00.

Virginia Woolf once complained that writing lives was the devil, and as she began the life story of her friend, Roger Fry, Woolf wondered how anyone could write a biography from just a few cardboard boxes full of postcards, bills, and love letters. For those who would tell the lives of women and blacks and who lack the traditional documents available for important white males, the difficulties are increased. How, indeed, do you make a biography of an illiterate former slave who exists in the popular imagination through a series of quotations ("Ar'n't I a Woman?"), brief episodes (baring her breast when challenged as a male impostor), labels ("The Libyan Sibyl"), and today's tee-shirts and china figurines? For any responsible historian, the issue of sources is a formidable challenge.

Nell Irvin Painter has solved in innovative ways the problems of telling the compelling story of Sojourner Truth. Instead of the familiar letters, diaries, and documents, the usual grist of the biographer, Painter uses contextual evidence: descriptions by others of the religious communities of which Truth was a part, social histories of the places in which this extremely mobile woman lived, the cartes-de-visite photographs taken of Truth in the 1860s, and, finally, a rereading of the symbolic imagery and iconography that have encrusted Truth. The result is an important study, not only because of the human being that emerges but also because of the doors that Painter opens for other biographers faced with the supposed invisibility of their subjects.

Until this biography, Truth had remained one of those historical characters who ceased to exist as an individual and who served instead as a convenient representative of various themes and issues of the antislavery and women's movements and of white racial attitudes. Through a careful delineation of Truth's childhood and early adulthood as the slave Isabella in New York and her subsequent reinvention of herself as the free woman Sojourner Truth in 1843, Painter returns Truth's life to history.

If, in the depiction of Truth's early years, there are more than a few of the biographer's traditional hedges of "probably," "most likely," and "possibly," (especially in the speculation over her sexual abuse by her mistress), still this biography affords in accessible prose the essence of Truth. The lesson here is that the vaccuum cleaner school of biography that ends in seven-hundred-page detailed chronicles often leaves readers with less of an understanding of a subject than does Painter who, even after her extensive research, still does not know the exact number of Truth's children.

Among her important contributions is Painter's evocation of Truth's pentecostal evangelism, her associations with New York perfectionists and Millerites, and her two years in the cult community organized by the abusive prophet Matthias in the 1830s. According to Painter (in a race and gender-specific claim that surely could be broadened), "Isabella discovered the secret power that black women have tapped into over the generations to counter the negation they experience in the world. In sanctification, they have located a power that has made possible survival and autonomous action



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when all other means fail" (p. 30). In her relationship with Matthias and even in her continuing association with her former owners, Sojourner Truth the powerful, independent black woman—the quintessential standard for black womanhood—collides with the historical reality. But the result is a credible human being who resisted breaking off relationships with whites and used diplomacy and self-creation to become, after Harriet Beecher Stowe's admiring but condescending portrayal of her as a "Libyan Sibyl," a celebrity.

As Painter makes clear, while Truth depended on others, she was actively engaged in the process of creating her own persona. She supported herself by traveling through the United States selling for twenty-five cents the admiring but condescending and often inaccurate narrative of her life written by a middle-class white woman; she spoke with power at abolitionist and feminist meetings; she preached self-help to the freedpeople in wartime Washington; she challenged—though in the most oblique way—the white suffragists' increasingly racist opposition to the Fourteenth Amendment.

And in the 1860s and 1870s, she sat in tailored middle-class clothing for photographs. As Painter adroitly argues, these visual images verified as few black women of this era could that Sojourner Truth was present in her times. And with these cards, which she sold for thirty-three cents (the caption read "I sell the shadow to support the substance"), she engaged in a form of self-promotion that assured her place in the various reform movements of her time.

It is one of the strengths of this biography that Painter is able to unravel the various threads of Truth's eighty-six years and to evaluate as well the accuracy of various appropriations of Truth. But in the end, as Painter acknowledges, the mythical Truth who has for different reasons and for different groups served so long is unshakeable, despite the historical reality that emerges from Painter's scholarship. And we may suppose, alternatively, that the actual Sojourner Truth marched proudly through her life unscathed by the way others recreated her image.

JEAN HARVEY BAKER
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PATRICIA MORTON, editor. *Discovering the Women in Slavery: Emancipating Perspectives on the American Past*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1996. Pp. x, 320. Cloth $40.00, paper $20.00.

The 1970s marked the golden age of slavery studies, with scholars like John W. Blassingame, Eugene Genovese, Herbert G. Gutman, and Lawrence W. Levine making major contributions to our understanding of slave life; but they were also a period when research focused on the male slave. The contemporary context for such a limited view of the institution of slavery was the emphasis then being placed on the black man by the Black Power movement and the national debate over the Moynihan Report, which blamed ghetto problems on the female-headed black families that were allegedly a legacy of slavery. As a consequence, slavery studies sought to portray the manly slave. Although the 1970s also witnessed the establishment of the new field of women's history, it, too, neglected the female slave. With the notable exception of Anne Firor Scott, its practitioners were primarily interested in the experiences of middle-class women from the Northeast. It was not until the mid-1980s that slave women received in-depth examination by scholars like Deborah Gray White, Jacqueline Jones, and Paula Giddings and that Scott's earlier portrayal of slave mistresses was developed in greater detail by Catherine Clinton, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, and others.

This volume, edited by Patricia Morton, is situated at the juncture between slavery studies and women's history and represents the further development of both fields. Whereas initial forays flattened the examination of slavery and women by focusing on and often generalizing from the experiences of women of both races on large plantations, the fourteen original essays presented here seek out the impact of slavery on women from a variety of positions in society. In drawing detailed descriptions of how slavery variously affected differently situated women, these essays are representative of the direction research has taken in both slavery studies and women's history—the exploration of differences.

Morton provides a useful historiography in her introduction as well as a selected bibliography of the major monographs. The essays that follow are divided into two groups. The initial section focuses on biographies, exhibiting an array of ways that women were connected to the institution of slavery. They range from a deconstruction of folkloric accounts of a former slave who assisted her white lover in an uprising against the Confederacy in Mississippi, to an examination of perhaps the only case in which a master was hanged for murdering his slave, to the example of a white woman who used the authority that her husband's absence during the Civil War provided to purchase slaves and enter the ranks of the master class, to the difficulties a northern-born wife had in maintaining her ideal of the southern lady in relation to the reality of supervising household slaves, to Lydia Maria Child's depiction of African-American women as both victims and paragons of Victorian virtue. The final section examines slave women in Connecticut, the interconnectedness of free women of African descent and slaves in New Orleans, the role of Methodism in the lives of slave women in the revolutionary and early national periods, the expression of individuality in dress by slaves and freedwomen, breastfeeding among slaves in Virginia and Alabama, interracial sexual relations in Virginia and South Carolina decoded from ex-slave interviews, the moral contradictions between the ideal of the lady and the ideology of slavery that confronted elite women, and, finally, the ways in which



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German-American mistresses' relations with their slaves differed from those of the general population.

If an underlying theme is discernible among such a variety of topics, it is that women—whether slave or free—were not passive victims but active resisters of the limitations placed on their autonomy. Despite some authors' insistence that their studies go beyond conventional accounts, readers familiar with recent scholarship will find little that is new here. Additionally, a few essays are weakened by interpretations that, while suggestive, are not compelling, based on the evidence offered. A case in point concerns a master's homicide conviction in the torture and slaying of his female slave. Employing Bertram Wyatt-Brown's notion of honor, the conviction is construed as the result of a community's attempt to retain its sense of honor; but this interpretation rests on little documentation and fails to address the question of why this community convicted when others, where the role of southern honor may also be supposed to have obtained, permitted such crimes to go unpunished? Finally, notwithstanding the range of subjects covered in this collection, I would have liked to see some examination of Native American women in their roles as slaves, slaveholders, and members of maroon communities.

Despite such caveats, this is a wide-ranging and useful collection. By highlighting the variegated impact of slavery on all women, generalizations drawn from large plantations will be increasingly difficult to justify.

Christie Farnham
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Wilma King. *Stolen Childhood: Slave Youth in Nineteenth-Century America*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 253. $27.95.

Few topics in the history of American slavery have received as little sustained attention as that of children and childhood. Over twenty-five years ago, Willie Lee Rose opened the subject with a perceptive paper entitled, "Childhood in Bondage." Since that time, historians such as John W. Blassingame, Herbert G. Gutman, Ann Patton Malone, Leslie Howard Owens, and Brenda Stevenson have investigated various aspects of the family life of slaves, and others have described children's work and play. Yet until the appearance of this book, no monograph had focused exclusively on the many topics relating to the enslaved young.

Defining her subject as "the ordeals of the most vulnerable victims" (p. xx) of slavery, Wilma King explores five major subjects concerning children: family relations and childrearing, work, leisure, education and religion, and punishments. Her focus is firmly on the nineteenth century, and a final chapter details the transition to freedom during the Civil War. Utilizing a mixture of archival, published primary sources, and secondary works, King writes about the lives of enslaved children all over the South during a time span of more than sixty years.

King's title reveals her major thesis: slavery and the work, punishments, and privations it entailed robbed enslaved African American children of their childhoods. Focusing on the separation of families, punishments, and early work, she depicts a grim life in which children in bondage early realized their plight and wished to resist or run away from it. Games and recreation, the support of the slave community and family, and religious beliefs were the primary factors that made life bearable for these brutalized young people.

King's organization sometimes seems to create discontinuities or repetition as she treats parent-child relations both in a chapter on family and community and one on education. In general, she stresses the affection of parents and child and does not argue, as Brenda Stevenson has elsewhere, that the violence and brutality that adult slaves daily experienced sometimes encouraged them to use force on their own offspring. Moreover, while King is aware of regional variations, she tends to deal with the South on a general level that would mask any significant differences in children's experiences, whether in the amount of family disruption experienced or in work experience. Similarly, she treats the entire antebellum nineteenth century as a whole rather than developing any chronology of change over time that would deal with changes wrought by western migration or innovations in transportation.

Yet King's study does provide a generalized picture of slave children. Well aware of the large body of writings on American children and on American slavery, she integrates both into her broad presentation. This approach, which does at least note the wide variations in the conditions slave children endured and the kinds of work they performed, most often reflects views that others have articulated and will hold few surprises for historians of slavery.

Jane Turner Censer
*George Mason University*

William Dusinberre. *Them Dark Days: Slavery in the American Rice Swamps*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 556. $55.00.

Probably no individual plantation operations left fuller documentation, and thus have been more carefully scrutinized since, than those of the Allstons, the Butlers, and the Manigaults of coastal South Carolina and Georgia. Yet it is these three around which William Dusinberre builds his vast and multifaceted new interpretation of slavery and rice production. Among his most impressive achievements is that he draws from these all-too-familiar sources so much that is fresh, provocative, and fully worthy of our attention.

Dusinberre portrays the masters of all three of his rice plantations as driven and sometimes ruthless capitalists, unwilling to sell their profit-focused ambi-



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tions short in the interests of their slaves. He argues that, far from declining, rice production along the southeastern seaboard remained vital and even expansive during slavery's final decade, even though a smaller number of slaves were called upon to support these expanded operations. Such trends, combined with the grueling demands and unhealthy circumstances always inherent in rice production, made "dark days" indeed for the African Americans enslaved on these particular plantations. In short, Dusinberre argues, "Masters subjected slaves to appalling conditions because rice plantations promised them large fortunes" (p. 416).

Dusinberre demonstrates just how appalling those conditions were through a barrage of statistical evidence and personal testimony from each of his three plantations. Not since Eugene D. Genovese's *Roll, Jordan, Roll* (1974) have we seen so balanced an analysis of both slaves and slave holders. Equally rare have been works in which the moral shortcomings and emotional traumas of slavery have been grounded so fully in the institution's economic and demographic realities.

Dusinberre portrays Charles and Louis Manigault's Gowrie plantation, eight miles upstream from Savannah, as a "charnel house" of needlessly high slave mortality rates and an equally unstable environment for slave marriages and family life. He draws heavily on the observations of Fanny Kemble (Mrs. Pierce Butler) at Butler Island, near Darien, Georgia, to portray "an entire system of degrading the slaves" (p. 248). Kemble was particularly struck by the demoralization of her husband's slave women, from whom she learned that most suffered multiple miscarriages, the frequent deaths of their children, and a variety of health problems, all stemming from the rigorous labor demands inflicted on them, with few concessions made for pregnancy or new motherhood.

In a chapter entitled "Coercion," Dusinberre uses Robert Allston's Chicora Woods, on South Carolina's Pee Dee River, to create a vivid case study of brutal disciplinary measures inflicted by both master and overseers. African Americans remembered these abuses, and, in an epilogue of sorts, Dusinberee suggests that, in Works Progress Administration (WPA) interviews in the late 1930s, former Allston slaves expressed far more bitterness toward their slave lives and their masters than we generally associate with that rich body of testimony. It was their frequently repeated three-word label for those years that gave the book its title.

This was, Dusinberre insists, not a world the slaves made. By stressing their powerlessness within the despotic and exploitative regime of antebellum rice culture, he portrays them first and foremost as victims. Yet he is not always persuasive in the sometimes muddled slave mentalité he seeks to recreate. Despite a full chapter devoted to slave resistance, he uses it more to confirm his thesis of the system's abuses than to demonstrate any resiliency or activism on the part of slaves. He constantly stresses slaves' deep frustrations and genuine suffering, both physical and psychological, and yet he lends credence to Stanley M. Elkins's long discredited notion that slaves were brainwashed into submission. "Can anyone doubt," Dusinberre asks," that the effects of subordination etched themselves deeply into the character of many slaves—as deeply as the effects of domination shaped the character of many masters?" (p. 434).

The paternalistic master-slave relationship portrayed by Genovese is Dusinberre's most obvious target. Even when he acknowledges some beneficence on the part of his three masters, he attributes such impulses to their own, not their slaves', well-being. "All such extensions of privilege offered the master substantial returns," economic and otherwise, he maintains. "The pleasures of exercising dominion—of bestowing favor upon sycophantic menials—were intense" (p. 319).

But Genovese's is hardly the only interpretation with which Dusinberre takes issue. He finds little among his subjects of the slave communities of John W. Blassingame or Charles Joyner; little of the stable family networks Herbert G. Gutman demonstrated; and little of the cultural interchanges between black and white demonstrated by the likes of Peter H. Wood, Lawrence W. Levine, and Mechal Sobel. Rather, his is an unabashed neo-abolitionist corrective to what he feels has been far too great an emphasis on, and romanticization of, the empowerment and the community-building of African-American bondsmen and women, often to the exclusion of the masters' presence altogether.

Dusinberre's arguments are compelling, and the evidence he has amassed to document the brutal hardships of rice-planting regimes is largely convincing. In shaping this ambitious reinterpretation of the world rice planters made for their slaves, Dusinberre demonstrates the value of asking large questions of small places—and the rich and often broad insights that such particularization can provide. The fact that he draws so much that is new from such well-trod sources testifies to the ambiguities and complexities that continue to fuel historians' ongoing debates over the South's most peculiar of institutions.

JOHN C. INSCOE
*University of Georgia*

JAMES M. MCPHERSON, editor. *"We Cannot Escape History": Lincoln and the Last Best Hope of Earth*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 176. $27.95.

More than sixty years ago, J. G. Randall asked readers of the *American Historical Review* "Has the Lincoln Theme Been Exhausted?" Answering no, Randall laid out an ambitious agenda of documentary and monographic projects. He tackled some himself and accomplished others through his graduate students at the University of Illinois. Yet the near-completion of



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Randall's 1936 agenda induced no slackening of interest in Lincoln. Among both professional scholars and enthusiastic amateurs (whose efforts Randall deplored), Lincoln has remained the focal point of numerous historical undertakings.

To commemorate the opening of a mammoth Lincoln exhibit in 1993, the Huntington Library assembled leading Lincoln experts for a two-day symposium. Ten resulting essays constitute a briskly readable inspection of current concerns in the field and range broadly from standard views of familiar topics to innovative explorations. The book begins and ends with essays that put Lincoln on the world stage. James M. McPherson examines the international implications of the triumph of democratic government, emphasizing the repercussions of the Emancipation Proclamation, and Merrill D. Peterson discusses the worldwide impact of Lincoln in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Although Randall complained about inappropriate invocations of Lincoln in contemporary political arguments, he himself was scarcely immune to this temptation, and the problem intrigued participants in the Huntington seminar. Labeling Lincoln "Our Ever-Present Contemporary," Frank J. Williams provides dozens of examples of the use and abuse of Lincoln in political and social spheres. Richard N. Current contrasts Lincoln's views of national identity with those of contemporary multiculturalists to frame a spirited Lincolnian and tolerant answer to the question "What is an American?"

In contrast to posterity's use of Lincoln, Kenneth M. Stampp offers some provocative thoughts on Lincoln's use of history. Jean H. Baker surveys "Lincoln's Narrative of American Exceptionalism" to discover how Lincoln interpreted his own career in terms of blending individual achievement and divine purpose. Phillip Shaw Paludan examines the issue of Lincoln's allegiance to the Declaration of Independence as opposed to the Constitution, arguing that emphasis on his devotion to both facilitates the best understanding of his presidential course. To interpret Lincoln as an egalitarian rather than a constitutionalist (as Garry Wills had), Paludan asserts, violates the integrity, strength, and coherence of Lincoln's thought. William E. Gienapp assesses Lincoln's presidential leadership in five categories: "leader of his party, his administration, the government, the military, and the people" (p. 64), concluding with unsurprising high marks in every sector. Questioning the common belief that the two-party system strengthened the North during the war, Mark E. Neely, Jr., provides some interesting examples from Illinois that tested limits of acceptable partisanship. In Illinois, as in Indiana, a Republican governor dismissed an inconvenient and troublesome Democratic legislature.

Harold Holzer argues provocatively that President Lincoln, who rarely spoke effectively when speaking impromptu, frequently shunned such opportunities. Gienapp comments on the comparative rarity of Lincoln's formal public addresses, wondering if he neglected opportunities to rally popular support (a point weakened somewhat by Gienapp's comparison of Lincoln's silence to Jefferson Davis's speaking tours to strengthen Confederate determination). Instead, Lincoln preferred to communicate through written messages and public letters. The established text of the moving "Farewell to Springfield," Holzer points out, is the version that Lincoln wrote out afterward rather than the less poetic version captured by reporters. Surveying uses and misuses of Lincoln by twentieth-century presidents, Williams notes that John F. Kennedy modeled his farewell to the people of Massachusetts upon Lincoln's words, then quotes what he mischievously characterizes as Bill Clinton's farewell to Arkansas, "I'll miss going down to the Y in the morning, my blue-collar gym, where there's nobody in bright Spandex outfits. I have a lot of friends in Washington. I think I'll enjoy it a lot." Modern presidents will discover that they cannot escape Lincoln and historians will continue to find the theme inexhaustible.

JOHN Y. SIMON
*Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*

STEVEN E. WOODWORTH. *Davis and Lee at War.* (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1995. Pp. xiii, 409. $29.95.

Steven E. Woodworth examined Jefferson Davis and his western generals in his well-received book, *Jefferson Davis and His Generals* (1990). The theme of this new study is the interplay of personality and strategy between Davis and eastern generals Joseph E. Johnston, P. G. T. Beauregard, and Robert E. Lee. After Johnston's wound at Seven Pines, Davis and Lee are naturally the central figures. According to Woodworth, they differed in two vital respects.

One was their personalities, which required and enabled Lee to handle his somewhat prickly commander in chief with amazing tact. It is a tribute to Lee's ability to repress his opinions and to manipulate those of his president when they disagreed or when Davis was indecisive. At the same time, Lee's deferential attitude and his military success enabled Davis to listen to Lee's advice in a way that he did not do with other commanders such as Beauregard or Johnston.

Davis and Lee also differed in their strategic vision. Woodworth contends that Lee had every intention of forcing decisive battle in the Gettysburg campaign, but to Davis the objective was merely to disrupt Union plans. Why the difference? Woodworth underlines Davis's faith in the defensive, which he believes offered "one of the two viable methods by which the Confederacy might have won its independence" (p. 327). In the face of superior resources, Davis assumed "that to win the war the South need only to avoid losing" (p. 328). Offensives might have a positive effect on morale, but the risks had to be weighed carefully.



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Lee adopted the other viable strategy, which concluded that because of its weaknesses the Confederacy must win victories quickly to demoralize the Union and cripple its armies. Lee's vision called for "crushing victory" (p. 214) that would destroy Union morale and force the Federals to give up the fight. Lee was willing to take gambles, says Woodworth, "not because the South could afford to lose them but because it could not afford failure to win them" (p. 330). The two opposing assumptions created tensions in an otherwise effective cooperation. Woodworth favors Lee's strategic concept, though we must always keep in mind the clarity of hindsight.

In both this and his previous book, Woodworth believes Davis did better than anyone else would have done, but he is more positive about the East. Lee spelled the difference. Brilliant, devoted, and courteous, Lee knew that to persuade the president to accept his views, he would have to be gracious and deferential with Davis.

A short review cannot do justice to this clearly and crisply written work. The argument is logical and precise, but there are subtleties that cannot be covered in a brief review. Many readers will disagree at one point or another: Woodworth believes that the Antietam campaign was "much more than a raid" (p. 188), contrary to several other historians, and he is less impressed by Longstreet's ability than is William Piston. Anyone who is interested in the working of this notable partnership, however, will have to take Woodworth's opinions into consideration.

RICHARD E. BERINGER
*University of North Dakota*

MICHAEL FELLMAN. *Citizen Sherman: A Life of William Tecumseh Sherman*. New York: Random House. 1995. Pp. xiv, 486. $30.00.

Alice Roosevelt Longworth, Teddy's daughter, had a well-deserved reputation for witticism. She displayed a sofa cushion that read: "If you haven't got anything nice to say, come and sit by me." After reading Michael Fellman's book about Civil War General William T. Sherman, I believe that Longworth would have welcomed its author to her side with enthusiasm. Fellman has very little "nice" to say about Sherman, and that little is lost in his psycho-study's unwaveringly harsh tone.

Fellman's choice of shocking words goes far beyond usual biographical analysis. Sherman was, says Fellman, a "bloody-handed and bloody-minded general" (p. 84) filled with "enormous destructive rage" (p. 122), "cold and intelligently measured anger" (p. 187), "sadistic purpose" (p. 188), and "homicidal fury" (p. 253). Despite the energy this must have taken, Fellman believes Sherman had enough strength left to possess "just a dash of resentful misogyny" (p. 341) and to be "a very energetic womanizer," too (p. 353). "Sherman often acted upon his coarsest and most impolitic opinions" (p. 185) with a "ghastly gallows flippancy" (p. 197), Fellman says. "Fury," "anger," "rage," drove Sherman, whether on his march to the sea or in relating to Ellen, his wife of thirty-eight years. "Fear of betrayal and abandonment, bouts of depression, and diffuse and frequently explosive rage characterized the adult Sherman," Fellman believes, the result of "truncated patrimony" (p. 5).

While so completely denigrating Sherman the person, Fellman ignores Sherman's activities as a soldier. He says little about the battles of the Civil War that were so crucial in the development of Sherman's psyche. For example, Fellman covers the battle of Shiloh and the Atlanta campaign in about a page each (making errors in both accounts). The result is lack of insight into the interplay between private and public experiences in the development of Sherman's attitudes.

Fellman has written psychohistory with a harsh certitude that oversimplifies the historical figure being studied and does injustice to the worthy historical method being utilized. Psychohistory can and does provide valuable insights into the past, but only when it is utilized with careful tentativeness that embraces all sides of the personality being analyzed. Fellman does not display such humility. He writes with a psychological definitiveness that is unsupported by the totality of evidence.

It was not rage that drove Sherman across Mississippi, Georgia, and the Carolinas; it was the blending of his earlier experiences as a soldier and civilian, his growth in military insight, a multitude of personal needs and desires, and the development of new societal attitudes concerning what was "acceptable" war. Such multiple causation is absent from Fellman's analyses.

In reality, Sherman, one of the leading figures of the nineteenth century, was beloved by his family, his soldiers, and the American public, and, later, was honored even by his Confederate military opposites. He was a complicated individual, of varying emotions, of noble and ignoble qualities, of failure and achievement. Fellman does provide some valid insights into known negative aspects of Sherman's life, such as his racist attitudes toward blacks and Indians. Still, in this book, he frequently goes beyond the sources or fails to include facts that would provide a more-rounded image of his subject. This book may buttress inaccurate stereotypes about the general found in old-fashioned Lost Cause historiography, and this is unfortunate. Specialists, however, should read this book so they will be aware of Fellman's arguments. Those readers with little knowledge of Sherman and the war would be better advised to look elsewhere for a more balanced insight into this multidimensional soldier.

JOHN F. MARSZALEK
*Mississippi State University*

MARK GRIMSLEY. *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy toward Southern Civilians, 1861–1865*. New



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York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 244. $29.95.

It has long been a part of the cherished myth of the Lost Cause that the Yankee vandals burned and pillaged (and some say raped) their way through the Confederacy during four years of ruthless war. This vivid portrayal of utter destruction is reinforced periodically by the inflammatory images contained in *Gone With the Wind*, citations from that bible of neo-Confederates, James Ronald Kennedy's and Walter Donald Kennedy's *The South was Right* (1994), and various forums where Civil War buffs continue to wage the war on paper and across the Internet. Most scholars have demonstrated a bit more restraint in their discussions, some going so far as to challenge previous characterizations of the Civil War as a total war. Now, Mark Grimsley offers a substantial and sophisticated explanation of exactly how and why Union generals and soldiers waged war against the Confederacy. Sensitive to issues of change over time, the difference between behavior prescribed in orders and undertaken by soldiers, and the conduct of war in the Western world, Grimsley's work points the way to a more mature, robust, and informed understanding of Union military policy by placing it in larger contexts.

The outlines of Grimsley's narrative—the transformation of the Union war effort from a limited war looking toward the conciliation of white southerners to a broader assault on material and psychological resources coupled with the emancipation of enslaved blacks—are familiar to most scholars. It is the fullness and precision with which he traces the transformation of the Union war effort that deserve loud applause. He takes full advantage of the Clausewitzian insight that war is politics conducted by other means to establish military measures within their larger political context in discussing the emergence of emancipation as a war measure and the concomitant abandonment of conciliation as a prime constraint upon the actions of commanders and soldiers. Yet as Grimsley points out, the hard war envisioned by Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman did not become an essential and systematic element of Union policy until Grant's appointment as general in chief in 1864. His discussion of how Sherman justified what he did in 1864–1865 merits comparison with interpretations offered in recent studies by Charles Royster, John F. Marszalek, and Michael Fellman.

Grimsley does not limit himself to the headquarters tent in examining the impact of Union advances upon Confederate civilians. Following leads offered by Royster, Joseph T. Glatthaar, and Gerald F. Linderman, he explores how common soldiers understood and implemented directives from above—and how at times they ignored them in their desire to strike back at recalcitrant rebels. They rarely assaulted white civilians, preferring instead to terrify them as they destroyed property and freed slaves. Thus soldiers as well as officers possessed a sense of restraint as they practiced what Grimsley terms "directed severity" against southern civilians. The bluecoats sought not to exterminate white southerners but to strike at the material and psychological resources necessary to resist the invaders.

By exploring the behavior of Union commanders and soldiers against Confederate civilians in the larger context of military history, Grimsley persuasively argues that the destruction wrought by Union forces was in line with previous practices and was limited in scope. In large part these limits reflected cultural, ethical, and political concerns: after all, the primary purpose of the Union war effort remained the elimination of the Confederacy as a political entity and the reintegration of its residents into the United States, not the wholesale destruction of the American South. Yet Grimsley could have said more about the interplay of policy ends and military means and about other efforts to promote resurgent loyalty, from the establishment of wartime Reconstruction regimes to the mixed motives behind the cotton trade. Olive branch as well as sword remained elements of Union policy; Grant later reflected that some of the destruction resulting from military operations in the spring of 1865 was counterproductive precisely because it did nothing to contribute to Confederate defeat while depriving southerners of economic resources needed for postwar recovery. One might quibble with certain assertions: while McClellan's failure to take Richmond might have shattered the viability of conciliation in some northern minds, it played virtually no role in shaping the responses of Grant and Sherman to civilian behavior in West Tennessee, and it was only one of several considerations in Lincoln's thinking on the matter.

This book represents a major step in advancing the debate about how and why the Union waged war and in viewing the Civil War against the larger backdrop of military history. Using crisp prose and clear logic, Grimsley has left his mark on Civil War scholarship in ways that transcend the traditional absorption with battles and leaders. Whether the result influences popular impressions of the war remains to be seen.

BROOKS D. SIMPSON
*Arizona State University*

ROBERT BRENT TOPLIN, editor. *Ken Burns's* The Civil War: *Historians Respond*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xxvi, 197. $24.00.

On Christmas Day, 1984, Ken Burns finished reading *The Killer Angels* (1974). Michael Shaara's novel of Gettysburg inspired him to take on the daunting task of producing a television series on the Civil War. The events of the next six years certainly validated Burns's decision: an estimated 40 million Americans watched at least one episode of his PBS series. Burns earned tremendous fame, shared at least in part with his brother, Ric Burns, and historian Geoffrey Ward. For historians of the Civil War, those were trying times. To acknowledge one's specialty was to invite a battery of



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queries about *The Civil War*. Even my tenure and promotion board wanted to hear my thoughts on Ken Burns. To make matters worse, Burns did not always seem to be wearing his fame with the proper humility. Snippets of interviews caught on the fly always seemed to find the film maker comparing himself to Homer or indicating that his *five* exhausting years of work had yielded a heretofore unimagined interpretation of the war. When the professional reviews began appearing, many historians came to praise Burns, but others had burial in mind. All admired the documentary's magnificent visual images, haunting quotations, and powerful musical selections. But naysayers noted numerous minor errors in fact while offering much larger criticisms of interpretation, omission, and emphasis.

Robert Brent Toplin has assembled responses to the series from seven historians—himself included—followed by replies from Ward and Burns. The result is an interesting collection of essays but hardly a balanced presentation of the issues. Although he is the editor, Toplin is no disinterested moderator. As a film historian, he admires Burns's achievement as both art and history, insisting that critics failed to understand the true nature and complexity of the film maker's task. He makes a strong case, no doubt strengthened by the fact that he gives himself three cracks at the reader—in the preface, introduction, and second essay—before any of the detractors have a say. In one telling passage, Toplin acknowledges that Burns limited the portrayal of women to "cameo" appearances by Mary Boykin Chesnut, Clara Barton, and Dorothea Dix, but he then insists that such modest attention was "'politically correct' for 1990" (p. xxv). It is hard to know exactly how to read this remark. But perhaps it clarifies Toplin's decision (in the preface) to note each male author's area of scholarly expertise while omitting any reference to Catherine Clinton's relevant publications on women and the war.

Several accounts of one fascinating episode weave their way through the book. Apparently Burns and his co-workers had a very tense encounter with a group of historians who had been asked to review the script's first draft. Finally, C. Vann Woodward, the senior scholar on the scene, stepped in to defend Burns and calm the waters. In Toplin's version, a few of the historians "complained," Burns patiently "explained," and finally Woodward "offered a pointed response" (p. xvii). Woodward's own charming "insider's account" includes a similar recollection of the incident and quotes a note from Burns praising his "generous and firm defense of our story-telling mandate in the face of possible pedagogical interference" (p. 12). Burns gets the last word, recalling the episode yet again and remembering how "the 'new' historians ... argued quite spitefully and belligerently" until Woodward saved the day (p. 171). If there is a different perspective on this little drama, the reader will not find it here.

The five other historians who critique the series mix differing proportions of praise and scorn. Gary W. Gallagher defends Burns's emphasis on military matters but takes him to task for repeating various outmoded interpretive biases. Catherine Clinton finds much to praise in the series but is sorry to report that "Burns has demonstrated that when it comes to women, he not only doesn't get it, he doesn't seem to care" (p. 67). In his essay on "Lincoln and Gettysburg," Gabor S. Boritt demonstrates his mastery of both topics by noting *The Civil War*'s numerous minor errors, but he generally shares Toplin's conviction that such quibbles do not undermine the significance of Burns's accomplishment. The most uncompromising attacks come from Eric Foner and Leon F. Litwack. Foner is dismayed with Burns's treatment of African Americans and of Reconstruction. The problem, he explains, is not simply one of the number of faces on a screen but of the film's fundamental understanding of the war's significance "as a family quarrel among whites" (p. 112). Litwack shares many of Foner's concerns while agreeing with several authors that Burns's greatest shortcoming is his failure to learn from several decades of recent scholarship.

In their rebuttals, Ward and Burns appear both distressed and bitter that some scholars did not share the popular enthusiasm for their work. Both seem deeply committed and sincere in their efforts, even if not always seeming to grasp the meaning of the larger criticisms. In his essay, Burns writes true to form. We read again (and again and again) about the five years of work; Homer is evoked at every opportunity. His strongest criticisms are aimed at the "top down" historians whose tradition he has rejected with his discovery of the common man. Readers of the *AHR* might not share his understanding of recent historiography. And, for lovers of factual quibbles, Ward adds a year to the war's length, and Burns misquotes Lincoln's 1838 Lyceum Address.

J. Matthew Gallman
*Loyola College in Maryland*

Stephen Cresswell. *Multiparty Politics in Mississippi, 1877–1902*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1995. Pp. xi, 285. $40.00.

From the end of Reconstruction to the 1960s, the Democratic Party has dominated Mississippi politics. Yet, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century dissident parties seriously contested Democratic control in the state, particularly at the local level. Stephen Cresswell focuses on these opposition parties in the most southern of all the states and effectively challenges important assumptions about political developments in Mississippi during this period.

Since the 1940s, historians such as Willie D. Halsell and Albert D. Kirwan have viewed the Mississippi opposition parties of the late nineteenth century from the standpoint of Democratic factionalism or national politics. They have concluded that these parties were a mere sideshow in the state's political history. Cresswell, on the other hand, demonstrates that Greenbackers, Independents, Populists, and even Republicans



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were not minor actors but played important roles in shaping the state's political structure.

Most of the state's dissidents were angry agrarians who resisted the loss of their economic independence at the hands of commercial interests supported by the Democratic hierarchy. According to Cresswell, agrarian opponents of the Democrats were strongest in counties where a majority of farmers tilled their own land. They won numerous local offices in these counties. Contrary to what a study by Michael R. Hyman (*The Anti-Redeemers: Hill-Country Political Dissenters in the Lower South from Redemption to Populism* [1990]) contends, agrarians received little support from hill-country poor whites. Fearful of losing control, Democrats raised the specter of Reconstruction and carpetbagger domination despite the fact that the agrarian opposition, unlike third parties in neighboring Alabama and elsewhere in the South, did not seriously seek black Republican support. When the resort to white supremacy propaganda failed, Democrats turned to intimidation and ballot-box fraud.

Agrarian parties, including the Populists during the 1890s, appealed almost exclusively to white voters in white-majority counties. Local white independents refused to share offices with blacks, and to demonstrate their commitment to white supremacy, they claimed that they had contributed to the 1875 "redemption" of the state from Radical Republican rule. Instead of joining the agrarian movements, Republicans in the overwhelmingly black Delta counties fused with Democrats in exchange for free elections and a share of local offices. Cresswell does not adequately explain why Delta Democrats made these important concessions, in view of the fact that they controlled the election machinery and presumably could disregard Republican ballots.

Although the state Greenback candidate captured forty percent of the vote in the 1881 gubernatorial election, the rise of the Populist Party during the 1890s posed the greatest challenge to the Democratic hegemony. Nevertheless, the Populists at their height won only twenty-two seats in the Mississippi legislature and failed to capture any state offices or congressional seats. Much of Cresswell's account of the agrarian revolt of the 1890s is familiar. He takes issue, however, with historian J. Morgan Kousser's contention, in his *Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South 1880–1910* (1974), that Democrats vigorously sought disenfranchisement in the state constitutional convention of 1890 while Republicans and Independents vigorously opposed it. Indeed, agrarians were the loudest voices demanding a new constitution, believing that, along with the disenfranchisement of blacks, it would reform the election process and undermine the state's one-party rule. The Republican Party, demoralized by repeated setbacks and racial division within its leadership, was indifferent to the framing of the constitution, though the franchise measures that were adopted had the immediate effect of greatly reducing the black vote. Populists soon learned that the constitution's suffrage provisions, mainly the poll tax requirement for voting, severely damaged their own hopes for success at the polls. When the Democrats adopted much of the farmers' platform, the fate of the Populist Party was sealed. By 1902, multiparty politics had virtually ceased to exist and the Democratic Party was in firm control of the state.

This well-researched and well-argued book is an important addition to the historical literature describing the transition of Mississippi politics from Reconstruction to the age of disenfranchisement and one-party rule.

WILLIAM C. HARRIS
*North Carolina State University*

DANIEL NELSON. *Farm and Factory: Workers in the Midwest, 1880–1990.* (Midwestern History and Culture.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 258. $29.95.

Daniel Nelson has written an ambitious work that attempts to summarize the experience of workers in the Midwest from 1880 to 1990. The book is primarily a synthesis of scores of secondary books and articles rather than a study based on primary sources.

Part one deals with the period between 1880 and 1900 and analyzes the work experiences of farmers, industrial workers, and white collar wage earners in the region. Part two focuses on the years from 1900 to 1930 and assesses the experience of workers in emerging mass-production industries and urban environments. Part three discusses the role of government in labor relations between 1930 and 1953. Part four covers the years from 1953 to 1990 in rather broad strokes and includes a discussion of the decline and rebirth of the midwestern economy during those years. In his afterword, Nelson speculates on the significance of the growing importance of service industries during the twentieth century.

The book raises numerous questions. Some readers may wonder whether the changes Nelson delineates are unique to the Midwest. Similar patterns can be discerned in New York, Pennsylvania, Alabama, northern California, and parts of the Pacific Northwest. Moreover, any analysis of economic changes in the United States between 1945 and 1995 that largely ignores the impact of federal expenditures, especially for national security (military weapons and installations), leaves a large gap. A broader context for the story told here might have enriched the account, especially if more consideration were given to the challenges presented by increased global competition for American management and workers after 1970. Industries important in the Midwest such as automobiles, steel, and rubber were the first to bear the brunt of this onslaught. Perhaps this factor deserves greater emphasis than it receives in these pages, especially in its effects on labor unions during the last three decades. And should not the role of the federal govern-



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ment in coopting many of the functions once performed by labor unions before 1960 also receive greater emphasis?

Nelson has been industrious in reading the secondary literature on his subject and in presenting his findings in workmanlike fashion. Historians interested in the Midwest, agriculture, labor, and industry in the twentieth century are likely to take notice of this book.

GERALD D. NASH
*University of New Mexico*

LANCE E. DAVIS and ROBERT J. CULL. *International Capital Markets and American Economic Growth, 1820–1914.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. vii, 166. $34.95.

Frequently in the past decade, pundits in the popular press have issued dire warnings about the flow of foreign funds (and so "foreign influence") into the United States. In this compact volume, Lance E. Davis and Robert J. Cull put such issues into historical perspective. Although foreign funds financed less than five percent of total investment spending in the United States between 1799 and 1900, the authors argue that inflows occurred at critical junctures and financed projects crucial in transforming the nation from colonial outpost to economic giant.

Clear patterns emerge from the book's extensive (but somewhat uncritical) use of data compiled by Cleona Lewis in *America's Stake in International Investment* (1938) and by Mira Wilkins in *The Emergence of Multinational Enterprise* (1970) and *The History of Foreign Investment in the United States to 1914* (1989). In the 1830s, investors abroad channeled large amounts of capital into transportation projects such as canals, turnpikes, and regional railroads. A second wave came on shore in the 1860s, when foreign monies played significant roles in both waging the Civil War and rebuilding the shattered South. The last great rush of international funds arrived in the 1880s in search of profit from the spatial and industrial expansion of the American West. Although such capital transfers were important to a country with limited savings but (apparently) limitless investment opportunity, domestic opponents of foreign funds appeared in the West, in the factories, and on the farms. In fact, these groups denounced all "foreign" capital, whether from New York or Yorkshire.

By 1896, the United States had become a net capital exporter—a position the country maintained until the deficit-riddled 1980s. The bulk of international investment by Americans before World War I was targeted at railroad and mining ventures in the western hemisphere. One wonders if the parallel to earlier British investments in the United States is more than coincidental, but Davis and Cull do not say. They do suggest that anti-American sentiment in the Caribbean was disproportionate, because the majority of foreign capital invested in those countries originated in Europe.

Despite its title, the book provides little direct evidence of the interplay between international capital movements and financial markets in the United States. There is an insightful comparison of activity on stock exchanges in New York and London, but the analysis is sometimes unclear. Davis and Cull conclude, for example, that "(t)he extent to which the New York Stock Exchange had emerged as a conduit for capital to the previously neglected sectors of the American economy is captured in an enumeration of the listings that begin with the word 'American'" (p. 66). Moreover, I was not wholly convinced by the claim that imported funds were necessitated by American investors' trepidation and lack of "sophistication." Because a good part of British capital transfers went toward financing government, railroads, and breweries (all time-honored and tested sectors at home), it is difficult to argue that British investors were significantly more adventurous than their American counterparts.

Nonetheless, Davis and Cull must be commended for providing a well-documented overview of America's experience in the international capital market. Readers will also be entertained by the book's treasure trove of trivia, including the fact that, in the 1930s, the British Parliament was still debating how to collect on worthless debt issued by southern states during Reconstruction.

KERRY ODELL
*Scripps College, Claremont*

ROBERT J. DINKIN. *Before Equal Suffrage: Women in Partisan Politics from Colonial Times to 1920.* (Contributions in Women's Studies, number 152.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1994. Pp. 166. $49.95.

Women have always played a role in politics, if only through influencing their menfolk, according to Robert J. Dinkin. Although Dinkin tries to prove that women played a more public role in partisan politics in America since colonial times, he admits to finding scant evidence that they did much before the 1830s, when they began attending parades, displaying banners, and waving handkerchiefs. Dinkin notes that women really became involved politically when they began to participate in reform movements like temperance and abolition that, in turn, led to working for rights for their own sex—hardly a new theory.

Rather than a sustained, in-depth analysis of women's emergence from their relegation to the domestic sphere to their participation in partisan politics, Dinkin offers thumbnail sketches of individual women and their political activities through the years. Discontinuity in the book's structure, with numerous short subheadings within each chapter, leads to confusion. For example, the purpose of the Women's Loyal League during the Civil War, Dinkin advises, was to spur women's involvement in the war effort and to demonstrate support for the Union. Although the League represented a decision on the part of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony whereby women would



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postpone working on their own behalf and instead mount a petition drive to pressure the Lincoln government to emancipate the slaves, Stanton and Anthony are not mentioned in the two sentences devoted to the local leagues (p. 55). Stanton and Anthony are mentioned, however, in connection with the national League, leaving the reader confused about the relationship between the organizations.

Also, because of the book's disconnected structure and Dinkin's choices for inclusion (or exclusion) in his slim volume, the reader does not get the view of the sustained, well-orchestrated, professionalized movement that led to the passage of the federal suffrage amendment. While Dinkin discusses Alice Paul and her National Women's Party (in two separate sections) and the perception of their "virtual alliance" (p. 127) with the Republican Party in the 1916 presidential election, he does not mention their publicity-grabbing technique of burning Woodrow Wilson's speeches in "watchfires of freedom." The "Hughes Golden Special" trainload of women campaigning for Charles Evans Hughes is chronicled. No reference, however, is made to the effective propaganda of the "Suffrage Special," the trainload of militants promoting suffrage while still dressed in their prison garb and fresh from being force fed at the hands of the government.

In the concluding chapter, Dinkin attempts to go beyond the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment by Congress. The interesting politicking behind the ratification story is relegated to one sentence, whereas the less important question of whether Edith Wilson "virtually [took] over the reins of the White House" during her husband Woodrow Wilson's illness receives an entire paragraph (p. 130).

This book lacks the well-developed analysis of women's role in partisan politics in this country promised by its title. It does, however, serve as a quick reference for short sketches of some politically active women and provides some statistics for women voting in the four western states before passage of the federal amendment as well as in school board and municiple elections. For these purposes, the book makes a useful addition to the growing body of women's history.

PAULA F. PFEFFER
*Loyola University, Chicago*

SUSAN M. YOHN. *A Contest of Faiths: Missionary Women and Pluralism in the American Southwest.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 266. Cloth $42.50, paper $16.95.

In a thoughtful and engaging study of the conflicts and transformations that followed evangelical missionary outreach to New Mexico in the late nineteenth century, Susan M. Yohn deftly balances sympathetic portraits of Anglo-Protestant women and Hispano converts with suggestive analysis of the wider social processes that both enabled and constrained the growth of a new form of cultural pluralism.

Presbyterians dominated missionary efforts in the American Southwest, and Yohn's study builds on the work of Sarah Deutsch, Randi Walker, and others who have highlighted the importance of Anglo women to this enterprise. Aided by the efforts of a few maverick male missionaries and given institutional support by the formation of the Women's Executive Committee (WEC) in the 1880s, some 230 women were assigned to posts in New Mexico prior to 1920. While only a fraction of Hispanics became Presbyterians, a considerably larger number came under Protestant influence through the mission school systems, run primarily by women. In their roles as educators and cultural mediators, female missionaries entered into relationships with Hispano students that were fraught with prejudices and contradictions.

Yohn rightly points out that what was at stake was not simply the contest of "faith" in a doctrinal sense, but "faiths" as ideologies that melded religious beliefs with normative assumptions about community, authority, and progress. The evangelical goal was to produce a "new type" of person, a transformed product of both the old world and the new through language instruction and formal education; anti-Catholicism provided the initial impetus for the missions movement, but the project of national transformation envisioned by Protestants ranged more widely. Conversely, students saw participation in the mission school as a way to move out of agricultural labor or to assimilate to Anglo-American culture. For many men in particular, evangelical education provided an attractive alternative to a Roman Catholic hierarchy that was equally "foreign" but did not promise the same potential for social movement.

These faiths were transformed by cultural encounter in unpredictable ways. Missionary women, trying to stake out an independent sphere of authority within a male-dominated denomination, relied on the dependent relations of their charges to secure their own occupational status. For some, however, a growing awareness of local customs facilitated an increased commitment to a more culturally pluralist—though by no means egalitarian—stance. Hispanos also found ways to meet their teachers on common ground, battling against cultural stereotypes and defending the integrity of Hispanic traditions. Some subsequently used their voices within the Presbyterian Church to lobby for increased attention to the social needs of their communities, paving the way for a more politicized Hispanic Presbyterian presence by the later twentieth century.

Appropriately, Yohn's excellent analysis yields no easy moral insights. Enmeshed in their own prejudices, missionary women could never accept Hispanic culture as an authentically "American" way of life. But in retrospect, their approach may have been far more "progressive" than the Progressive agenda that replaced the WEC after 1923. Increased bureaucratization, professionalization, and the return of male institutional authority spelled a decided turn toward a



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more secularized, culturally relativistic faith, yet, ironically, one less conducive to the sustenance of the individual cross-cultural relations that had marked an earlier era.

LAURIE F. MAFFLY-KIPP
*University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

RUTH M. ALEXANDER. *The "Girl Problem": Female Sexual Delinquency in New York, 1900–1930*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 200. $29.95.

The great value of this book lies in its concentration on adolescent female delinquency. Although parts of Ruth M. Alexander's discussion overlap with earlier work on prostitution, women's reformatories, the mental hygiene movement, and the "new woman," she recombines such information with her own data to paint a useful and complex portrait of young women whose transgressions led to imprisonment.

This book deals with changing roles for women in the early twentieth century. New opportunities—for work, amusement, independence—led some female adolescents to defy the precepts of Victorian morality and redesign "the terms of their passage to womanhood" (p. 2). Specifically, the book analyzes the experiences of 100 young women incarcerated between 1900 and 1930 in New York's reformatories for women at Albion and Bedford Hills. Using case files and other reformatory records, Alexander explores how race, ethnicity, class, and gender intersected to define the "girl problem."

The study opens with a chapter on the attractions that early twentieth-century urban youth culture held for young working-class women. In comparison with their nineteenth-century counterparts, these girls were less supervised by adults and less dependent economically on their families; they had more opportunities to amuse themselves with peers and to experiment sexually.

Attitudes of middle-class parents and reformers toward premarital sex by girls were becoming more permissive, but these attitudes were not shared by poor and uneducated parents or by the state agencies that tried to contain the "girl problem." In chapter two, Alexander argues that many reformers were themselves torn between the old ideal of female chastity and newer ideas about sexuality. Even while rejecting the double standard, they continued to uphold it—and to send sexually rebellious girls to reformatories. Other chapters describe the reformatories' routines, families' reactions to their daughters' incarceration, and the dilemmas of young women on parole.

Alexander's descriptions of New York's reformatories for women add little to what Estelle B. Freedman and I have already written on the subject. Her contribution comes in her use of inmate case files (as opposed to intake ledgers) to investigate the histories of delinquent girls. Because "a strict sampling procedure seemed both unwise and impractical," Alexander selected "well-documented files" (p. 161). This procedure enabled her to discuss particularly rich cases and to include thirteen daughters of African-American or West Indian parents, two Native Americans, and numerous girls from immigrant families. But the method, as she notes, may have biased the sample "toward troublemakers or toward inmates whose families tried to intervene in the reform process" (p. 161). It also renders meaningless statements that give figures—about the number in her sample who were foreign-born, for example, or who came from abusive families.

Alexander's study is weakest in its sample descriptions. She does not explain how she selected several of her cases. For representativeness, she could have compared her Albion sample with the systematic Albion sample described in my *Partial Justice* (1990). I was also puzzled by her decision not to identify her inmates by case numbers. The New York State Archives does not prohibit such identification, and had Alexander used case numbers, we could match her cases with those described elsewhere, thus building a fund of information about these rebellious young women. But these are faults of description, not of method. Given her focus on the "girl problem," Alexander used an excellent sampling procedure.

NICOLE RAFTER
*Northeastern University*

LINDA GORDON. *Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890–1935*. New York: Free Press. 1994. Pp. x, 433. $22.95.

In the current political climate, any call for the decent treatment of and adequate provision for single mothers and their children seems a utopian and risky endeavor. Ours is an atmosphere in which some continue to decry the "excesses of income distribution" through progressive taxation, and welfare reform is at the top of the political agenda of both major parties. The poor are easy targets in a society that effectively disenfranchises them. No politician need fear the backlash of welfare advocates, any more than failure to pass an increase in the minimum wage harmed candidates in the 1996 presidential election.

Linda Gordon turns her attention to the fate of single mothers and their children in our welfare state by exploring its origins in Progressive and New Deal social policy. The book has two main themes: first, the stigmatization of single mothers and their subsequent treatment as the poor cousins of the welfare state; second, the complicity of maternalist welfare workers and social insurance advocates in creating a welfare state that reinforced women's second-class citizenship, a citizenship further compromised by racial discrimination. Why our sympathy for single mothers has frequently resulted in their impoverishment and neglect is the question that is both begged and answered here, as we are given a tour of the political machinations, personal rivalries, and stunning lapses in vision that informed the writing, passage, and implementa-



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tion of social policies that in many ways wound up punishing the poor.

Gordon knows, as do we, that the current stalemate in social policy is the result of the earlier programmatic failure under the New Deal to create universal social insurance, including health benefits, through Social Security. What we received instead was a system that allowed generous, federally funded pensions and fairly good unemployment and worker's compensation benefits for the regular (disproportionately white and male) labor force and "pity points" (inadequately state-funded Aid to Families with Dependent Children [AFDC] or general assistance) for the irregularly employed "rest" of the citizenry (disproportionately female and minority). The substitution of a highly segmented two-tier welfare state for social insurance has left us with a public debate that posits the dissolution of all social safety net programs as the only alternative to inadequately funded and administered ones.

As an interpretive history of what we have learned in the past decade (including her own considerable research) about the fate of women in the welfare state, Gordon's book makes a stunning contribution. It is a readable analysis, filled at times with political punch and no lack of chagrin that the "friends" of single mothers sometimes turned out to be their worst enemies. The Children's Bureau crowd is one case in point. With their origins in the policies and practices of settlement houses, women of the Children's Bureau proved to be the foremost advocates of maternal and children's health insurance under the Sheppard-Towner Act (1921), legislation that set the tone for women's subsequent welfare efforts. By shifting their emphasis to state-level welfare apparatuses and failing to argue for adequate federal funds to support first mother's pensions and later AFDC, the Children's Bureau women enabled support for single mothers to be left to the vagaries of state politics. Their complicity meant that such legislation could openly discriminate against minority and immigrant women and was permanently at the whim of rebellious state taxpayers and fickle legislators; it also meant that AFDC, in contrast to other programs under the Social Security Act, was means and morals tested and subject to the casework method of supervising recipients, which added to the stigma of relief. These programs, Gordon tells us, were created by feminists, albeit maternalist feminists, who conceived the role of women as mothers to be their principal political claim within the welfare state.

Gordon's insights are valuable here. They convey to both scholarly and general audiences the importance of social policy toward single mothers and women in general to the health of society. Specialists in the field of social policy sometimes will and do quibble over Gordon's conceptualization of the role and even definition of maternalism, her interpretation of specific points, and her neglect of labor force participation as part of social citizenship. In particular, Gordon reiterates the common error of neglecting to discuss work requirements for recipients of mother's pensions and AFDC, the subject of a recent article by Joanne Goodwin in the *Journal of Social History* (Winter 1995). But the operative word here is "quibble." At a time when the nation is quarrelling about the fate of the welfare state, Gordon's strong and committed reading of the history of social policy for single mothers is what is needed.

ELIZABETH FAUE
*Wayne State University*

GWENDOLYN MINK. *The Wages of Motherhood: Inequality in the Welfare State, 1917–1942*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 198. $27.50.

Current political wisdom to the contrary, there is no such thing as a free lunch—especially for those on welfare. Gwendolyn Mink might add that if the welfare recipient is female, she is also told what she and her children can and cannot eat.

In this fine, tightly woven book, Mink argues that female welfare reformers—"the maternalists"—attempted to impose their own standards of "Anglo Americanized domestic motherhood" (p. vii) on dependent women: receiving mothers' pensions and then Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) was conditional, Mink maintains, not only on a mother's staying at home to raise her children but on her keeping that home and raising those children as the maternalists thought she should. The immigrant recipients of mothers' pensions, for example, were warned by the U.S. Children's Bureau not to feed their children "fried foods, raw celery ... rich cakes or puddings" (p. 64). Maternalists also pushed for the acculturation of immigrant and African-American women through the Sheppard-Towner Act's clinics and nurses and the domestic science classes provided by the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act and the Works Progress Administration (WPA).

To their great credit, Mink says, the maternalists succeeded in winning political acknowledgement of the significance of motherhood, as in the cases of mothers' pensions and ADFC. The maternalists' primary concern for the child, however, and their insistence that motherhood was woman's chief role brought not only intrusions into welfare recipients' child-rearing and house-keeping, but women's disadvantaged relationship to the state: the meagerness of mothers' pensions, restrictive labor legislation, and, most lastingly, the Social Security Act of 1935 and later amendments, which provided more generously for male breadwinners and their survivors than for husbandless women and children.

Mink's analysis of the maternalists' arguments is sophisticated and even-handed. Although maternalists wanted mothers to stay home and fought for higher mothers' pensions and AFDC benefits, they also supported equal pay for working women. Although maternalists hoped that all families would conform to their own Anglo-American ideals, they were more



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accepting of ethnic and racial diversity than most of their contemporaries.

The maternalists appear too often here as though they were a homogeneous bloc. Although many individuals—Grace and Edith Abbott, Julia Lathrop, Mary Anderson, and especially Florence Kelley—and many organizations—the League of Women Voters, the National Congress of Mothers, and the National Consumers League—are mentioned, Mink does not describe significant policy differences among them.

Men appear too seldom. Men in power seem only to ratify maternalist goals from the 1910s until World War II and, since then, to pervert them. Is it fair—or accurate—to blame maternalists for the failures of the welfare system, when male politicians controlled decision-making and budgets? And even men do not get a free lunch from the New Deal welfare state. As Mink points out, old age pensions and unemployment compensation are conditional upon acceptable employment, often not available to black males.

If the maternalists saw the problem as individual cultural nonconformity (the "rich cakes") rather than systemic poverty, at least they were looking for solutions. Today, when it appears that food stamps, WIC, and school lunches may disappear altogether, Mink's forceful book reassures us that once upon a time, someone worried that women and children ate.

MARIAN J. MORTON
*John Carroll University*

BLANCHE D. COLL. *Safety Net: Welfare and Social Security, 1929–1979*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 347. $47.00.

Few matters are being discussed as much now all across the nation as is welfare. Everyone, it seems, has a strong opinion on the subject, especially the need to "end welfare as we know it," to use the president's words. It is not surprising, therefore, that a spate of books on the topic has appeared recently, including Theda Skocpol's *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers* (1992), Molly Ladd-Taylor's *Mother-Work* (1994), Linda Gordon's *Women, the State, and Welfare* (1990) and *Pitied But Not Entitled* (1995), and Edward Berkowitz's *Mr. Social Security* (1995). Blanche D. Coll's book is just one among a long list of such works published lately; nevertheless, it does make a significant contribution.

Coll, a long-time employee of what previously was called the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, knows how the federal bureaucracy operates and utilizes that knowledge well in this study. While short on the "politics" of policymaking and matters of race and gender—the very subjects of the aforementioned works on the subject, especially those by Gordon and Berkowitz—Coll's book is excellent on the administrative history of Social Security from its origin to the present. Indeed, no other work describes nearly as well the frenzied atmosphere that surrounded those responsible for implementing the system or discusses with such insight the enormous number of important decisions that had to be made, and the details that had to be attended to, to operate the program with its various titles and numerous jurisdictions. All those who are critical of "bureaucrats" should read this book.

The book, however, contains other important information. For instance, there is a useful analysis of the ongoing conflict among the system's administrators over whether aid should be given in the form of flat grants (the "equity" approach) or through "family budgeting" (the "need" approach, which of course entails the use of a means test). The disagreement between those who favor providing the dependent with "services" administered by professional social workers and those who advocate simply giving cash to recipients also is clearly presented. Although for the most part Coll is content merely to describe matters, she does take a stand on these and a number of other related issues, such as the tendency by the Bureau of Public Assistance to rely too much on the advice of social workers.

In addition, Coll makes it plain that those administering the system in Washington tried desperately to expand the program to make certain that all needy children received aid—a far cry from today. At the same time, however, Coll demonstrates that the enormous growth in welfare expenditures in the 1960s was due less to the increase in the welfare population than to the successful efforts by state and local welfare officials to get their needy residents off General Assistance and on to the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) rolls in order to secure more federal dollars under the 1962 "Service" Amendments to the Social Security Act, for which Washington assumed seventy-five percent of the costs.

Unfortunately, the book is marred a bit by faulty editing and a surprising number of factual errors. For example, the former vice president's name is spelled Quayle, not Quail; S.S.I. refers to Supplemental Security Income, not Social Security Income, and it was enacted in 1972, not the 1960s; Franklin D. Roosevelt was first elected governor of New York State in 1928, not 1930. Nevertheless, this book is well worth reading, especially by those who talk a lot about welfare but really know very little about it.

WALTER I. TRATTNER
*University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*

BARBARA STUHLER. *Gentle Warriors: Clara Ueland and the Minnesota Struggle for Woman Suffrage*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1995. Pp. xvi, 323. Cloth $29.95, paper $15.95.

During the long struggle to enfranchise American women, there emerged leaders on two fronts. At the national level were the well-known Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Carrie Chapman Catt, each of whom has had her contributions documented



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in biographies and suffrage histories. On the state and local levels, however, few of the women who stepped forward to lead have been so commemorated. Jane McCallum of Texas, May Jennings of Florida, and Laura Cay of Kentucky are three exceptions who come readily to mind. Now this splendid biography of Clara Ueland by Barbara Stuhler adds another to that long neglected fold.

Clara Hampson Ueland (1860–1927)—wife, mother, Democrat, school teacher, Unitarian, reformer, and civic activist—led Minnesota's women from the 1890s, when she emerged from a Minneapolis woman's club promoting the establishment of kindergartens, until 1927, when she served as chief lobbyist for the Minnesota League of Women Voters. Between those years, she worked to get women on school boards and to get child labor, education, penal, and pure food and drug laws enacted. Her greatest achievement, however, was as leader of Minnesota's suffrage movement. In 1913, she organized the Equal Suffrage Association of Minneapolis, and the following year she became president of the state suffrage organization, serving in that capacity until 1920.

Genteel and courteous in manner, articulate, professional, steadfast, and possessed of rare political acumen, Ueland organized the state by legislative districts, directed a professional staff of workers, and developed the tactics and strategy used by the women as they sought not only state voting rights but also the enactment and ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. During the years of struggle, Ueland traveled the state, gave speeches, attended meetings, consulted with national suffrage leaders, hosted receptions and fund raisers, polled congressmen, and lobbied state officials. By the end of 1918, 30,000 Minnesota women had signed suffrage petitions. After ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, Minnesota women became the first to exercise the franchise by voting in a bond election only hours after the Amendment's certification as law. Minnesota women continued to vote in greater numbers (50 percent) than did their sisters elsewhere in the nation (37 percent).

After achieving the vote, Ueland continued to labor, serving as president and board member of the state League of Women Voters, organizer of "citizenship schools," and as head of the Legislative Council, an amalgam of women's groups that sought legislation to better the lives of the state's women and children.

While Ueland is considered a moderate—she rejected the more radical National Woman's Party and its controversial tactics—she was a steadfast reformer who believed in the expansion of human rights for all individuals regardless of race and welcomed men into the suffrage movement as friends and allies.

Stuhler's book is a welcome addition to women's history, for not only does it fit one more piece into the suffrage historical puzzle, but it intertwines within Ueland's story one of the most readable and concise overviews of the national suffrage movement to be found anywhere. Background, personalities, strategies, and schisms are all clearly explained and put in context, giving the reader a picture of what was happening at the local, state, and national levels simultaneously. This book represents fine scholarship, is well researched, has a large and pertinent bibliography, a useful index, and a text that is interspersed with interesting photographs of Ueland, her family, and her sister suffragists. I highly recommend it.

LINDA D. VANCE
*Austin, Texas*

SUSAN L. SMITH. *Sick and Tired of Being Sick and Tired: Black Women's Health Activism in America, 1890–1950.* (Studies in Health, Illness, and Caregiving.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 247. Cloth $34.95, paper $16.95.

The contemporary rise of grass-roots health care activism (from DES Action to ACT-UP) and the failure of the Clinton health reform efforts should remind historians that neither technological change, scientific acumen, nor physician power alone can explain the shape and politics of American health care. Susan L. Smith's history of black women's health activism in the first half of the twentieth century fills a gap in our understanding of the forces that created what passes for a health care system in this country.

Smith argues that the grass-roots struggle for improved health care for all African Americans was led by women, part of a larger effort to involve the federal government in the care of black people and an integral element in black self-help and racial uplift that has characterized black politics for generations. Her book skillfully dissects the conflicting gender and class politics of health care within the black community while linking these struggles to the larger concern with social welfare that is a critical thread in twentieth-century American life.

Smith ties the broader public health and social welfare history to specific case studies. Her direct focus is a "full-scale effort to examine the health reform initiatives created by African Americans themselves" (p. 13). She begins with the voluntary efforts of black club women, using case studies from Tuskegee, Chicago, and Atlanta, to argue that this work became the basis for the larger black health movement. Her examples demonstrate the importance of local studies and the skillful way black women learned to use differing political structures to further their communities' needs. Smith examines the origins of National Negro Health Week in the rural life work of Tuskegee Institute, following it to its eventual takeover by the United States Public Health Service as an on-going effort to improve black health care.

Smith confronts the calculus of cooptation that dogged such work every step of the way. She is especially sensitive in her handling of the difficulties of the Tuskegee syphilis study and the role of the Public Health Service. Here she argues, as James Jones has



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before, that adherence to scientific research beliefs, class divisions, and professionalism kept black professionals from seeing the inherent evil of the study while racism forced them into what she labels a "risky bargain with the federal government in an attempt to advance black rights" (p. 116).

Smith does not leave the story mired in the horrors of the Tuskegee syphilis study. She moves on to the more critical role of black midwives and sorority-initiated health clinics. Wherever possible, she has unearthed the voices of the rural and urban poor who were the subjects of this sometimes *noblesse oblige* form of caring, although, as do many historians, she has some difficulties finding evidence of the responses of the poor. Smith concludes by claiming that the history of the effort to improve health for black Americans has to be seen as a story of continual pressures on the federal government by black women's organizations.

Smith has uncovered and carefully documented a little-known but vital part of American health care history and the gender and class aspects of the continued black effort for racial advancement. She successfully balances the self-help actions with the pressures of racism, providing a nuanced and thoughtful set of examples to illustrate her themes. This book is a model for exploration into the rich history of how grass-roots activism provided some of the critical pressures for change, however limited, in American health care history.

SUSAN M. REVERBY
*Wellesley College*

MARILYN IRVIN HOLT. *Linoleum, Better Babies, and the Modern Farm Woman, 1890–1930.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995. Pp. 250. $34.95.

Until recently, the records of home economists and the extension service have been an underused resource for studying women. Marilyn Irvin Holt's book is one of a number beginning to tap these rich materials. Holt's book is an overview of the programs for women sponsored by agricultural extension. She argues that the domestic economy movement shows the importance of women to agricultural reform, introducing rural women to the Progressive Era ideals of modern science and efficiency. Despite their urban bias and industrial model, Holt insists that these programs were beneficial to farm women, who selected those aspects of the programs they found most useful. Overall, Holt believes these programs had a positive impact on rural women and rural America.

The book provides a readable survey of the diversity of programs for women sponsored by agricultural reformers. Holt begins with an analysis of the ideas behind the domestic economy movement and proceeds with chapters examining its efforts to improve the income-earning possibilities of women's labor; the home environment, including expensive improvements such as home generators for electricity and less expensive ones such as screens for windows or the linoleum of the title; the health of rural children through the better babies campaign and nutrition classes; the "modernity" of farm women's life from the use of appliances to teaching the rules of fashion; the educational opportunities of women and children through both schools and clubs; and opportunities for recreation. Holt has read widely and includes information not only on home economics professionals and their programs but on the farm women who participated in them.

The book is weakest when Holt turns to placing this story in a larger historical context or analyzing the diversity of farm women's responses to these programs. Although not uncritical of these programs, she presents a much less complicated view of their impact on rural America than other recent studies, including my own work, Katherine Jellison's *Entitled to Power* (1993), and David Danbom's *The Resisted Revolution* (1979). Although she discusses the ties between reformers' goals and urban models of industrialization, Holt does not feel that the programs in question contributed to the problems of rural America; rather, they simply did not solve them. She argues that programs were successful because farm women embraced them, but she never analyzes the percentages of farm women who participated or the politics of how programs were funded. Holt does include the voices of a great diversity of farm women, and the book contains numerous insights that could have been developed more fully. For example, Holt notes the parallels between Bureau of Indian Affairs home economics programs and those later developed by extension services, but does not analyze their different contexts or the reasons for their similarities. Although she notes the disparity between professional ideals and the extent of changes adopted by farm women, she does not contextualize which farm women participated in which programs.

Despite these limitations, Holt's book provides an interesting overview of extension programs as well as new information and interesting observations that should stimulate more detailed and deserved attention to the role of home economics education in rural America.

MARY NETH
*University of Missouri, Columbia*

CARRIE A. FOSTER. *The Women and the Warriors: The U.S. Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915–1946.* (Syracuse Studies on Peace and Conflict Resolution.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 422. Cloth $49.95, paper $17.95.

This is an excellent study of a dynamic, influential, and enduring organization that emerged from the social movements for peace, justice, and equality in the early twentieth century. Founded in 1915, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom



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(WILPF) continues to be significant in its influence and interventions today.

This is not the first history of WILPF, but it is the first to offer so thorough a history of the U.S. section. In contrast, the earlier histories by Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims (*Pioneers for Peace* [1965]) and Catherine Foster (*Women for All Seasons* [1989]) present a more broadly international or even global history carried forward into the period after World War II, and the U.S. section receives only limited treatment. On the other hand, Harriet Hyman Alonso's excellent study, *Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights* (1993), takes a much broader sweep through the history of women's peace activism from the early nineteenth century to the 1980s. It is too much to claim (as does a publishers' advertisement) that Foster's book is the "first comprehensive history" of "women's roles in public policy in the first half of the twentieth century," although it does treat WILPF's links with groups concerned with issues of women's rights, labor, and racial equality. In the area of American foreign policy, an earlier and more wide-ranging volume is Edward Crapol's anthology, *Women and American Foreign Policy: Lobbyists, Critics, and Insiders* (1987).

As its title implies, this book goes beyond others in its detailed attention to the increasingly threatening international environment of the interwar era and to the direct interactions between WILPF representatives and leading political, diplomatic, and military figures, ranging from members of Congress to the secretaries of state and presidents ("the warriors"). Foster offers a rich and vivid portrait of the leading public roles played by pacifist women in foreign policy and international affairs in the first half of the twentieth century. Moreover, this volume is the first to offer a sustained and close analysis of U.S. foreign policy from the viewpoint of the women of WILPF, a viewpoint that differed significantly from those of other peace movements and women's movements. Foster's analysis, although not explicitly featured, may be the most distinctive and important contribution of the volume.

The core of the book consists of twelve chapters offering an engaging and well-documented chronological history of WILPF—its leaders, its ideological positions, and its issue-oriented campaigns—in the context of the changing international politics of the time. On the whole, these chapters present an admiring and positive image and assessment of WILPF, though not without critical scrutiny of internal struggles and external frustrations. The preface and conclusion suggest a more ambivalent assessment, however. Characterizing the fundamental position of the WILPF women as one of Progressive reformism rather than revolutionary radicalism, Foster suggests that the failure of WILPF to adopt Gandhian methods of nonviolent action and "to reach its goals of peace, freedom, and justice" (p. 332) was grounded in illusory notions about American democracy and an unrealistic assessment of the relations between means and ends. To me, Foster's identification of "the WILPF women" with a limited reformist politics seems dubious and simplistic. It is to Foster's credit that she has packed her book with information that one might use to challenge her own argument; at the same time, in posing this argument, she has raised vital issues about the politics of the women's peace movement.

BERENICE A. CARROLL
*Purdue University*

RHODRI JEFFREYS-JONES. *Changing Differences: Women and the Shaping of American Foreign Policy, 1917–1994.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 275. $27.95.

Toward the end of his book on women and foreign policy, Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones asks, "Who ended the Cold War?" He suggests that "amongst the claimants to the honor, American women must feature to a discernible degree" (p. 196). Jeffreys-Jones argues that although peace was not the only foreign policy concern of American women (tariffs were important in the 1920s), peace issues remained a constant throughout the century. Women (as individuals or through organizations such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom) were a force behind the naval reduction and non-aggression pacts in the 1920s, pressed for the Nye Committee investigation of the munitions industry in the 1930s, supported the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights in the 1940s, stressed security over "hot wars" in the 1950s, and campaigned against nuclear testing and the Vietnam War in the 1960s. Even when women appeared to advocate more belligerent policies, such as Eleanor Roosevelt's support of military intervention or Margaret Chase Smith's defense of nuclear weapons, Jeffreys-Jones argues that these positions were consistent with polls that demonstrate a constant gender gap in foreign policy marked by women's emphasis on democracy and security. With Bella Abzug's entry into Congress in 1970, antiwar feminism entered the mainstream of American politics, paving the way for a further peace-directed foreign policy. Although Jeffreys-Jones believes that it seems "likely that women will remain more peaceful than men until well into the twenty-first century," he argues that this is not necessarily "an unchangeable law of nature but a conscious choice made by women" (p. 199).

Jeffreys-Jones comes to these conclusions about women in American foreign policy—despite the relatively few women participants at high political levels in the United States—by analyzing the actions of other female world policy makers. He notes that women leaders are often categorized as either self-made "Iron Ladies" who are warlike in foreign policy (Margaret Thatcher or Golda Meir) or "Dynastic Leaders" who inherit both foreign policies and privilege (Indira Gandhi or Benazir Bhutto). He challenges the idea that self-made leaders are more warlike than dynastic



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leaders (despite Thatcher's use of force in the Falkland Islands and Golda Meir's Yom Kippur War) and argues that the foreign policies of women are less belligerent and cost fewer lives than those of their male predecessors. He offers another category of female world leader, the "Iron Dove" or tough self-made woman devoted to peace, as exemplified by Norway's Gro Harlem Brundtland, to support his conclusion that, although regional and cultural differences are significant, women "show a uniform disposition to be peaceful" (p. 173). Such factors as Red-baiting and sexual innuendo may have previously hampered women's entry into foreign policy positions in the United States, but Jeffreys-Jones notes that in the 1990s, American women "are empowered as never before to implement their foreign policy preferences" (p. 199).

This is a book about what foreign policy choices women have made rather than why women have made them. As such, it differs from many books that attempt to understand the relationship of women and war, while its unique comparative approach broadens our understanding of the gendered nature of foreign policy.

LINDA KELLY ALKANA
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KENNETH D. ROSE. *American Women and the Repeal of Prohibition*. (The American Social Experience Series, number 32.) New York: New York University Press. 1996. Pp. xix, 215. $40.00.

Filling in details of a twenty-year-old picture without acknowledging that he is painting by the numbers, Kenneth D. Rose attests that women played as crucial a role in ending national alcoholic beverage prohibition as they did in establishing it. Lumping together partisan tracts, popular accounts, and serious scholarship; distorting or discounting the evolution of prohibition historiography; conceding merely the existence, though not the defining influence on his work, of Jack Blocker's several books (1976–1989), Ruth Bordin's *Women and Temperance* (1981), and my own "Women Against Prohibition," *American Quarterly* (1976); and re-examining sources that have been exploited before, Rose vastly exaggerates the originality of his modest contribution to temperance and women's history. He provides, however, some new particulars as well as a reminder of women's important influence in the evolution of U.S. alcohol policy.

Women's notable participation in the century-long drive to sober up America has been obvious from the start to all but the most misogynistic. Indeed, the crusading role of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) has arguably overshadowed the greater influence of the more politically adroit Anti-Saloon League on the final achievement of the Eighteenth Amendment. Rose reiterates the common view that temperance women were motivated by a desire to protect the home and family from abuses linked to alcohol. He then affirms home protection as likewise a concern of women who in the 1920s came to oppose national prohibition. Except for some socially prominent leaders, he contends, these women did not differ dramatically in social or economic standing from their dry counterparts (though the gap gradually widened as the WCTU's status declined). They concluded, however, that prohibition was failing to work as intended, creating a dangerous environment and encouraging disrespect if not outright disregard for law. Led by Pauline Sabin, the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform (WONPR) came to dwarf the WCTU in the early 1930s and destroyed the view that constitutional prohibition could not be undone because it enjoyed the continued support of America's women voters.

Desire to protect the home helps explain why as many as one million (Rose's estimate) to 1.5 million (their own) women allied with the WONPR. Those numbers support the conclusion of Rose and others that repeal should be viewed as a integral feature of women's post-suffrage political self-assertion rather than, as the WCTU claimed, a case of women being duped and manipulated by fathers, husbands, and other alcohol-seeking men. In arriving at this judgment, however, Rose minimizes the role in repeal of the male-dominated Association Against the Prohibition Amendment. Also questionable is his discounting of other female political agendas, though he does acknowledge Pauline Sabin's libertarianism and call attention (perhaps excessively so in light of her negligible influence) to M. Louise Gross's more extreme anti-government views. Rose's good description of the decentralized recruitment, organization, and mobilization of WONPR members underscores both the significance of women's repeal efforts and his own understatement of the complexity of their views as well as that of the constitutional amending process.

This book's out-of-date nature is reflected in its conclusion. There Rose suggests that female attitudes can be epitomized in the views of the fewer than a dozen women he has examined. He decides that on the issue of home protection the WONPR, not the WCTU, got the prohibition issue right, a public policy judgment that deserves more probing consideration. Rose certainly does not encourage, much less assist, readers to move beyond the earlier historiography that this work replicates into consideration of how women actually dealt with alcohol in their daily lives.

DAVID E. KYVIG
*University of Akron*

DOROTHY MOSES SCHULZ. *From Social Worker to Crimefighter: Women in United States Municipal Policing*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1995. Pp. x, 175. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

GLORIA E. MYERS. *A Municipal Mother: Portland's Lola Greene Baldwin, America's First Policewoman*. Corval-



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lis: Oregon State University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 232. $26.95.

Women entered professional work in significant numbers for the first time in U.S. history during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These two books explore women's entry into municipal policing, a career path that so far has not been addressed in the extensive body of literature on women in the professions. Dorothy Moses Schulz has written a broad social history of women in policing from the early years of the twentieth century to the 1980s, a period in which the role of policewoman underwent an important transformation from that of social worker to crimefighter. Women first joined police forces when social reformers insisted that female officers were needed to carry out "protective and preventive work" among wayward women and children. Like their counterparts in other professional fields, pioneer policewomen used the concept of "separate spheres" to justify positions for themselves in police departments, arguing that women's special qualities suited them to handle female and juvenile offenders. Guided by this reasoning, policewomen in the first half of the century carried out distinctly different duties than male officers. Often operating out of separate women's bureaus, they performed a range of social service activities that included monitoring dance halls and amusement centers, counseling troubled youth and their families, and regulating moral standards. Unlike male officers, policewomen did not wear uniforms, carry weapons, or engage in crimefighting. The middle-class, college-educated women who served as police officers during this period also differed significantly in background and education from their working-class male colleagues.

The creation of a gender-specific social work role in policing had both advantages and disadvantages for women officers, according to Schulz. It provided opportunities for employment and career advancement that otherwise would not have been available to women in male-dominated departments, but it also set the stage for their marginalization and limited influence in the police world. Women officers were increasingly marginalized in the 1930s by the heightened emphases on managerial efficiency, military organization, and crimefighting in the police force. Police experts held that women were ill-equipped to handle such work, and, consequently, their number and influence in policing declined during this period.

In the 1960s, a new generation of women officers rejected the social work role defined by early policewomen and called for the same treatment and opportunities available to male officers. As working-class high school graduates who entered police work for the salary, benefits, and career possibilities, these women resembled their male colleagues more than their foremothers in police work. Supported by new federal antidiscrimination laws, women officers challenged sex segregation and fundamentally altered the role of women in policing when they began to carry guns, wear uniforms, and participate in patrol work and crimefighting on an equal basis with male officers.

Schulz's compelling analysis of the history of women in policing makes an important contribution to the scholarship on women in the professions. She could have strengthened and enriched this study, however, by incorporating more fully the voices of women officers as they described their experiences, ambitions, and struggles to carve out a place for themselves in policing.

Gloria E. Myers's study of Lola Baldwin offers a richly detailed portrait of the public life and work experiences of a central figure in the early period of women's policing. Drawing on Baldwin's correspondence, reports, and a daily log book of her activities in Portland, Oregon, from 1905 to 1922, Myers describes how Baldwin helped to shape the municipal policewomen's movement in the Progressive Era by pursuing a "culturally conservative, gender-specific policing strategy" (p. 3). Guided by a Victorian standard of moral purity and influenced by organized social feminism and the social hygiene campaign, the energetic Baldwin and her supporters tackled urban vice, crime, and disease to make Portland safe for women and children. As the city's first policewoman, Baldwin pursued various forms of protective legislation for women and children and was instrumental in founding a morals and domestic relations court, a city vice commission, a state institution for sexually delinquent girls, and a venereal detention center for prostitutes.

Myers labors to prove that Baldwin was the nation's first policewoman, but this is a debatable point. According to Schulz, Alice Stebbins Wells, appointed by the Los Angeles Police Department in 1910, was the first "officially designated" policewoman in the country. Baldwin was hired several years earlier by the city of Portland to perform similar duties to Wells, but she did not hold the title of policewoman. And even before Baldwin's appointment, the Chicago Police Department in 1893 had hired Mary Owens, the widow of a Chicago policeman, and given her full arrest powers. The more interesting and significant issue, however, is not who was first but rather how these early women officers understood and approached their work.

Myers is conflicted in her final assessment of Baldwin's career. On the one hand, she calls on us to honor and respect "her extraordinary achievement as a pioneer in a new field for women" (p. 178). On the other hand, she demonstrates Baldwin's central involvement in the enforcement of harsh, discriminatory policies of moral regulation directed against working-class women and girls, most clearly evident in the World War I campaign to eradicate venereal disease. Scholars need to acknowledge the integral connection between these two developments: the professional success and status of early policewomen rested on their control and surveillance of other women's sexuality and social behavior.

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SUSAN LEVINE. *Degrees of Equality: The American Association of University Women and the Challenge of Twentieth-Century Feminism*. (Critical Perspectives on the Past.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 227. $29.95.

The personages and major events in the first half-century of the organization launched as the Association of Collegiate Alumnae in 1881 were covered by Marion Talbot (one of its founders) and Lois Kimball Mathews Rosenberry in *The History of the American Association of University Women: 1881–1931* (1931). Susan Levine picks up the story of the AAUW in 1929 and takes her narrative into the 1980s. As the subtitle promises, she sets her analysis in the context of the historiography of American feminism, including contested scholarly theories about what Levine argues is a continuous, though politically contested, women's rights movement and an enduring organizational identity.

This means concentrating on what *was* continuous in the AAUW: a firm commitment to promoting women's greater access to higher education, a professed belief in the leadership potential of the educated woman, dogged study and discussion at the local (branch) and national levels of educational and social issues affecting women and society, and associational activities like endowing college fellowships and constructing lengthy rosters of qualified women from which typically apathetic or cynical male decisionmakers were expected to select more women appointees. It also means that Levine must treat lightly that which was discontinuous or time-bound, such as the earlier belief in women's moral superiority, the strategic recourse to the doctrine of separate spheres, and, later, conversion to support of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and to professional and social relations across racial barriers. Such transformations are taken as evidence that "the Association continued to represent the interests of women in public life" (p. 135) as its constituency—women college graduates—grew larger and more diverse, especially after 1960.

Levine characterizes the AAUW as a product of, and partner in, a liberal coalition. Its Progressive-era faith in research, reasoned discussion, and the inevitable triumph of education and expertise dominated its programs and statements. By the 1960s, however, pronounced shifts in the substance and style of American politics meant that the liberal "mainstream," which the AAUW had represented, was becoming the "moderate mainstream," the title of Levine's final chapter. The AAUW was terrorized by McCarthyism. Vicious attacks on local public schools, a traditional focus of AAUW support, and the large numbers of teachers and former teachers in its membership heightened its vulnerability. But the AAUW was also riddled by tensions between its professed commitment to academic and intellectual freedom, the fact that American communism was then trying to do for American blacks what the AAUW would not do (promoting social and political equality), and what I take to be a certain smugness in the assumption that its members represented the true patriots of their communities. The AAUW was the last and largest of the major women's organizations to endorse the ERA. Because the women's movement had been radicalized, AAUW members were quicker to affirm abortion rights than they had been in the 1930s to support physicians' rights to *educate* women about birth control.

Part of Temple University Press's "Critical Perspectives on the Past" series, this book is too seldom critical. There are many unsupported assertions of the AAUW's "influence," while a bland tone and reiteration of its major thesis dulls interest. When Levine puts aside historiographic debates and flabby generalizations to tell a story, the organization and its members come fascinatingly alive. This happens beautifully in her strongest chapter, "Sociability and Racial Justice."

GERALDINE JONÇICH CLIFFORD
*University of California, Berkeley*

DOUGLASS SHAND-TUCCI. *Ralph Adams Cram: Life and Architecture*. Volume 1, *Boston Bohemia, 1881–1900*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 569. $50.00.

Douglass Shand-Tucci provides a critical biography of the life and times of Boston architect Ralph Adams Cram between 1881 and 1900. Much more than a conventional biography, this book interlaces the histories of the man, architecture, gay life, religion, and the fine arts into an extraordinary Byzantine mosaic. Lines from a John Betjemann poem—"'twixt the church tower and the chapel spire/Rang sad and deep the bells of my desire"—illuminate Shand-Tucci's method of interconnecting church architecture, literature, and desire with remarkable brilliance. "Music," however, does not appear in the index, although there is an entry for "anal sex, music as expression of" (p. 538). Shand-Tucci's love of uncovering the unexpected link resembles that of Camille Paglia, whose *Sexual Personae: Art and Decadance from Nefertiti to Emily Dickinson* (1990) provides a model and source for this work.

Shand-Tucci's architectural history follows after Walter Muir Whitehill, who wrote a *Topographical History of Boston* (1959) and histories of the Boston Public Library (1956) and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (1970). Shand-Tucci's *Built in Boston, City and Suburb, 1800–1950* (1978) was dedicated to Whitehill, who wrote the preface. Like his mentor, Shand-Tucci avoids "the unmitigated ugliness of Chelsea," a working-class neighborhood, and concentrates on the great Yankee institutions like the prep schools, clubs, churches, universities, and finer neighborhoods.

Shand-Tucci's version of gay life—"the highest circles in Boston intellectually, socially and artistically" (p. 209)—differs significantly from the the ground-up history of other cities. George Chauncey (*Gay New*



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*York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* [1994]) bases his work on police records, newspapers, and studies of popular culture. Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis (*Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* [1993]) interviewed lesbians in Buffalo.

Shand-Tucci's religious study by contrast concentrates on the "highest classes." Cram, he claims, "revolutionized the visual image of American Christianity, bringing all its various branches, from Romans to Swedenborgians, to worship in that marvelous ecumenical creation—the Cram church" (p. 193). "Romans to Swedenborgians" hardly includes all the varieties of religious experience. Even within the narrow ranges of the Episcopal church, Shand-Tucci avoids settlement houses as well as the Social Gospel. In discussing Chauncey's analysis of the scandal of gay sex at the Newport, Rhode Island, naval base in 1919, Shand-Tucci only considers the priest: "Anglo-Catholicism, Anglicanism's High Church wing, far more influencial in Rhode Island than in Low Church Massachusetts, is the underlying factor here" (p. 179).

Outside Christianity, Shand-Tucci does mention the boyfriends of the photographer Fred Holland Day ("last week he had a Chinaman"). Day met his "best known protegé," Khalil Gibran, at the Dennison Settlement House. Neither "China," "Syria," nor "Orientalism" appear in the index. Shand-Tucci largely ignores the French Decadents, even though Cram obviously owed much to J. K. Huysmans and a number of other fin-de-siécle artists, poets, and musicians.

Of necessity, this first volume does not analyze Cram's works at the height of his career. Many of his earlier commissions might be considered more important as interior decorating than architecture. Here Shand-Tucci could profit from William Leach's *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture* (1993).

Shand-Tucci attempts to incorporate a gay sensibility in his writing style, organization, and thought. Opinionated but not necessarily dogmatic, he makes his way through a multitude of "slippery and controversial" issues. "The contrast," he acknowledges, "whether put as 'the virile over the effeminate, the classical over the continental,' or as 'more classical than rococo'—must be central to any discussion of 'homosexual style'" (p. 273). Shand-Tucci by no means settles that question, but his writing projects his own singular style. Combined with the layout, illustrations, printing, binding, the resulting book may not be "gay," but it is handsome and has a powerful effect.

Charles Shively
*University of Massachusetts, Boston*

Ballard C. Campbell. *The Growth of American Government: Governance from the Cleveland Era to the Present*. (Interdisciplinary Studies in History.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 289. Cloth $35.00, paper $14.95.

Ballard C. Campbell undertakes the sizable task of measuring the growth or expansion of United States government—local, state, and federal—since the days of President Grover Cleveland in the 1880s. He analyzes four broad stages of growth, entitled Republic Polity, Transitional Polity, Claimant Polity, and Restrained Polity.

The first refers to the period from the 1780s to the 1880s, wherein Americans were fearful of the power of government until the impact of industrialism created a movement that departed from traditional republicanism. By the mid-1880s, states and the national government addressed issues related to public health and regulation of business, a trend that peaked during World War I. While the hesitancy to wield governmental power was still guarded, the Great Depression and New Deal ushered in the so-called "Claimant" era, when the uses of public power exploded. This trend continued until the mid-1970s, when resentment against the accretion of public power—affected by such issues as Vietnam and Watergate—prompted a renewal of the Cleveland era proclivity to limit government.

In the Cleveland era, it was the rural-agrarian environment and the Constitution that placed structural restraints on changes in government, especially at the national level. But the functions, costs, and complexities of government grew in the twentieth century because of industrialism and its problems, interest group politics, voter demands, and politicians who wanted more power. Debates over the expansion of government flourished until the 1930s, when state and national governmental power dramatically increased.

The expanded functions of government in the twentieth century are commercial regulation, social control and services, regulation of civil liberties, economic stabilization, income assistance, global stability, nondiscrimination, and social and consumer protection. When Ronald Reagan became president, however, he declared "war on the modern polity" (p. 224). The theme of the 1980s was advertised as restraint and reduction of government at all levels.

Campbell analyzes the gap between the rhetoric and the realities of "downsizing" government during the Reagan years. He concludes that there was not much change in the policy-making functions nor the administrative complexities of government and that the costs of government *increased* during those same years. The fragmentation of powers—interest groups, Congress, the courts, and the states—worked against radical reductions of government.

For historians of recent United States history, most of the foregoing is hardly news. The growth of big government in response to big business, big labor, and big agriculture is an enduring theme. Samuel P. Hays and Robert H. J. Wiebe were early contributors to this notion, which Campbell duly notes in his impressive



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annotated bibliography. As broad and complex as this subject is, the author effectively portrays it in a relatively small number of well-written pages that are rich in detail and specific example.

One might quibble over some of Campbell's generalizations, such as the one that popular elections and political parties have little to do with governance. He does a service to students and historians, however, by providing a one-hundred-year perspective on the subject. The book should be useful in the classroom, even for freshmen classes in U.S. history and government.

WILLIAM R. TANNER
*Humboldt State University*

DESMOND KING. *Separate and Unequal: Black Americans and the US Federal Government*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 352. $35.00.

Because the federal government played a major role in overturning racial segregation and disfranchisement during the civil rights era, it is often forgotten how much the same federal government contributed to promoting Jim Crow for generations after Reconstruction. The Supreme Court affirmed segregation as the law of the land in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), and for the next half century, presidents and Congress fell into line behind that landmark decision. Indeed, Woodrow Wilson's administration expanded segregation throughout federal agencies and limited job opportunities available to African Americans. When Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman subsequently attempted to withdraw federal support for racial discrimination, they found their way blocked by powerful southern politicians from their own Democratic Party who dominated Congress.

Desmond King has written a stinging account of the relationship between the federal government and the preservation of white supremacy. With the exception of segregation in the military, which other scholars have covered more thoroughly, King presents fresh material on the operation of racial discrimination in the civil service system, federal penitentiaries, and public employment and housing. Armed with government records, files from civil rights organizations, and statistical tables, King reinforces his argument of federal complicity in racism practiced by state officials, private employers and lenders, and labor unions, most notably the American Federation of Labor. In an interesting chapter on the Bureau of Prisons, he shows that even where Washington had clear and abundant authority to run its institutions, bureaucrats chose to defer to the racist policies of the states housing the jails. In similar fashion, the American system of federalism functioned to limit the possibilities for the United States Employment Service to carry out its duties without the support of the communities it served and the racial attitudes reflected in them. Thus, the federal government helped to sustain the hiring of African Americans mainly for menial and low-paying jobs. Furthermore, supposedly neutral regulations promulgated by the Civil Service Commission played into the hands of biased administrators. The "rule of three," which furnished the names of three job candidates based on merit classifications, nevertheless allowed supervisors routinely to pass over qualified blacks in favor of one or the other white applicant.

As a well-documented reminder of the federal government's part in fostering racial discrimination before the mid-1960s, the book serves a useful purpose. Most readers will hardly find surprising King's conclusion that for black Americans separate never meant equal, but they will obtain additional evidence to substantiate this point. Although the study is organized topically to highlight areas for discussion that have previously received scant treatment, it unfortunately loses some clarity as the author jumps back and forth chronologically within and between chapters and subjects appear, disappear, and then reappear. Finally, given the historically dismal performance of Washington described by King, this book begs the question of why civil rights advocates came to believe that they could recruit the national government as an effective ally in their struggle for first-class citizenship.

STEVEN F. LAWSON
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KATHLEEN L. BARBER. *Proportional Representation and Election Reform in Ohio*. Foreword by JOHN B. ANDERSON. (Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 383. $45.00.

This is a useful and timely book. Debates about representation are now widespread, and new electoral systems have been recently adopted from Italy to New Zealand, to say nothing of Eastern Europe. In the United States, where plurality voting systems tend to overrepresent the majority and disfranchise the minority, civil rights lawyers, political activists, and earnest academics are using the courts and local governments to establish a right to representation and explore such electoral techniques as cumulative voting. But, too often in America, both advocates and opponents of electoral reform ignore important historical precedents; myths and prejudices shape the discussion, as the dismal controversy over Lani Guinier demonstrated.

Seeking to dispel the myths and encourage consideration of proportional representation (PR), Kathleen L. Barber provides some of its neglected history, concentrating on the single transferable vote (STV) system. After tracing the nineteenth-century origins of these ideas and explaining the mechanics of PR elections, Barber describes how PR became an integral part of the municipal reform movement in the Progressive era. Five chapters, several written by other political scientists, then focus on separate Ohio cities that adopted PR/STV following a "home rule" constitutional amendment in 1912. Drawing on the insights



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of the "new institutionalism," which stresses the independent impact of institutions on political outcomes, and using rich voting data, these scholars probe the complex interactions between political behavior and political structures. Employing a common analytical framework, each examines the circumstances under which PR was adopted, its advocates and opponents, its implementation and operation, and its eventual abandonment between 1929 and 1960. To determine the system's effectiveness, the authors analyze the changing political and demographic characteristics of city-council members, trends in voter turnout and competition for office, and council voting patterns.

Barber effectively incorporates the findings of these case studies in a summary chapter. Progressive municipal reform emerges as far more complex than previously recognized. Hailed as "efficient democracy" (p. 124), PR linked the ideas of professional elites with those of participatory reformers and promised a more representative government that would facilitate both municipal management and social justice. Although it never fulfilled all its promise, PR (in combination with other progressive reforms like the city manager) led to improved and expanded public services by more efficient and responsive city governments. PR elections did not demonstrably affect voter turnout or permit minor parties to thrive, but their electoral dynamics encouraged consensus rather than conflict in government and enhanced political representation of racial and ethnic minorities. Indeed, PR's very success in improving representation for minority groups contributed to its ultimate repeal by those more intent on maximizing their own power than assuring a democratic polity.

This examination of five Ohio cities scarcely "provides the basis for the history of PR in America," as Barber alleges (p. 5). It neglects many important aspects of the subject, especially in the nineteenth century. And its extreme repetitiousness, largely a function of its format, is also offputting. But this is a valuable book that deserves to be widely read by scholars, public officials, and citizen activists. By illuminating the political consequences of electoral systems, it points the way to a more substantive American democracy.

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PHILLIP J. COOPER. *Battles on the Bench: Conflict Inside the Supreme Court*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1995. Pp. xi, 224. $24.95.

Conflicts among and between the justices of the United States Supreme Court have long spiced up numerous judicial biographies, many constitutional law lectures, and even a few turgid doctrinal treatises: John Marshall versus William Johnson, Roger Taney versus Joseph Story, John Marshall Harlan versus Oliver Wendell Holmes, William Rhenquist versus William Brennan, and Felix Frankfurter versus just about everyone with whom he served. But until this thought-provoking volume by Phillip J. Cooper, few scholars had lifted these recurring incidents above the level of the juicy anecdote, applied some theoretical framework to them, or attempted to classify and explain the types of conflicts that have taken place among the "nine scorpions in a bottle" who occupy the nation's highest judicial tribunal.

As most students of the Court know, the justices engage in the ritual of a formal handshake prior to oral arguments or conference sessions where votes are taken and opinions assigned. But as Justice James F. Byrnes once noted, this judicial handshake resembled "the usual instruction of the referee in the ring. Shake hands, go to your corner and come out fighting" (p. 173). And fight they have, from John Jay's time to that of Antonin Scalia.

Cooper imposes some rational structure on these all-to-frequent episodes of judicial pugilism by exploring four fundamental questions: Why do the justices fight? How do they wage combat? What difference does the fighting make in the life of the institution and the country? And, finally, why don't our guardians of constitutional virtue battle more often? Along the way, Cooper tackles as well some of the more venerable historical stereotypes about conflict on the Supreme Court. Have the frequency and intensity of conflict become worse in the past two hundred years? Is the Court the most conflict-ridden of the three major governmental bodies in Washington, D.C.? One may not always agree with Cooper's conclusions on these and other points, but there can be little quarrel with the thoroughness of his research, which ranges over both the relevant secondary literature as well as the personal papers of many justices.

The two principal sources of conflict, Cooper argues, arise from either professional (read jurisprudential) differences or personal ones, but as his examples demonstrate, the boundary between these two concepts becomes extremely fuzzy and often disappears on close examination. One is hard pressed to discover a pure case of jurisprudential difference uncontaminated by personal dislike, although the conflict between Chief Justice William Howard Taft and Oliver Wendell Holmes comes nearest to that model. But did Justice James Clark McReynolds despise Justice Louis D. Brandeis because he was a Jew or because he was a progressive? The first explanation seems obvious to Cooper, given the abundance of evidence concerning McReynold's anti-Semitism, yet Cooper does not explore McReynold's relationship with Benjamin Cardozo to test that hypothesis.

Constitutional questions touching upon race—school desegregation, affirmative action, and the death penalty—sharply divided Lewis Powell, Jr., and Thurgood Marshall, but it is very difficult to distinguish the ideological foundations of these divisions from the social and cultural ones that distanced a white Virginian from an African American raised in Maryland.



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Conflicts with jurisprudential origins often turned personal, as the case of Frankfurter and Hugo Black seems to suggest. And personal relations could flourish despite doctrinal conflict, as in the case of Frankfurter and Robert Jackson.

Cooper's analysis achieves greater clarity when he examines the most persistent sources of conflict among the justices that have arisen largely from internal institutional forces: eras of court transition, when new majorities challenge entrenched beliefs; external political pressures that threaten the Court's image as a monastery, the "new rights" problem; and recurring debates over access to judicial remedies. All have been potent sources of conflict, none more so than those moments of transition when representatives of the status quo see themselves guarding the ramparts of constitutional correctness: Justice Story defending the Marshallian tradition against the Jacksonian hordes; the remnants of the Four Horsemen resisting the New Dealers; Marshall and Brennan tending the flame of the Warren legacy during the Burger-Rhenquist era.

How the justices have waged these battles constitutes one of the most fascinating portions of Cooper's book. The conventional weapons, of course, are dissenting and concurring opinions, including footnotes replete with personal asides and invective. The justices have also employed surrogates outside the institution, especially sympathetic law professors, leaders of the bar, and even members of Congress. In more recent times, past and present law clerks have been drawn into the fray, a technique pioneered by Justice Frankfurter that reached its egregious climax in the clerks who lubricated the gossip mill for Bob Woodward's book, *The Brethren* (1979). When all else has failed, a few justices have not been reluctant to mount the public soapbox themselves, a rare breach of decorum that probably cost Robert Jackson the chief justiceship when he called a press conference in Germany to denounce Justice Black.

Have conflicts made a decisive difference in the outcome of particular cases or in the overall direction of constitutional development? In a few instances, notably the Frankfurter-Black and Frankfurter-Douglas quarrels, Cooper's evidence suggests that feuding justices become for one another negative reference points where the depth of rancor and distrust distorted the possibilities of rational discourse and frustrated opportunities for compromise.

Measured simply by the rising tide of dissenting and concurring opinions, it is possible to argue that conflict among the justices has grown more intense and bitter since the 1940s, especially during the recent Burger and Rhenquist eras. Who can doubt that sharp ideological and personal differences characterized the relationship between Abe Fortas and Black? Warren Burger and Brennan? And, more recently, Scalia and Sandra Day O'Connor?

But this new level of discord and division may have more to do with the general collapse of the old pre-Realist universe of legal thought than with the personal idiosyncrasies of the justices, an issue that Cooper does not explore. Nor does Cooper examine how pre-Court careers may determine later institutional relations. Are academicians like Frankfurter and Scalia more prone to conflict than politicians such as Marshall, Black, Murphy, and Warren? Does prior judicial experience dispose one toward compromise? These are minor gaps, however, in a volume that brings many fresh insights to very old phenomena.

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DAVID ROSENBERG. *The Hidden Holmes: His Theory of Torts in History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 280. $45.00.

In *The Birth of the Clinic* (1973), Michel Foucault identified two different epistemes, two different ways of seeing the body, in the medical literature of France on either side of 1800. Each was perfectly clear and complete and radically incommensurable with the other. Foucault passed over the very difficult work of sorting out the ugly mixture that was talk about the body in the intervening years. The early eighteenth-century world of the American common law and the world of American law after World War II can be seen as similarly different, clearly identifiable epistemes. In between is much mud. Sorting through that mud is work of a kind that Foucault avoided and that most historians do very cautiously. This is the work that David Rosenberg has set for himself.

In the late nineteenth century, American lawyers had an opportunity to recast their theory of wrongs. When they were finished, they had a new field of law: torts. The materials available were a grab bag of old precedents, half-thought-out concepts, and moral understandings. The times were unsettled as the extension of the railroads was succeeded by unprecedented industrial growth. In *The Common Law* (1881), Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., self-consciously set out to develop a theory that would hold the whole field together. For the past fifty years it has been thought that Holmes organized the field around the concept of negligence and so pushed the concept of strict liability to one side. It is this technical question of the shape of Holmes's legal theory that Rosenberg disputes. He argues with much vigor that Holmes, supposedly a virulent partisan of the negligence standard, was in fact a partisan of liability without fault in a wide range of cases, including industrial accidents, and that the failure to understand Holmes's position is a characteristic example of the failure of contemporary American legal scholarship generally. No one could plausibly suggest that I am an apologist for the present state of American legal scholarship. Still, this book seems to me to be more of an example of the failures of that scholarship than its author believes.



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Anyone who begins to read *The Common Law* today is struck by the fact that, though the words and thoughts seem very familiar, something about the text just does not seem right. We do not quite use words in the way that Holmes does. Rosenberg is quite conscious of this fact, in theory at least. His Holmes is nonetheless a thoroughly modern jurist who recognizes the importance of industrialization and economic analysis for tort law and fully appreciates the problems of moral hazard, reciprocity of risk, and optimum investment in accident reduction. I thoroughly like the Holmes that Rosenberg paints for me; I understand exactly how and why he thinks as he does. Moreover, I, who have a longstanding argument with virtually the entire community of legal historians about understanding legal realism, have no reason to reject a historical argument because it is resolutely set against dominant understandings. Still, I rather doubt that this is a plausible reconstruction of Holmes in the late nineteenth century.

Rosenberg provides a "strong" reading of Holmes's theory of torts, a reading of the kind that Holmes himself engaged in many times, particularly in *The Common Law*. Lawyers and law professors offer strong readings of texts all of the time; indeed, that may be all that they do. When offering a strong reading, if something does not fit in an argument, they squeeze, raise the rhetorical level, or assert an interpretation for troublesome facts that makes the trouble go away. And when faced with an opposed strong reading, they work diligently to undermine that reading. In this book, Rosenberg does all of these things.

Now there is nothing wrong with offering strong readings of classic texts. David Harlan has made the case for just such work in the pages of this journal. Still, when working in the mud between epistemes, what gets lost in the lawyer's argument is the pastness of the texts in question, their situatedness. Holmes spoke but briefly about some of the things that Rosenberg makes central; he spoke differently at different times; he spoke in words that are not the words that we and Rosenberg would use. All of this is lost in Rosenberg's argument, just as all but what is necessary to a lawyer's argument is lost when his argument is made. By my lights, neither inventiveness nor correctness makes up for a steamrollered past. Ironically, by simply engaging in making a strong reading, Rosenberg provides yet another example of the contemporary legal scholarship he excoriates, not an object lesson pointing toward an alternative practice.

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DANIEL R. ERNST. *Lawyers against Labor: From Individual Rights to Corporate Liberalism*. (The Working Class in American History.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 334. Cloth $49.95, paper $18.95.

Historians of labor law have traditionally divided post-Colonial United States history into three broad periods. The first, beginning in 1806 and ending with *Commonwealth v. Hunt* in 1842, is thought to have been defined by a series of criminal conspiracy prosecutions brought against workers for the very act of combining to bargain with their employers. A second major period is thought to have begun in the 1880s, as judges responded to the growing militancy of organized labor by introducing the labor injunction that prohibited, under threat of contempt proceedings, various forms of collective action. This era of "government by injunction" is also thought to have been marked by a laissez-faire constitutionalism that was implacably hostile to pro-labor legislative initiatives. This second broad period of legal antipathy to organized labor is only thought to have ended with the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act in 1932 and the advent of the New Deal. Thereafter, labor law was reformed and became more sympathetic to the interests of organized labor.

In his beautifully crafted new book, Daniel R. Ernst calls this traditional periodization into question. Ernst shows that, contrary to the coventional wisdom, between the 1880s and the 1920s, the legal freedoms of labor unions were significantly expanded. At the beginning of the period, only labor combinations for the purpose of directly raising wages or improving working conditions were clearly considered to be beyond the reach of criminal conspiracy law in many jurisdictions. Combinations to force an employer to discharge nonunion workers in order to gain a fully unionized shop were widely held to be indictable offenses, as were secondary boycotts. By the 1920s, labor law had changed. The closed shop agreement was, with certain qualifications, recognized as a legal objective for which unions could strike, and once attained it could be enforced against employers. Many secondary boycotts continued to be actionable and could be enjoined, but even here a number of decisions permitted unions to engage in certain "materials boycotts" in the building trades. Long before the New Deal, organized labor came to be recognized in law as having a legitimate role to play in a pluralist polity.

Ernst arrives at his reappraisal by retelling the story of the American Anti-Boycott Association (AABA), which began to campaign in 1903 to have the activities of organized labor strictly limited in law. The men who founded and set the agenda of the AABA embraced the same individualist premises that underlay the laissez-faire constitutionalism of the period. Yet the legal efforts of the AABA to restrict the activities of organized labor met with only limited success.

How does Ernst explain the changes in labor law that took place in this period? His answer appears to be that they were the result of a change in ideas about the nature of union activity first developed by Oliver Wendell Holmes and Frederick Pollock and later embraced by legal academics, younger and more progressive judges, and other governmental actors who



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created the new law and implemented the new policies. These ideas developed as an economy organized around numerous small, proprietary businesses began to be supplanted by one based on large aggregations of capital in corporate form. These thinkers accepted the growing concentration in economic life; they believed that large-scale organizations should be permitted to use their great power where it was socially beneficial but prevented from using it where it threatened social harm. The same applied to large-scale labor.

Most economic activity, it now began to be argued, involves acts or threats of acts to damage another party. Even simple competition, for example, is the act of attempting to win away the customers of another business and thus knowingly striving to damage it. Such activity will not ordinarily give rise to liability, not because one party has not actually threatened to damage or damaged another, but because the damage is justifiable by the larger benefits of the activity. According to these new ideas, the problem for judges and legislators became one of drawing a line between damaging economic actions that could be justified on some wider policy ground and damaging economic actions that should not be legally permitted because their harms outweighed their benefits. The problem for labor law was exactly the same, since unions began to be seen merely as another large-scale economic player taking part in this game of threatening or committing economically damaging actions to gain economic advantage.

As Ernst tells the story, on the one hand, Samuel Gompers and organized labor rejected the new thinking and wanted to implement a system of "collective laissez-faire" in which workers would have absolute rights to combine to commit any and all economically damaging acts in the course of trying to bring employers to terms. On the other hand, Daniel Davenport and the AABA also embraced the rights thinking of the past but wanted to preserve the absolute rights of individuals by radically restricting the activities in which large-scale organized labor could legally engage. Standing between these two, as the voice of reason and moderation, were the legal academics, progressive judges, and policy makers who accepted the changes taking place in economic life and struck a natural, commonsensical compromise between these two extremes by recognizing the legitimacy of organized labor and extending the legal liberties of unions but also continuing to prohibit a number of damaging activities such as secondary boycotts.

This is where I find Ernst's argument somewhat problematical. In one section of his book, he shows that, depending on their political loyalties, different people applied the new ideas to arrive at quite different conclusions about how narrow or broad the legal liberties of organized labor should be in the struggle for life. The new ideas could have justified a set of wider legal liberties for labor or a set of narrower ones. The new law did not arise spontaneously out of the new ideas. The act of balancing benefits and harms was and is an inherently difficult, subjective, and frequently political act. But we are told little about the fundamental politics of this philosophy of legal balancing or about the cultural presuppositions and other influences that led the academics, judges, and legislators to draw the legal lines precisely where they did. The new law was as deeply political as the law it replaced. Ernst has done us a great service in pointing out the significant legal and ideological changes that took place in labor law between the 1880s and 1920s, but he has failed to go far enough in exploring the basic politics of this new legal regime.

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RUDOLPH J. R. PERITZ. *Competition Policy in America, 1888–1992: History, Rhetoric, Law*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 374. $45.00.

Competition is something that nearly all Americans endorse in theory but dispute in practice. In the nation's public discourse, a proclivity for competition underlies such diverse rhetorical images as the "market place for ideas" and a "color blind" constitution. Through a skillful blending of history and analysis derived from law and rhetoric, Rudolph J. R. Peritz attempts an ambitious re-evaluation of competition policies from Republican President Benjamin Harrison in 1888 to the election of Democrat Bill Clinton in 1992.Peritz describes the limits of American competition policy as "capacious" (p. 301). Indeed, while much of the book probes relatively well known issues involving the development of business-government and labor relations associated with traditional antitrust, Peritz extends his discussion to include a wide-ranging analysis of First Amendment issues and the more episodic consideration of race, gender, and other social problems that have engulfed the United States since the 1880s. For Peritz, the meaning of American competition policy is primarily rhetorical, enunciated in diverse yet related images and contentions as ethical attachments to equality and liberty. Using sophisticated rhetorical theory to deconstruct the ethical content of such terms as freedom of contract, wealth maximization, private property rights, allocative efficiency, cooperation, concentrated power, and even the market itself, he establishes broad linkages between competition policies and Americans' perpetual struggle to give life to liberty and equality.

In a brief review, it is difficult to evaluate fully the book's achievement. Peritz makes a useful contribution by showing that ethically defined competition issues were important to American social (especially labor) history from the 1880s to the 1990s. His analysis adds depth to the most familiar developments that constitute the formative era of the American antitrust tradition from 1888 to 1914: the enactment of the Sherman Act of 1890; the Court's restrictive interpre-



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tation of the law during the turn of the century; Theodore Roosevelt's "trustbusting" campaign, which facilitated the Court's embrace of the more flexible rule of reason in the famous *Standard Oil* and *American Tobacco* decisions of 1911; and the reaction against the new rule, culminating in passage of the Clayton and Federal Trade Commission (FTC) Acts of 1914. The second third of the book extends the insightful discussion to consider the suspension of antitrust in World War I and the emergence of First Amendment cases (defined by Peritz as competition issues). This is followed by analysis of the trade association movement identified with Herbert Hoover and Louis Brandeis, the early New Deal's temporary embrace of cartelization in the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Court's historic turnabout between 1936 and 1941, the revitalization of antitrust under Thurman Arnold, and the seemingly contradictory enactment of federal laws protecting small business, all of which ceased operation during World War II. The book's final chapters bring the story forward to 1992.

Peritz's discussion of many leading Supreme Court decisions, particularly those involving First Amendment issues since the 1970s, is often quite useful. Even so, the book is most valuable for its analysis of the course of economic theory since World War II. It is a splendid critical history of the economic theory known as the Chicago School, which has had such a pervasive influence on American law during the second half of the postwar era. Peritz continues the history of the relation between law and economic thought where Herbert Hovenkamp left off in his important book, *Enterprise and American Law, 1836–1937* (1991). The discussion of the competition issues inherent in the development of the advertising business during the early twentieth century is also excellent.

At a higher interpretive level, however, the rhetorical method engenders problems. Except for such rigid adherents to the Chicago School as Robert Bork, most historians of the Sherman Antitrust Act's origins and the subsequent evolution of the law's interpretation since 1890 see a multiplicity of goals, to some extent contradictory, influencing the developmental process. Peritz joins William Letwin, Suzanne Weaver, Hans Thorelli, Martin J. Sklar, and Hovenkamp in rejecting the sort of neo-classical economic reductionism Bork advocates. At times, however, Peritz's own insistence on strict categories of ethical imperatives leads to the reductionist edge. Thus John Sherman's clash with George F. Edmunds (both Republicans) over the Sherman bill's initial drafts is presented ultimately as a struggle between liberty and equality. Similarly, Louis Brandeis's, Herbert Hoover's and Harlan F. Stone's defense of the trade association movement during the 1920s is located within the same categories of discourse, which in turn are said to have shaped the pro-cartel policy of the early New Deal's National Industrial Recovery Act. Thomas K. McCraw's historical recovery of a producerism rooted in *petite bourgeois* values to explain the close identification between Brandeis, Hoover, and Stone in the trade association movement rings truer than Peritz's rhetorical analysis. McCraw's interpretation also reinforces Weaver's assessment of the philosophical clash between Republicans Sherman and Edmunds that shaped the vague provisions of the Sherman Act in the first place.

Even the book's strengths are not free of difficulty. The otherwise excellent treatment of First Amendment issues has a reductionist tendency in that it ignores the democratic, anti-militarist discourse that Robert Cover suggests shaped the 1930s Supreme Court opinions of Charles Evans Hughes, Owen Roberts, Benjamin N. Cardozo, and Oliver W. Holmes, which established the more liberal interpretation of the clear and present danger doctrine. Similarly, the liberty-equality dichotomy illuminates well the general competition policy implications of the nation's labor struggle. Accordingly, like most studies, Peritz correctly draws a picture of exploited workers. The rhetorical categorization fails nonetheless to address the racial, ethnic, and gender conflicts that on labor's side for so long worked against achieving victory. The most disappointing example of the reductionist tendency, however, runs through the discussion of economic theory. Despite a sophisticated understanding of classical, neo-classical, and Chicago School theory, the analysis does not adequately come to grips with the positive benefits of oligopolistic corporate structure identified with the work of Alfred Chandler, particularly his view that the Court's turn-of-the-century cartel and merger decisions were instrumental in fostering the "great merger wave" that established the foundation for the triumph of American managerial capitalism.

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ELIZABETH MCKILLEN. *Chicago Labor and the Quest for a Democratic Diplomacy, 1914–1924*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 239. $35.00.

Elizabeth McKillen's intent in this ambitious book is to "reconcile the insights of diplomatic and labor history" (p. ix) before and after World War I. Her focus is the struggle of the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL) to lead the labor movement away from the corporatist ideology of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the country away from Wilsonian internationalism. "Using the techniques of a community study," she explains, "I demonstrate the kinds of local imperatives that helped to stimulate foreign policy activism within municipal labor councils . . . and to make them hotbeds of anti-war and anti-imperialist agitation between 1914 and 1924" (p. x).

Foremost among the imperatives were the strong ethnic components of the central labor councils like the CFL and their resentment at their own weak positions within the AFL. AFL President Samuel Gompers "associated democratic diplomacy with . . .



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greater collaboration among business labor and the state and with the triumph of Wilson internationalist principles" (p. 7). Hence Gompers's enthusiasm for the Council of National Defense (1916) and subsequent wartime agencies that included labor leaders as well as businessmen. Hence his support for Woodrow Wilson's foreign policy—from preparedness to Bolshevik Russia and the League of Nations—and his determination to extend and internationalize American wartime labor policy after the war. But CFL members opposed Wilson on preparedness, Ireland, Russia, and the League. Chicago's Polish-American and Irish-American organizations also preferred the idea of a balance of power to that of a League of Nations that would give power to those who already had it. By the fall of 1918, CFL President John Fitzpatrick wrote off the National War Labor Board as a group of "labor baiters and labor crushers" (p. 217), and in 1919, elements of the CFL openly rejected the "collaborationist" (p. 133) view of the AFL leadershhip. After the war, members of the CFL formed the Chicago Labor Party and initiated the drive for a national labor party as an alternative to the Republican and Democratic parties which they saw as equally supportive of an order that they decried. In contrast to the AFL, the CFL and its allies distrusted centralization and had no faith that cooperation among business and labor elites could further democracy at home or abroad. They wanted real industrial democracy in which workers had a voice equal to their numbers. In the end, the CFL was caught between the right and the left: Gompers worked to undermine its partisanship; the Communists tried to drag it leftward. By the early 1920s, the movement for an independent labor party had been sabotaged by both sides. The victory, however muted-,went to the proponents of nonpartisanship and voluntary cooperation in a classless society.

In this sophisticated book, McKillen skillfully keeps her focus, which could not have been easy to do, by continually reworking her themes as events unfold. She has mined significant primary sources and integrated them into a wide range of secondary works to demonstrate convincingly the interaction between local, national, and international developments. The book is not always easy to follow as the locus shifts from foreign to domestic, and from local to international activities, but that cannot be helped. This is not a simple study. It is, however, an important one.

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PAUL M. BUHLE. *A Dreamer's Paradise Lost: Louis C. Fraina/Lewis Corey (1892–1953) and the Decline of Radicalism in the United States*. (Revolutionary Studies.) Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press International. 1995. Pp. x, 192. Cloth $49.95, paper $18.50.

The story of Louis C. Fraina and Lewis Corey is an American tragedy. Born in 1892, Fraina was a brilliant young writer of poor immigrant background who became an early enthusiast of the Bolshevik Revolution and a founder of American Communism in 1919. Having pulled out of revolutionary politics in 1922, he re-emerged later as Corey, a prominent independent Marxist intellectual of the 1930s who became, by 1950, an obsessive anti-Communist and Cold Warrior. Still, he was hounded on all sides—called a turncoat by young Communists, an old Red by right-wing inquisitors, and an undesirable alien by the Justice Department. In 1953, fighting deportation, he died of a brain hemorrhage.

Paul M. Buhle is a superb guide to the radical circles Fraina inhabited from 1909 to 1922: the Socialist Labor Party of Daniel DeLeon, the left wing of the Socialist Party, and the divided ranks of the early Communist movement. The crux of Buhle's story lies in the 1910s, when Fraina's writing, in socialist newspapers and magazines like *Modern Dance*, sought to synthesize proletarian revolt, mass culture, and the modern arts. This "visionary modernism," building hope for "a new art and a new world" on the fusion of avant-garde currents with the vernacular culture of working-class youth, lost primacy in Fraina's mind, Buhle writes, as war, revolution abroad, and left-wing sectarianism riveted his attention (pp. 40, 88).

Fraina interpreted Bolshevism in terms akin to the quasi-syndicalist mass action of DeLeonite socialism, and his ideas of cultural renewal through proletarian revolution survived in some form at least until around 1921. Nonetheless, Buhle considers Fraina's embrace of Bolshevism "his political doom" (p. 63) and regards everything afterward as a retreat from the cultural emphasis and antistatist principles of his early radicalism. Corey's widely read book on the economic crisis, *The Decline of American Capitalism* (1934), and *The Crisis of the Middle Class* (1935), which anticipated mainstream sociology in examining the "white collar" class, made important contributions to an American tradition of intellectually flexible Marxism, but Buhle regards them primarily as reflections of the regrettable economistic and reformist inclinations of the Depression-era left. Reading Buhle's thorough review of the record, however, one could conclude that Corey sustained genuine revolutionary intentions through much of the 1930s. In general, there may be more continuity in Fraina/Corey's career than Buhle allows. Even after his repudiation of Marxism, Corey's moderate socialism in the mid-1940s featured elements of Veblen-like social analysis and strong antistatist views that survived from his early days.

By focusing all his approbation on a brief moment in Fraina's youth, Buhle constructs most of his book as a sad story of declension. Yet, in this expert and concise account of American left-wing intellectual life over almost half a century, Buhle provides evidence for another view: almost all of Fraina/Corey's career, until the Cold War deranged his perspective, might represent various more or less cogent attempts not to linger in dreams of paradise but to make radical aspirations



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relevant to the changing demands of contemporary social and cultural life.

HOWARD BRICK
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JULES TYGIEL. *The Great Los Angeles Swindle: Oil, Stocks, and Scandal during the Roaring Twenties*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 398. $25.00.

The main topics of this book are the career of Courtney Chauncey Julian, a resourceful, colorful, and possibly larcenous character; his principal associates; and the political and legal entanglements of one of their principal ventures, the Julian Petroleum Company. In step with other easy money boosters of the 1920s, the Julian group carried out massive over-issues of stock until "Julian Pete" was taken over by court-appointed receivers.

The venture failed as a result of poor investments, inadequate management, and diversion of capital for the personal use of managers, The first and second failings have never been unusual in highly promoted, high-risk businesses; the third is, and was, illegal. Thus, various local and federal prosecutors closed in on the Julian crowd from time to time, creating a long series of related investigations and prosecutions, told in extensive detail that will largely interest historians of Los Angeles. By 1934, scores of people had lost fortunes and reputations in the fallout. Julian died a penniless suicide in Singapore.

All of the ingredients of a smashing tale are present: flashy promoters, dishonest businessmen, greedy investors, corrupt public officials, an insane assassin, ruined reputations and careers, and a preacher right out of Sinclair Lewis's *Elmer Gantry* (1927). For the most part, Jules Tygiel develops the story with the rhetorical skills he demonstrated earlier in *Baseball's Greatest Experiment* (1983). The current work, however, is much less satisfying as history, failing largely because the sources he relied on are questionable. The book is largely stitched together from highly colored reports that appeared in the stridently partisan newspapers of Los Angeles. Although they make it easier for Tygiel to produce a frequently engaging text, they are not satisfactory substitutes for the germane, if drier, archival materials that scholars commonly employ. Moreover, Tygiel occasionally misrepresents the quality of his sources, as when he identifies Albert Atwood, a popular writer for the *Saturday Evening Post*, as a financial expert (pp. 24, 333).

The most obvious defense for the evidential shortcomings of this book might be that the topic is so highly significant that readers must accept the apparent absence of the most relevant evidence. This is a hard case to make. The Julian Pete scandal was significant in Southern California, but national media such as the *New York Times* lost interest in it because it lacked broader relevance. Texas contemporaries, including S. E. J. ("Alphabet") Cox and Frederick A. Cook, were far more resourceful than the Julian crowd. Apart from passing references to Hollywood celebrities, principally Louis B. Mayer and Cecil B. DeMille, this volume has little to add to the literature in business and economic history on the general subjects of promoters and the economic history of the 1920s.

The overriding theme of the volume is moral outrage, based on Carey McWilliams's *Southern California* (1946), Warren I. Susman's *Culture as History* (1984), and interpretations of the 1920s by Frederick Lewis Allen (*Only Yesterday* [1931]) and John Kenneth Galbraith (*The Great Crash of 1929* [1961]). More current and specialized works are conspicuously absent, diminishing the academic value of the book Thus, despite Tygiel's undoubted rhetorical skills, readers who do not believe that moral indignation is more important than solid evidence and academic context will be disappointed by this volume.

ROGER M. OLIEN
*University of Texas, Permian Basin*

JOHN A. SALMOND. *Gastonia 1929: The Story of the Loray Mill Strike*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 226. $24.95.

Occasionally a book comes along that newly informs about an event that scholars had long ago catalogued and stored away. Such is this book by John A. Salmond. In six compelling narrative chapters, packed with telling detail, Salmond describes the growth of the textile industry and the history of its workers in Gastonia, North Carolina, up to 1929; the strike at the Loray Mill (or rather mass protest at the stretch-out and subsequent wage-cuts) in April 1929; and the subsequent violence on June 7 that resulted in massive beatings of protesting workers by company-sponsored deputy policemen and the death of the Gastonia police chief. The strike never took hold, but a remnant group of workers constituted a continuing protest based around a small tent colony erected after a thousand people were evicted from the Loray Mill village. Salmond describes the August 1929 trial of sixteen union leaders accused of the first-degree murder of the police chief and the subsequent killing of the later-famous balladeer of the strike, Ella May Wiggins, the twenty-nine-year-old mother of nine children. After a mistrial because of a juror gone mad, a second trial in October 1929, convicted seven unionists of second-degree murder, but a long delayed prosecution (in February, 1930) failed to convict the accused killers of Wiggins.

Salmond does more than present a superbly written narrative that uses oral history, memoirs, trial documents, newspapers, and older accounts to make the story for the first time persuasively complete. Salmond's Gastonia consists of two communities: a mainstream, networked, middle-class elite that found itself



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surrounded in Gaston County by a new class of mill workers. His narrative personalizes the town's deep fear of worker power through unions. Salmond wants his work to reinforce "those historians who still insist on the power of class as an explanatory factor in the historical process" (p. xiii). It does. The union that the town feared was the ephemeral National Textile Workers Union (NTWU), an entity of the American Communist Party. Another agency of the party, the International Labor Defense, managed the defense of the accused workers. "Communism versus Americanism—that was the issue" that consumed Gastonia along with class (p. 165). Salmond is also perceptive as to how the racial equality ideals of the NTWU and the actions of the young striking women workers heightened Gastonia's paranoia.

Salmond does not overtly speculate about the strike's meaning beyond the class and ideology markers of the strike. In some ways, though, this book confirms once again the familiar story of a unique group of southern workers and their ambiguous place in the labor history of the South—rebellious but controllable, like a family but anti-union, and numerous but powerless. On the other hand, Salmond's description of the mechanism of community control by a southern town elite with its own sense of history and southernism gives renewed support to the old idea of southern exceptionalism in labor history, now under attack on all fronts.

JAMES A. HODGES
*College of Wooster*

SHAWN LAY. *Hooded Knights on the Niagara: The Ku Klux Klan in Buffalo, New York*. New York: New York University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 198. Cloth $45.00, paper $15.95.

This is the third book Shawn Lay has written or edited on the 1920s Ku Klux Klan. While his earlier work concentrated on El Paso, Texas, and the West generally—locations where the Klan enjoyed great popularity—this one focuses on a northeastern industrial city where, to say the least, the Klan was in a much more embattled position. The book is an outstanding contribution to the new literature on the Klan that Lay has already done so much to shape. It demonstrates his considerable skill in unearthing the social characteristics of Buffalo Klan members and placing their activities within the city's social and political climate. Perhaps most importantly, in terms of broadening our understanding of the Klan, it offers a unique perspective on why the movement was truly national in scope—why it appealed so strongly to white Protestant Americans from nearly every segment of society and every type of community, even those in which white Protestant hegemony was a hopeless cause.

Lay uses unusually detailed membership documents to establish that 1,910 men joined Buffalo Klan #5 during the early 1920s (figures for the women's Klan are not available). This meant that Buffalo Klansmen represented only a tiny proportion of the city's half a million residents, a huge percentage of whom were Italian, Polish, Irish, and German immigrants and their descendants (sixty-four percent of the city's church members were Catholic; only twenty-eight percent were Protestant). The Buffalo Klan was also minuscule compared to urban chapters outside the northeast, particularly midwestern cities, large and small, with overwhelmingly white, Protestant populations. The relative powerlessness of the Buffalo Klan is the key to its significance. Lay shows that, in this northeastern city, the Klan was different in important ways, but that at the same time, it reflected clearly the forces that made the Klan so powerful in other locations. Buffalo Klansmen were decidedly more middle class and white collar than was the norm elsewhere. This reflected to some degree the place of white Protestants in the city's overall occupational structure. The small size of the Buffalo Klan was clearly influenced by the extraordinarily inhospitable political climate. New York's Walker Law essentially made the Klan an illegal organization. Buffalo's mayor, a popular beer distributor and brewing company executive elected on his pledge to thwart Prohibition, led an all-out crackdown on the Klan and its minister-leaders when they tried to launch a law enforcement campaign. But Lay also finds the same basic impetus behind the Buffalo Klan that has been seen throughout the nation: bigotry combined with aggressive civic activism in support of mainstream white, Protestant cultural values. As was the case elsewhere, support for Prohibition was the main catalyst to the Buffalo Klan's growth.

One wishes Lay had done more to place his findings in a somewhat wider context, to tell us more about the fate of the Klan movement in the northeast and the nation's largest industrial cities. He might have done more, too, to explain the significant degree of support for the Klan among German Americans. This has been noted in other studies, particularly William Jenkins's fine book on Youngstown, Ohio (*Steel Valley Klan: The Ku Klux Klan in Ohio's Mahoning Valley* [1990]) but Buffalo would appear to have been an excellent setting to examine this important question in more detail. These are minor criticisms, however. This is an excellent book that should be consulted by anyone interested in the Klan, the 1920s, or the social dynamics of modern American right-wing movements.

LEONARD J. MOORE
*McGill University*

LYNN DUMENIL. *The Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s*. Assisted by ERIC FONER. New York: Hill and Wang. 1995. Pp. ix, 351. Cloth $25.00, paper $10.95.

Despite the conscientious efforts of numerous historians, the stereotype of the 1920s as the "jazz age" has proven extremely hard to dislodge. Now, however, Lynn Dumenil's fine overview may at last succeed in budging it.



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Dumenil's study focuses on the tensions pervading the decade, which she extends beyond the conventional rural-urban and fundamentalist-liberal dichotomies. Her opening chapter on politics, for example, reviews the fate of the Progressive distrust of private power in the face of the business sector's faith in voluntarism. Although much of the discussion is familiar, a section on lobbying gives it a fresh dimension. Dumenil's chapter on work and consumer culture posits a conflict between corporate needs and workers' autonomy, for both blue and white-collar employees. At the same time, Dumenil takes pains to differentiate working and middle-class patterns of consumption. In light of recent scholarship, she suggests that ethnic and racial ties served as sources of resistance to an increasingly standardized, alienating mass society. One may nevertheless question Dumenil's equation of "community" with race and ethnicity, an assumption that dismisses both the regionalism and cosmopolitanism that simultaneously shaped Americans' sense of identity during the period.

The book's strongest section examines the experiences of women. Here again Dumenil is sensitive to diversity. She stresses the "double burden of race and gender" (p. 121) borne by women of color in the workplace while noting that discrimination against all female workers severely limited their freedom. By demonstrating that changing sexual mores did not eradicate traditional values, Dumenil effectively complicates the picture of the decade as an era of women's liberation.

That balanced perspective might have enriched Dumenil's treatment of 1920s culture, which perpetuates the standard story of modernist intellectuals, Southern Agrarians, "New Negroes," secular-leaning Protestants, and religious fundamentalists. Although she notes that "most of the popular literature of the period remained totally conventional" (p. 159), she lets the matter go; the coexistence and intersection of popular and middlebrow literature with modernism remains unexplored.

Two concluding chapters highlight tensions arising from threats to old-stock Protestant hegemony. Dumenil skillfully integrates studies of immigration restriction, the Red Scare, Prohibition, and the Ku Klux Klan to argue that such activities reflected anxieties about the destruction of homogeneity and moral order. In addition, she makes an important contribution to the history of those phenomena by shifting the spotlight to the responses of the groups that nativists and racists attacked: Mexicans, Japanese, Catholics, Jews, and African Americans. Such minorities emerge as sometimes divided but hardly passive, even though they voiced only partial challenges to demands for accommodation to the status quo.

Dumenil's insistence on attention to cultural pluralism—the book's greatest strength—tends to overcorrect for that theme's prior neglect. One loses a sense of the daily lives of white, middle-class Protestants who shunned the Klan, read Booth Tarkington, attended lectures on modern art, or even took the car out for a spin. Dumenil's conclusion that the 1920s generated "a multiplicity of cultural and behavioral standards that was to become the hallmark of modern America" (p. 302) also contains an element of wishful thinking. Nevertheless, this clearly written synthesis is now the best survey of the decade, and it should be extremely useful as a classroom text.

JOAN SHELLEY RUBIN
*University of Rochester*

SAMUEL A. FLOYD, JR. *The Power of Black Music: Interpreting Its History from Africa to the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. 316. $30.00.

Samuel A. Floyd, Jr., announces early in the introduction to this book that his intention is to write about the importance of black music in such a way that it can be appreciated "not only by music scholars but also scholars in other disciplines, as well as by any interested reader" (p. 6). Unfortunately, for this interested reader from another discipline, Floyd has not succeeded. Attempting to demonstrate the strong connection between African-American music and the African homeland, Floyd has instead compiled a great deal of information that does indeed link American black music to its African origins but that will have only marginal use for any except musical experts already familiar with its often specialized language.

In fact, it is difficult to determine just who the book's intended audience actually is. The subtitle and the dust jacket suggest a popular history format, but so much attention is devoted to dissecting the formulas of classical (concert), jazz, gospel, and other musical genres that the text explaining the historical eras in which these forms flourished is spread entirely too thin. There is a broad chronological format starting with African rituals and ending with contemporary black sounds, but the narrative, frequently interwoven with musical analysis, is so sketchy as to give the interested historian little to ponder. In short, the work must be intended solely for musical scholars specializing in the study of African-American compositions.

Although Floyd uses a dazzling variety of sources, his work is largely derivative, admittedly drawing heavily on the work of Sterling Stuckey and Henry Louis Gates: "I use Gates to read Stuckey, Stuckey to read Gates and Stuckey and Gates to read the formulations of disparate others" (p. 8). Relying on previous work is not inherently wrong, but all too often the book reads like a pithy condensation of the observations of others rather than the broad synthesis for which Floyd strives.

Moreover, the work is marred by a stilted prose style that exacerbates the difficulty that all but specialists will have in following the narrative. "The spirituals to which the ring shout was danced," Floyd writes in a rambling sentence all too typical of the text, "employed both long-phrase and short-phrase melodies,



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used texts in dialect, made use of call-and-response figures, had pentatonic and modally ambiguous melodies, used typical African-derived rhythmical conventions, used conventional harmonies of primary chords, made judicious use of blue notes, and prudently employed elision" (p. 44).

Finally, there is very little here to justify the dust jacket's claim that the volume attempts "to break down the barriers that remain between high art and low." Floyd occasionally gets low-brow, as when he demonstrates the almost textbook example of the African call-response technique in Cab Calloway's famous "hi-de-ho" refrain, but these readily identifiable examples of the popular genre are rare. One would expect a bit more funky examination of African-American blues than the mere handful of pages it gets here. Historians should not confine the study of the past to what is currently fashionable; still, a monograph on the importance of black music that all but ignores the enormous current interest in the blues (its contemporary following appears to be at an all-time high) not only fails to break down the arts barrier but also refuses to recognize any casual reader's natural curiosity about this uniquely American form of music. Although not African in origin, the blues deserves more than the casual examination it receives in a book entitled "The Power of Black Music" that claims to link high and low art.

LOUIS CANTOR
*Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne*

RICHARD K. LIEBERMAN. *Steinway & Sons*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 374. $35.00.

This new history of Steinway & Sons, piano makers, written largely from records preserved at LaGuardia Community College and at Steinway Hall in New York, is the second on that firm to appear in the past year. It is an entertaining narrative, filled with illustrations and data on the company as well as personal information on the Steinway family. One may enjoy it like a novel or popular history, but as a work of scholarship it is somewhat uneven.

Richard K. Lieberman is at his best and most interesting when he addresses the firm's business practices, economic fortunes, and labor relations over the years. Accounts of its advertising campaign during the 1920s, for instance, and its marketing of the Steinway "image" are especially lucid and interesting, as are sidelights on William Steinway's political activities and his work on the New York City transit system.

When it comes to technical and historical aspects of the piano, however, Lieberman is sometimes given to broad generalizations and peculiar terminology. At one point (p. 28), for instance, he leaps a century from Cristofori's key action in the 1720s to Erard's double escapement of 1821, as if nothing of import (like Geib's double escapement action, patented in London in 1786) had occurred in the intervening years. Elsewhere he describes a particular piano frame metal as having "possessed valuable musical vibrations" (p. 62).

Perhaps the book's main problem is that it resembles all too closely an uncritical "in-house" company history. The element of context is missing. One will not read, for instance, that around the turn of the century many who were able to afford a Steinway chose a Knabe instead for musical reasons. Indeed, Knabe rates only passing mention in the contexts of its acquisition by Aeolian (p. 128) and its being supplanted by Yamaha as the official piano of the Metropolitan Opera during the 1960s (p. 294). Similarly short shrift is given to Mason & Hamlin (p. 128); and even Chickering and Sons, who among other things pioneered the cast-iron frame, is portrayed more as a business rival than as Steinway's match both in quality and prestige during the nineteenth century.

The gossip level also seems excessive. There is little reason to air the particulars of Regina Steinway's adultery, for example, or her husband William's habit of logging into his diary his wife's menstrual cycles and the frequency of the couple's conjugal relations (pp. 64–67) or to take special note of an employee's bad breath (p. 139).

Finally, the book is not carefully edited. There are numerous instances of awkward syntax and grammar, as well as some basic bibliographic errors that might have easily been caught and corrected, like the assertion that *New York Musical Review* was a "new journal" in 1866, when in fact it had been published under that name since January of 1854 (p. 31).

Lieberman's chronicle will engage and delight the casual reader. The serious student of American music and musical life will also find it useful but will do well to approach the book with caution.

JOHN OGASAPIAN
*University of Massachusetts, Lowell*

ROBIN LESTER. *Stagg's University: The Rise, Decline, and Fall of Big-Time Football at Chicago*. (Sport and Society.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1995. Pp. xxii, 301. $32.95.

Many myths envelope the history of American college sports, and one of the most enduring concerns the University of Chicago's exit from the Big Ten conference and big-time intercollegiate athletics. According to the myth, a brilliant young president, Robert M. Hutchins, seeing the incompatibility of big-time college sports and serious academic endeavors, swiftly and decisively pulled the school out of the Big Ten, thus ending its hiring of athlete-students and returning its sports teams to the club level and authentic student athletes.

The reality of Chicago's departure from the Big Ten, as explained in this excellently researched book by Robin Lester, was far less abrupt and far more complicated than the myth suggests. Lester details the entire story of Chicago's involvement in big-time inter-



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collegiate athletics. Upon its founding in 1892, the university's dynamic president, William Rainey Harper, hired Amos Alonzo Stagg from Yale to set up and run the school's football team. Harper and Stagg helped found the Big Ten conference; attracted immense amounts of publicity to the school with their successful Maroon teams, the original "Monsters of the Midway"; weathered recruiting scandals; and never figured out how to turn large numbers of superb athletes into authentic college students. After Harper's death in 1906, Stagg became even more of a "power coach" and a national figure and ran his separate athletic domain at Chicago until the mid-1920s. Then, as the university improved academically, various administrators and faculty members began to question Stagg's commercial sports fiefdom.

Even before Hutchins became president in 1929, school authorities had crippled Stagg's player recruiting and protection of athletes in academically questionable courses. It then took Hutchins—working with faculty, alumni, student, and trustee allies and aided by the Great Depression—ten full years to pull Chicago out of Big Ten football and another seven years to end the school's participation in all Big Ten sports.

Using Stagg's business papers as well as those of other school officials, Lester tells the Chicago football story superbly. He first found and worked through this material over twenty years ago in his Ph.D dissertation. Unlike many dissertations turned into books, however, this is not a hybrid concoction with the elaborate scaffolding of the Ph.D still visible around a lumpy narrative. The many years between dissertation and publication have benefited Lester: he has built on his original discoveries and also assimilated the relevant intervening studies on his topic. The result is a new and completely whole work.

Most importantly, this book joins the small but excellent group of recent histories on the early period of college sports. Lester's methodology is very traditional, but the thoroughness of his institutional history is convincing. In the end, Lester demonstrates that the University of Chicago's sports situation was unique, a result of that school's unusual history as well as the contending forces and personalities that shaped it. Contrary to the mythmakers, in no way does Chicago's withdrawal from big-time intercollegiate athletics provide a model for other schools wanting to dismount from the college sports tiger.

MURRAY SPERBER
*Indiana University, Bloomington*

G. EDWARD WHITE. *Creating the National Pastime: Baseball Transforms Itself, 1903–1953.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 358. $24.95.

As it happened, I had just finished rereading Robert Creamer's 1984 biography of Casey Stengel before taking up G. Edward White's book. The two books could hardly be more dissimilar. Creamer's *Stengel* is a superb example of what has been called "baseball history"—an affectionate, anecdotal, yet thorough and critical treatment of a fascinating figure in the sport's history. White has produced a work exemplifying the putative "history of baseball"—an intensely argued work of "serious" scholarship that examines baseball not primarily as a form of athletic competition but as a major economic, legal, and cultural institution.

White's thesis is that from 1903, when the older National League recognized the new American League as an equal partner under the National Agreement, down to 1953, when the major leagues' half-century of geographical stability ended, baseball was truly the national pastime. That was so not because of anything intrinsically appealing about the game of baseball but because "those at the upper echelons of the sport as an enterprise consciously, and unconsciously, transformed it from a working class, 'rough,' urban sport to a game that simultaneously embodied America's urbanizing, commercializing future and the memory of its rural, pastoral past" (p. 319). Thus professional baseball came of age during the Progressive Era, as Americans sought both to accommodate to their new industrial and urban society and to preserve essential elements from a presumably simpler and more innocent time.

White pursues his thesis in chapters covering such topics as ballpark environments, enterprise and governance (before and after the Black Sox scandal), hero-worship and changing ethnicity, perpetuation and abandonment of racial segregation, baseball journalism, and the effects of night baseball, radio, and television. Although White provides some interesting insights, especially on the evolution of baseball's unique and uneasy status in relation to federal anti-trust law, he says little not already treated fully in a very large body of writings on baseball's history.

Inasmuch as White includes no bibliography, it appears that his research has been quite selective, resting essentially on the sources and secondary works cited (in most cases incompletely) in his notes. Missing from White's notes are works by, among others, David Q. Voight, Marshall Smelser, Stephen R. Lowe, Robert F. Burk, Benjamin G. Rader, Murray Polner, Don Warfield, Ray Robinson, Mike Sowell, David Halberstam, and (except for *John McGraw*) this reviewer. Both White's notes and his text, moreover, contain quite a few errors and misunderstandings. The space allotted for this review precludes a listing of even the more significant ones; knowledgeable students of baseball's history will readily spot them.

Although White recognizes that in creating the National Baseball Hall of Fame, baseball's officialdom effectively consigned late-nineteenth-century baseball to prehistory, he does basically the same thing. Even before the Civil War, baseball was being hailed as the national pastime—something fresh, wholesome, manly, democratic, and an object of civic pride. Especially over the past twenty years or so, researchers have uncovered much of baseball's long and complex history



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before the emergence of Ban Johnson's American League. Except for a sustainable second major league, the most distinctive social and structural features of 1903–1953 baseball—racial exclusion and such "monopsonistic" features as the reserve clause, the player-draft system, and territoriality—were in place before 1900.

White's efforts to give a different twist to well-worked material makes for interesting reading, but his insistence on his particular fifty-year periodization limits what he can add to an increasingly rich area of scholarship, much of which at least approximates the flavorful writings of Robert Creamer and other practitioners of "baseball history."

CHARLES C. ALEXANDER
*Ohio University*

CHARLES C. ALEXANDER. *Rogers Hornsby: A Biography*. New York: Henry Holt. 1995. Pp. xiv, 366. $27.50.

Rogers Hornsby was a great baseball player, make no mistake about it. A member of baseball's Hall of Fame, he played for twenty-three years in the majors; compiled a lifetime batting average of .358, second only to that of Ty Cobb; led the National League in batting seven times; and, in 1924, batted .424, a mark never equalled in the twentieth century. Along the way, Hornsby managed an assortment of major and minor league teams and played in two World Series. Aside from maintaining a keen interest in horses and gambling, this uneducated, teetotaling, hard-nosed baseball player devoted his entire life to America's national game, often to the exclusion of his wife, children, and everything else. Gil McDougald, who played for Hornsby in the minor leagues before moving on to the New York Yankees in the 1950s, said of his former manager that he "eats and sleeps baseball and then chews it up" (p. 244). "Rajah," as Charles C. Alexander makes clear in this biography, would not have disagreed.

Alexander is one of our foremost baseball historians. His history of the sport, *Our Game* (1991), and his biographies of Ty Cobb and John McGraw are able contributions to our knowledge of the sport and of the way in which a study of the game and its personalities can tell us important things about ourselves and our society. But this new biography falls short of his previous efforts: not because it is not well researched or written, and not because it fails to provide important information, already available elsewhere, about what happened to major league baseball in the 1920s and 1930s, but because Hornsby is simply a boring, one-dimensional man whose life story does not lend itself to the exploration of any significant themes. Although on the field he may have been the National League's answer to Babe Ruth and Ty Cobb, unlike these larger-than-life idols, his story provides little insight into anything else.

Alexander is not at fault here. He gives us what he can: a responsible, chronological account of Hornsby's ups and downs, his single-minded focus on the game he loved, his conflicts with the various owners for whom he managed, occasional, if unpenetrating, glimpses of his personal life, and his passion for the ponies that at times cost him his job.

The more important question, however, is whether a book like this deserves the attention of historians. Hornsby's story adds little to what we already know about the game of baseball or to our understanding of the times in which he lived. Clearly it is possible to err in the other direction. If we learned nothing else from Ken Burns's "Baseball," it should be that it is possible to overemphasize and sentimentalize the importance of the game and its players for what it can tell us about American society. To his credit, Alexander makes no such claims for Hornsby. Only true baseball buffs will find that this book holds their interest.

PETER LEVINE
*Michigan State University*

FRANK WALSH. *Sin and Censorship: The Catholic Church and the Motion Picture Industry*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 394. $35.00.

Since their introduction into society, motion pictures have elicited a paradoxical response from reform communities. They symbolized the march of progress, and they symbolized a potential threat to traditional culture. Not surprisingly, social movements proliferated that had the censoring of film as their object. Private censorship organizations, municipal and state groups, and efforts at federal censorship law contended with each other in the first decades of the twentieth century. In this context, the Catholic Church added its voice against sex hygiene films produced and distributed by the American Social Hygiene Association and the United States Public Health Service during World War I.

Frank Walsh explores the Catholic Church's role in film censorship from World War I through the 1960s. He provides an epilogue that compares the Legion of Decency's actions to the censorship movements of contemporary fundamentalist religious groups. This is a thoroughly researched study whose primary focus is on the politics and economics of censorship. Walsh systematically explores the reaction of producers, studios, and the film industry to the Legion of Decency, the production code, and Joseph Brennan and others who influenced the operational aspects of censorship. Filled with detailed analyses of both well-known and obscure films, it can serve as an encyclopedia of censorship and would make a valuable reference book for those working in film studies and American history.

Walsh explains the emergence of "self-regulation" in the film industry well. The industry, under persistent criticism from state and municipal censorship boards, wanted to avoid federal censorship. It found, in working with Catholics interested in the production code and the Legion of Decency, that it could engage in "self-regulation." That term, however, was understood



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in a corporate sense. Conservative Catholics brought with them the belief that ignorance was the best method for preserving innocence. Dominant sex education movements started with the premise that education was the best method for preserving innocence and that individuals, through education, were also capable of "self-regulation."

Walsh is at his best when he is analyzing demographics and economics to explain how a minority religion could have such a controlling influence on the film industry. His explanation for the decline of the Legion of Decency in the 1950s and 1960s is generally sound. First Amendment decisions from the Supreme Court, ecumenism, religious and cultural pluralism, Jesuit criticisms, Vatican II, and a better-educated church membership undermined the authoritarian foundations of earlier censorship efforts.

Walsh explores the interaction of a small group of Catholic censors within and outside the film industry with each other, the bishops, local Legion of Decency groups, producers, studios, and the Vatican. It is clear that different strategies emerged with the church and that archbishops, bishops, and cardinals were jealous of their prerogatives. Using a comparative perspective, he contrasts Irish-American Catholic attitudes toward nudity with Italian and French Catholic attitudes and policies. He does not, however, mention what role, if any, Italian Catholics played in the censorship movement.

Careful attention is given to attitudes toward sexuality. Divorce, promiscuity, sexual perversion, homosexuality, and bigamy are all mentioned. The cultural themes of sexuality are underdeveloped. Although a body of historical scholarship on censorship exists within women's history. Walsh does not use it. His illustrations of cultural attitudes do not go very deep but do suggest areas for additional research.

Walsh does provide evidence of anti-Semitism among the censors and notes that the Catholic hierarchy supported Franco and was limitedly tolerant of Hitler. Censorship went beyond "sin." Strikes were censored from films. Criticisms of capitalism were stricken. There was opposition to using Upton Sinclair's novels for films and persistent and frequently misguided anticommunism. No references are made to the role of the film industry and the censors in the campaign against Sinclair's End Poverty In California (EPIC) gubernatorial campaign. The censors' involvement in McCarthyism is also minimized. The censors' anticommunist attitudes might suggest greater involvement. If this was not the case, it would be helpful for the reader to know.

David J. Pivar
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Michael Kammen. *The Lively Arts: Gilbert Seldes and the Transformation of Cultural Criticism in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 495. $35.00.

This is not a biography. The reader will learn little about Gilbert Seldes as a person or about his family and friends. Michael Kammen is a Pulitzer Prize-winning cultural historian, and this book deals with a major critic of popular culture's production and distribution. Gilbert Seldes was one of the first to challenge a cultural criticism confined to high culture. He insisted on directing serious critical attention to popular culture—movies, vaudeville, musical comedy, comic strips, radio, television, popular music, jazz, and modern dance. This is a history of the transition from popular culture to what we now know as mass culture: "namely active participation giving way to passive observation or listening" (p. 176). Seldes was a hands-on critic involved intimately with the production and distribution of culture. He wrote radio and movie scripts, plays, and mystery novels; participated in talk shows; taught communications and administered a graduate program in the field. He was an intellectual who championed James Joyce and wrote one of the first perceptive reviews of *Ulysses* (*The Nation*, August 30, 1922). In the same decade, he wrote reviews of comic strips.

Seldes's life is tracked from his highbrow, intellectual beginnings as a Harvard aesthete to a stint as an editor of the little literary magazine, *The Dial*, down through his work as a film critic for *The New Republic* and a cultural critic for *The Saturday Review of Literature*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Esquire*, and *TV Guide*. Seldes was an expert on all facets of the media and frequently anticipated developments long before others in the field.

In what appeared to many an appalling cultural wasteland, Seldes was an optimist and a democrat. He knew trash when he saw it, but when it was popular trash he often found excuses and held out the hope that quality would emerge. When it was highbrow trash—badly performed opera, poor legitimate theater—he denounced it as "bogus" and considered it more menacing to culture than the lively arts. It was always Seldes's contention that popular culture could be the agent not only of good entertainment but also of education and a more democratic society. A cultural populist, he was convinced that culture could be democratized without being vulgarized. While he often worried about the technological changes leading to mass culture and the dangers of mass conformity through the radio and then television, he still dwelled on the potential rather than the actual performance. It was the job of the serious cultural critic, according to Seldes, to encourage the "great audience" to demand more from the purveyors of mass culture.

On all of the relevant issues, Kammen provides much detail and often insightful commentary. He appears to share with Seldes an infinite capacity to wade through banality. The narrative runs from the 1920s to the 1970s. There is practically nothing about Seldes's childhood, despite the fact that his father was a utopian anarchist and he lived for a while in an anarchist commune. The organization of material is



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often without focus, particularly in the early chapters. Paragraphs often have no discernible order. This may be due to the eclectic dilettantism of Seldes, who discussed a wide variety of subjects from sex to children to circuses by way of slang, humor, and popular songs. Kammen flits from one topic to another, unable to provide any obvious scheme. The book needs more editing. Kammen deals with the subject matter both topically and chronologically, a practice that leads to frequent repetitions. We are told, repeatedly, that Seldes became the television director for CBS (pp. 208, 220, 256, and 268). Documentation is often inadequate, as when Kammen asserts that Seldes, like Dwight Macdonald, resorted to racial stereotypes (p. 98). In the footnote, there is no source for the statement about Macdonald, who, to my knowledge, used those terms as a Yale undergraduate and not as a professional journalist.

There is also often a lack of substance to this book. Kammen refers frequently to Seldes's interest in jazz, but there is never any significant critical analysis. If one turns to Seldes's most important book, *The Seven Lively Arts* (1924), there is a chapter containing appalling racial stereotyping that describes African-American music as "primitive," appealing more to the body than the mind. In the 1960s, Seldes praised Benny Goodman as balanced and judicious: "He's not a maniac. He's not a wild man" (p. 373). One wonders if this referred to Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, or Thelonius Monk.

One can come away from this book knowing that Seldes and other champions of popular culture loved the comic strip Krazy Kat but without knowing why. There are also cryptic passages such as one that mentions in passing that Seldes served in the military in the Deep South. Kammen quotes a later Harvard Class Report where Seldes reported that he participated in the "battle of Spartanburg and received a promotion to sergeant" (p. 33). Spartanburg, South Carolina, was the site of a serious racial disturbance when black soldiers resisted racist treatment. Does Kammen know that, and, if so, what is the implication of the notation? The subject is simply dropped.

Seldes died in 1970. There has been no other study of this important and intelligent, if erratic, critic. Kammen's book fills the gap. Seldes was apparently a man of great charm, boyish enthusiasm, and unfailing energy. People liked and respected him. But it will take a genuine biography to bring that man to life.

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BUNNY MCBRIDE. *Molly Spotted Elk: A Penobscot in Paris*. Foreword by EUNICE NELSON-BAUMAN. Assisted by JEAN ARCHAMBAUD MOORE. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 360. $24.95.

Born to Penobscot parents on Maine's Indian Island and reared in a time when the tourist trade was becoming an economic mainstay of her people, Mary Alice Nelson (1903–1977) learned early on the ways of the professional Indian, dancing and otherwise performing for summer vacationers during her childhood. As a young woman, she danced in little more than a Plains headdress on the vaudeville stage, appeared in Texas Guinan's chorus line, performed with Oklahoma's 101 Ranch Wild West Show (whence came the un-Penobscot *nom de théâtre* Molly Spotted Elk), and worked in several other venues in America and Europe. She married a struggling French journalist some years after their daughter's birth, but his political activities, often conducted in boudoirs with other women, forced their separation and contributed to his premature demise early in World War II. Back in the States and unable to find employment, Nelson entered into a disastrous love affair, lost the better part of her grip on reality, and was confined as a schizophrenic in mental hospitals in California and Maine. Thereafter, she spent her time expounding to various public officials the evils of Communism, which she had come to believe had more to do with her husband's death than the Nazis.

Falling historiographically nearer to *The Memoirs of Chief Red Fox* (1971) than to L. G. Moses's excellent *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians* (1996) and reminiscent of journalistic accounts of the life of Frances Farmer, this book is little more than the show-business biography of a tragic figure who happened to be a second-rate performer. Fifteen of the book's sixteen chapters (or 264 of the 284 text pages) concern only the first thirty-seven years of her life. Without necessarily meaning to do so, anthropologist Bunny McBride presents considerable evidence suggesting that severe marginalization beginning in childhood contributed to Nelson's eventual psychological deterioration. Nelson repeatedly referred to herself as an "injun" in the diaries she kept, used terms like "half-breed" (p. 118) to describe others whose Indianness she questioned, and, when she married (having first discarded a good half-dozen more level-headed suitors), chose a Frenchman obsessed with her ethnicity to the point of dressing in pseudo-Indian outfits very nearly counterparts to the stereotypical costumes she wore in her dance routines. McBride elects to minimize the importance of those (and other) behaviors in order to argue for Nelson as a custodian of indigenous culture, despite the fact that most of Nelson's efforts at stewardship were either misguided (as in her choices of music and costume for her dance routines) or ended in abject failure (she appeared in a 1930 cinematic docudrama that the public ignored because it was a silent film; she wrote a book of Indian tales, but it was never published; etc.). Beyond such contradictions, readers must deal with McBride's rather jarring assertion that she has had metaphysical communion with Nelson in which hitherto unknown truths were revealed (pp. xvi-xvii, 338). There may also be a problem or two with Nelson's diaries, which served as McBride's principal source and are incom-



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plete because Nelson's daughter, who inherited them in 1977, read through them and purposely "did not save them all" (p. 289) for reasons that are unstated but probably clear enough to the discerning reader.

Unhappily, the book is as badly edited as it was poorly written. Sentence fragments (pp. 41, 61), misplaced modifiers (pp. 23–25), and misspellings abound. William Randolph Hearst's middle name was not Randolf (p. 100), James Fenimore Cooper's middle name was not Fennimore (p. 45), and Louis M. Sockalexis's name was not Soxalexis (p. 295). Nor does the Thwaites edition of *The Jesuit Relations* contain a variable number of volumes (pp. xx, 98, 310, 347). The publisher, once noted for benchmark studies of Native American history and culture, should blush brightly for issuing a book of such authorial and editorial mediocrity.

WILLIAM W. SAVAGE, JR.
*University of Oklahoma*

RITA BARNARD. *The Great Depression and the Culture of Abundance: Kenneth Fearing, Nathanael West, and Mass Culture in the 1930s.* (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture, number 87.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 271. $49.95.

This book will force scholars to rethink the meaning of mass culture in the Depression years. By illuminating the contradiction between depression and abundance and challenging the "great divide" between literature and mass culture, Rita Barnard intends to "help us see the contradictions of our own time afresh."

There is deliberate irony everywhere in this book, beginning with the title and the photo opposite the title page in which two men, obviously dispossessed, walk down a highway below a billboard that proclaims "next time take the train: relax." Barnard compares Kenneth Fearing, "the taxi-driver poet" or "the poet who would not be famous," with T. S. Eliot, and the book concludes with an epilogue called "Happy Ending," based on a Fearing story and an analysis that are anything but.

Barnard takes a fresh approach to some old debates about politics and culture, from the making of literary canons to the effects of the commercialization of culture. The book takes as its premise the shift in American culture from a focus on production to an emphasis on mass consumption. (Alan Brinkley makes a corresponding argument in terms of the political economy of the New Deal in *The End of Reform* [1995].) The main issue that arises from this shift is the question of the consumer's power to make meaning out of cultural products vs. the producer's power to manipulate responses. Or, to put it differently, can writers use elements of mass culture—from billboards to comic strips to the idea of consumption itself—in order to critique it? Are there oppositional elements in mass culture that contribute to a critical, even revolutionary view of society?

Barnard attempts to answer such questions through a provocative and thoughtful analysis of Fearing's and Nathanael West's writings, which, she argues persuasively, were both "in and against the American grain." Fearing and West were both critics and aficionados of mass culture, and they understood both the temptations and dangers of the new image-mediated consumer culture. Her presentation of them as "forgotten ancestors" and even "our contemporaries" rests on her analysis of their ironic and critical depictions of that culture. Barnard makes a convincing case that both writers were highly conscious of the fact that art will not save us and that both believed the problems of modern society (including the communications media's manipulation of the masses) ultimately called for a political struggle.

This is a brilliant book, but its theoretical sophistication is a weakness as well as a strength. A book that, among other purposes, seeks to bridge the gap between "high" culture and mass culture should be more accessible. Barnard's study relies heavily on the work of Walter Benjamin and the Frankfurt School; the text is peppered with words such as "simulacra," "syntagmatic," "synecdochically," and "onomastically." This is likely to put off readers unfamiliar with the language of critical theory. The most annoying part of the book is the discussion of *Miss Lonelyhearts* (1933), in which Barnard not only uses Walter Benjamin's and Guy Debord's words to comment on West's novel but at one point even puts in West's mouth phrases such as "structures of experience." In the end, Barnard undermines the power of her own work; the ultimate irony is that a book this insightful is worthy of a broader audience.

ROBBIE LIEBERMAN
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PAUL SPORN. *Against Itself: The Federal Theater and Writers' Projects in the Midwest.* Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1995. Pp. 373. $24.95.

Any book about the New Deal Federal Arts Projects (FAP) begins with numbers and then proceeds to an accounting of cultural conflicts. During the four years that the projects were funded by the government of the United States, twenty to thirty thousand workers produced art for millions of people. Paul Sporn's book recounts the fundamental institutional, personal, and cultural conflicts that plagued the FAP. Of course, there were politicians who only cared about getting reelected and bureaucrats who needed only to certify who was legitimately worthy of relief; they were at odds with the populist aims of Hallie Flanagan, director of the Federal Theater Project (FTP) and Henry Alsberg, director of the Federal Writers' Project (FWP). But Flanagan and Alsberg found themselves at times uncomfortably at odds with the audience they attempted to serve and the artists they employed. The main problem, according to Sporn, is that all too often



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the administrators and artists were at some remove from the mass publics they were "interested in attracting," and this "was ultimately more important to their success or failure than their naive perceptions of how liberal politicians and entrenched bureaucracies functioned" (p. 67). Sporn nicely details all the various ways this mix of intentions worked against itself.

Most books written about the FAP have concerned themselves with the cosmopolitan centers: New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Washington. The professional artists of note were in those cities, and even though the directors of the FAP were committed to bringing art to people in Detroit as well as in New York, the short history of the projects chronicles a steady retreat from the provinces back to the center. That Sporn chooses to study the Midwest is important precisely because he concentrates on the representative middle—the very "masses" of people the arts were supposed to be delivered to—and then accounts for the FAP's successes and failures there.

Concentrating on Michigan, with some forays into Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois, Sporn locates three immigrant groups, Polish, Finnish, and Yiddish, all of which had vibrant theater and writers at the turn of the century. How to connect with them? For the FTP, that meant asking first *where* to connect. Sporn recounts the fights over possible theater locations in Detroit: should it be downtown, where the "elites" were used to going, or out in some working-class neighborhood, where Flanagan hoped to lure members of various unions? The negotiations took until 1937, at which point the FTP settled on a former Yiddish theater, not downtown but at its perimeter, where I suppose they hoped to catch some of both groups. The FWP had to contend with similar problems—a limited amount of time, hostile politicians, a small pool of really talented writers, and people untrained in ethnography—but once again Sporn believes the real problem was that the writers "seem not to have been deeply familiar with neglected publics" (p. 275). Black studies, he finds, were on the whole much more successful, aesthetically and authentically, in part because the talented people involved, such as Robert Hayden in Michigan and Richard Wright in Illinois, obviously knew their subjects inside and out.

Sporn reminds us that the National Endowment for the Arts, in contrast with the FAP, only disperses money; it does not function as a producer. At its most ambitious, the FAP aimed to foster new art forms and new fora for the arts, new plots and different stories. Between the dream and the reality there is the stuff of history: the manuscripts (mostly still unpublished), the bureaucratic records, the plays and guidebooks produced, and the continuing struggle to interpret what causes the gap between making art for the people, by the people, and about the people.

RENA FRADEN
*Pomona College*

WILLIAM M. TUTTLE, JR.. *"Daddy's Gone to War": The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 365. $30.00.

This book represents an admirable effort to bring together the contemporary sociological, psychological, and anthropological literature on American children and childhood during World War II, combined with insights from more recent socio-psychological literature and hundreds of recently written accounts of wartime childhood. William M. Tuttle, Jr. has made himself acquainted with a vast literature—theoretical, statistical, and experimental—on childhood and development in order to analyze the effect that war had on the children who lived through it. It is a massive undertaking, and Tuttle's success is uneven.

As a member of the cohort of children in grade school during World War II (as well as a historian who has worked in the period), I found Tuttle's book a particularly welcome way to re-examine my own memories, experiences, and historical analysis of the war. But one of the problems with using memories recorded long after the fact (as Studs Terkel has done so frequently) is the meanings those memories acquire in the years between event and record. It is an extremely delicate task to reconstruct the state of anyone's ignorance at any time in the past, even so recent a past as World War II. And it is precisely ignorance of what tomorrow might bring that gives immediate, often permanent, emotional responses to particular events. This is perhaps truer of children rapidly passing through different stages of emotional, psychological, and physical development than it is of adults. Tuttle, as a result, frequently quotes his hundreds of informants—whose memories are often poignant—but rarely uses what they say in any substantive analytical way. He deals sensitively with the multitude of issues that are important to all childhood development, such as the stages of relationships of children of different sexes to each parent, the effects of parental presence and absence, children and working parents, children in school, and peer-relationships, but seldom provides clearly argued conclusions.

The book is poorly written, filled with awkward sentences that contribute little to understanding. Partial statistical information is combined, sometimes inchoately, with childhood memories of informants and summarized sociological studies of severely limited populations. Only rarely is the reader told what all this pieced-together information and insight means. The aim of a chapter is sometimes baldly stated long after it has been gathered from the first several paragraphs. The text overflows with the names of hundreds of authors that should have remained in the well-keyed endnotes. I finally lost count of the number of those whose names are followed by the phrase, "the historian."

There are some glaring problems with Tuttle's analysis. For example, he treats "the Holocaust" and



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"Hiroshima" as single events in a five-page chapter that omits mention of all the other exposures to atrocity and horror that the pervasive media and popular culture of wartime made part of American children's lives. Awareness of what was only much later labeled "the Holocaust" as well as awareness of the horrors of the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki came, for most children, only after the war had ended. They were foci rather than the sole sources that gave after-the-fact meaning and significance to children's experiences of the war's enormity.

With all its faults and inconclusiveness, this book is a ground-breaking assemblage and arrangement of the literature and much of the information available on the effect of World War II on the development of the generations of Americans who are "in charge" today. Their memories, values, behavior, and perceptions, Tuttle makes clear, may well have been significantly conditioned—if not controlled—by their experiences during that war.

JAMES OLIVER ROBERTSON
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THOMAS ALEXANDER HUGHES. *Over Lord: General Pete Quesada and the Triumph of Tactical Air Power in World War II*. New York: Free Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 380. $25.00.

Elwood "Pete" Quesada was a flamboyant and politically well-connected pilot who rose quickly during World War II and became an expert in the employment of tactical airpower. Thomas Alexander Hughes tells his story in a useful, insightful, and immensely readable book (although Hughes perhaps became too close to his subject).

Quesada spent most of his first decade in uniform as the personal pilot to such luminaries as the chief of the air corps, the secretary of war, and the ambassador to Cuba, while also serving on the air staff in Washington. As war approached, he finally gained operational experience as an air defense group commander in New York. In 1943 Quesada was sent to North Africa, where he became deputy commander of the Coastal Air Force, largely responsible for anti-shipping operations. Yet, despite his youth and lackluster background, the following year he was tapped to command the IX Fighter Command in preparation for the Normandy invasion. This was an enormously important position. For the three months prior to D-Day, Quesada's aircraft flew escort missions for the heavy bombers of the Eighth Air Force and bombed bridges, rail yards, and enemy fortifications in western France. When the Allies landed, his fighter-bombers worked closely with ground forces in the drive across France and into Germany. His reputation grew, and by the end of the war he was widely recognized as a tactical air expert who had won the respect and confidence of the ground commanders. The fascinating question is how a man with virtually no operational experience or background in tactical air operations learned his trade so quickly and so effectively.

Regrettably, Hughes sheds little light on this transformation. Quesada is portrayed as a creative genius who pioneered numerous tactical ideas, but in truth, most of the innovations Hughes lauds were devised previously by others. Yet these airmen—"Mary" Coningham, Jack Slessor, Joe Cannon, and George Kenney—are scarcely mentioned and given even less credit by Hughes. It was they who wrote the doctrine for tactical air employment and who introduced the concepts of air-ground radio communications, forward air controllers, and collocated air and ground headquarters. All of these ideas were adopted by Quesada in France and used to great effect, but he did not invent them as Hughes implies.

Part of the problem lies in the common tendency of the biographer to inflate the role and importance of his subject while denigrating or ignoring the other players involved. Hughes is perhaps more guilty of this than most, and this leads, for example, to numerous gratuitous and unsupported slaps at strategic bombing that are serious distractions. Such treatment is as unnecessary as it is unfortunate. Tactical airpower was unquestionably a decisive factor in Allied victory, and Pete Quesada was a master at applying that weapon. What was needed was a detailed analysis of how airpower achieved such dominance and Quesada's role in it. Nonetheless, this represents a useful addition to the crucial story of tactical airpower and its effect on modern ground war.

PHILLIP S. MEILINGER
*Naval War College*

ALONZO L. HAMBY. *Man of the People: A Life of Harry S. Truman*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 760. $35.00.

Why is Harry S. Truman so much more popular as a president today than when he was actually in office? Alonzo L. Hamby has devoted much of his career to the study of Truman—admitting to a "quasi-obsession" going beyond the academic (p. vii)—and has finally synthesized much of his earlier work into a fine study of the now much-admired president. He has been particularly successful in combining serious historical analysis with a wealth of anecdotal material in the way that professional historians at their best both can and should do. Seeking to "demythologize him, but not to debunk him" (p. viii), Hamby succeeds in making Truman understandable and in many ways attractive without having to ignore his abundant character flaws, particularly his personal combativeness. While he clearly sees Truman as one of the better chief executives and credits him with many achievements, particularly in the area of international relations, his ultimate assessment is surprisingly negative. Truman "had failed at what may be the most critical function of the presidency: defining himself as a leader in whom the public could have confidence and setting a positive



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tone for the nation" (p. 615). Thus the high valuation given to Truman these days could be interpreted—not necessarily by Hamby—as more of a negative reflection on more recent presidents than an affirmation of Truman. Hamby does find that Truman, who rather accidently became president, managed to overcome his fairly narrow range of experience to do a highly creditable job of making mostly sound decisions in the extremely challenging environment he confronted in the postwar world.

Hamby has long been focused on the domestic side of the era and particularly on the waning of American liberalism. He correctly places Truman's presidency in the context of a polity that had already installed a conservative, anti-New Deal bipartisan majority in Congress in the late 1930s. He convincingly argues that Truman, despite his periodic eruptions against striking workers and especially their leaders, had been fully won over to the welfare state liberalism of the Roosevelt administration and at least hoped to extend its benevolence in the areas of national health insurance, civil rights, and the stimulation of job creation.

One inadequately answered question is how the civil libertarian that is portrayed in this book—suspicious of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, opposed to the McCarran Act—presided over a government that for almost eight years would somehow create what many would come to refer to as a national security state. Why did the famous "buck" representing ultimate responsibility not stop at the president's desk regarding such matters as the creation of the more despotic features of the loyalty-security program for federal employees and the decision to prosecute the leaders of the Communist Party for mere teaching and advocacy? Perhaps a more penetrating discussion of the structure of power in the Truman presidency would have been in order. It is hard to imagine these same events occurring under the Roosevelt administration apart from the president's will. Hamby is content to observe that "Truman genuinely appreciated the civil libertarian tradition, but he never came close to imposing his sentiments on key branches of his administration" (p. 569).

Assuming the inevitability of some kind of Cold War—Hamby particularly acknowledges the influence of the work of his distinguished colleague John Lewis Gaddis on this issue—were Truman and Dean Acheson "present at the creation" of as good a postwar world as they might have achieved? Did they go too far in scaring the American people out of their isolationist impulses and do them a disservice by contributing to the creation of a Manichean view of the struggle between the "free" and Communist worlds? Was their blend of Wilsonianism and interest politics the best we could have had? Hamby's fine book certainly helps to contribute to the further examination of such questions, whether or not it succeeds in fully vanquishing the point of view of those whom he characterizes as the currently fashionable historians who prefer "to ignore the success of liberal democratic politics in America" (p. viii).

JACK STUART
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RICHARD RHODES. *Dark Sun: The Making of the Hydrogen Bomb*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1995. Pp. 731. $32.50.

In this book, Richard Rhodes continues the story he began in his Pulitzer Prize-winning account of *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (1988). He offers a deceptively straightforward thesis: the expanding arms race between the United States and the USSR propelled both countries toward rapid hydrogen-bomb development, but after the Cuban Missile Crisis, the terrifying prospect of thermonuclear war sustained a prolonged if uneasy peace. Readers should not take the book's subtitle too seriously. It is as much about A-bombs as H-bombs: index entries for atomic bomb and atomic bomb tests, in fact, substantially exceed those for hydrogen bomb and hydrogen bomb tests, and the H-bomb finally enters the story only 200 pages into the book.

This book begins with a brief prologue on the bombing of Japan and some of its implications; it concludes with a brief, where-are-they-now epilogue. In between it divides into three parts. The first ten chapters offer an interwoven account of the Soviet A-bomb research and development program and of Soviet espionage during World War II. The next ten detail U.S. and Soviet nuclear programs from the end of World War II to President Truman's January 1950 decision for H-bomb development. Chapters 21 through 27 carry the story through J. Robert Oppenheimer's 1954 security hearing, with a final chapter sketching events through the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Rhodes has consulted some archives and reviewed a goodly number of secondary accounts and analyses, although by no means all that might have proved relevant. He appears to rely primarily on interviews, with documents and secondary literature serving to corroborate (usually) or refute (sometimes) what he was told. Despite some pretensions to the contrary, this is high journalism, not scholarly research. From the viewpoint of scholarly use, the book's worst feature may be a truly awful citation system; space will not allow me to elaborate, but checking the source of any specific statement demands quite extraordinary effort.

Journalistic approaches can lead to lively and engaging stories, as *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* attested. But they can have drawbacks too, muted in that book but glaring here. Rhodes tends to focus on personalities, but tawdry spies and mad bombers simply cannot match heroic scientists. Larger-than-life figures like Leo Szilard and his Manhattan Project colleagues have few counterparts in H-bomb development. The major exception is Oppenheimer; others on the American scene (like Edward Teller) Rhodes clearly dislikes,



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while those on the Soviet side (like Y. B. Khariton and A. D. Sakharov) he simply knows too little about. In both books, issues hard to discuss in terms of personality recede into the background or vanish altogether. Rhodes devotes much space to the foibles of General Curtis LeMay, for instance, but relatively little to the Strategic Air Command that he headed or to the larger institutional framework in which he functioned.

Espionage plays a major part in Rhodes's story; he exhaustively traces the doings of Klaus Fuchs, Harry Gold, the Rosenbergs, and the Greenglasses during World War II. Each takes more index space than anyone else in the book except Oppenheimer. Much of this blow-by-blow spy story struck me as tedious; it might also be extraneous. Although Rhodes can argue that spying was a significant means of technology transfer for the first Soviet A-bomb tested, he offers no real case for its relevance to Soviet H-bomb development. David Holloway concludes, in *Stalin and the Bomb* (1994), that it meant little even for the A-bomb. He emphasizes more than Rhodes the demonstrated ability of Soviet scientists to design their own bomb; they acted under orders from the top to copy the known U.S. design for their first test.

Curiously episodic and tangled in minutiae, this book often makes hard going, however felicitous its prose. While *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* swept readers through an epic recounting of a largely familiar tale, its sequel seems to lack the same narrative drive in telling its not-so-well-known story. It is not so much a bad book as a disappointing one.

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Jeffrey L. Meikle. *American Plastic: A Cultural History*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 403. $49.95.

Inspired by the malleability of synthetic materials themselves, this dazzling study of plastics combines solid industrial and design history with flights of cultural criticism to celebrate a postmodern irony embodied in the ephemeral objects of everyday life. This is American Studies scholarship at its best: ranging across disciplines and decades, connecting high and popular culture to mass production, relating philosophers to promoters and stuff to psyche. Walt Disney meets Reyner Banham; Teflon and Tupperware, corvettes and swatch watches join Jean-Francois Lyotard. Jeffrey L. Meikle moves from an internalist history of technology—without neglecting an account of scientific innovation and production processes—to weave a tale of cultural transformation with a plethora of players: chemists, inventors, designers, manufacturers, promoters, consumers, writers, and artists. Meikle refuses to resolve the contradiction "of whether postmodern culture is a culture of plastic—fake, phony, ultimately unsatisfying—or a culture of plasticity—exuberant, extravagant, and life-furthering" (p. 298). Rather, he embraces the paradox of the "American" experience of plastics: a liberation from the limits of nature, a creative expansiveness of spirit that threatens cultural depletion through endless artificiality.

In the late nineteenth century, imitative celluloid, which substituted for ivory and tortoiseshell but maintained the artisan-dependent labor processes of older substances, "promised to universalize luxuries once enjoyed only by adventurers" (p. 29). Bakelite, developed in 1907, refashioned plastic as "a material of innovation" (p. 31), calling attention to its unnaturalness. Meikle combines a biography of Leo Baekeland with the history of his corporation—including business formation, technical improvements, patent fights, and public awareness—to chronicle the penetration of this new substance into ordinary living, an interactive process among multiple publics that shaped the meaning of Bakelite, "a perfect machine-age material evocative of precision, rational control, unearthly beauty" (p. 62). He sets chemical innovations (such as polyethylene and polystyrene) against conflicts between material suppliers and fabricators, who remained skilled workingmen into the 1940s, and traces a rich institutional history anchored by *Modern Plastics*, the Society of the Plastics Industry, and the Organic Plastics Section of the National Bureau of Standards. Bakelite radios represented the streamlined design of Depression America, though their form emerged as much from attempts by manufacturers to bypass expensive machining molding as from an aesthetic of stability.

Wartime developments led to a proliferation of plastics and an orgy of postwar consumption. Meikle explores the gendered promotion of plastics with a fine discussion of the 1945 nylon riots that marked the end of wartime sacrifice. In the 1950s, a "damp-cloth utopianism" of laminated walls and dinette tops, pitched to women consumers, replaced visions of a futurist machine age (p. 173). As do-it-yourself hobbyists, men, too, could enjoy the pleasures of plastics. But even as manufacturers domesticated plastic through household objects in traditional styles, designers Eero Saarinen and Charles and Ray Eames sculptured fiberglas into modernist chairs fated for institutional waiting rooms.

Bifurcated from the start, plastics promised control over nature and democratic abundance but also stood for the fake and shoddy. Their infinite possibility encouraged utopian fantasies, such as Union Carbide's Vinylite House at the 1933 Chicago Century of Progress Exposition and Monsanto's 1957 House of the Future at Disneyland, as well as fear of uncontrollable technologies, such as the 1959 plastic bag "menace" when children suffocated from "reusable" packaging. They absorbed both dread of the atom bomb and the miracle of nylon stockings. Dreams of "Better Living Through Chemistry" faded in the postwar world as plastics came to define an age as inauthentic as vinyl seats and polyester suits. Plastics symbolized the banality of middle-class materialism in *The Graduate*



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(1968), a contrast from their role as savior in *It's A Wonderful Life* merely twenty years before.

The shift from permanent thermosetting plastics, formed under heat and pressure, to unstable thermoplastics, easily melted and reshaped, provides Meikle with metaphor and theme: "Formerly conceived as a means of creating permanent abundance from waste materials, plastic became a means of creating an abundance of ephemeral waste. A thermoset world melted into thermoplasticity" (p. 124). Plastics harm an environment that they once sought to overcome; their association with an inflationary culture, where one acquires only to throw away, became a liability by the 1970s and 1980s. Today's communication and information technology, Meikle argues, depends on plastic even while eclipsing its symbolic value.

Oscillating between the lyrical and the mundane, Meikle has given plastics a history connected to larger social, economic, and cultural trends. But his imaginative exploration relies on, indeed reinforces, conventional characterization of the decades, so that the 1950s bring domesticity and the 1960s youth rebellion. This failure to rethink the standard narrative reflects a limited cultural history that all too often universalizes a part as the whole. Relating plastics and (Thomas) Pynchon to the multiple cultures of America would have questioned assertions of postwar affluence and might have enriched this fascinating *bricolage*.

EILEEN BORIS
*Howard University*

NUMAN V. BARTLEY. *The New South, 1945–1980*. (A History of the South, number 11.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas. 1995. Pp. xiii, 548. $39.95.

The "History of the South" series, which has already chronicled its "origins" and "emergence," has at last delivered a volume on the "New South." As presented here, though, the New South was shaped not by developments discussed in the series's earlier volumes but by a profound transformation of the region during the years from 1945 to 1980. Numan V. Bartley synthesizes existing historical and political science scholarship on this era; supplements it with considerable research of his own in memoirs, newspapers, and manuscripts; and incorporates insights derived from novels in order to develop a complex interpretation of that transformation. He provides a first-rate analysis of religious changes and also includes briefer but interesting comments on the evolution of country music. Television, although mentioned, probably does not receive the credit—or blame, depending on one's point of view—that it deserves in creating this New South. Although not ignoring southern intellectual and cultural life, Bartley focuses on social and economic developments and, especially, on politics and government.

Bartley's account operates on three levels. First, it describes the economic and social transformation of the region: the decline of agriculture and southerners' embrace of industrialization, the rise of metropolitan centers and their suburbs, and the emergence of the Sunbelt. He also recounts at length how the civil rights movement destroyed the South's older racial order. Second, Bartley carefully explains how various socioeconomic groups responded to or tried to shape these changes. This essentially political analysis constitutes the heart and the strength of the book. The transformation of the South began, Bartley contends, in an order "dominated by white males, based on *de jure* white supremacy, and led politically by an old-guard county-seat elite" (p. 146). In the years immediately after World War II, liberals, driven by a democratic and pluralistic vision and employing the class-based politics of the New Deal years, challenged that reigning oligarchy. Undermined by anti-Communist hysteria and a shift among national liberals from an interest in class and economic issues to a concern over race and morality, this revolt failed. With southern liberals defeated and opposed only by timid moderates and a "reluctant" (p. 187) federal government, the county-seat conservatives dominated whites' response to the civil rights movement in the 1950s. But in the 1960s, the South rejected their conservatism, and rapid social change undermined their political base. "Metropolitan moderates" (p. 261) who supported racial peace and economic development came to dominate the region.

Third, the book discusses a cultural shift that accompanied the other changes: from the values of a traditional folk society into those of a modern one that promoted "self-fulfillment and material gain" (p. xii). Neither of these value systems, however, is as extensively explored as the attitudes of socio-political groups. Bartley acknowledges the benefits, especially for blacks and women, that change brought, but he seems to lament the loss of the folk culture. More important, he laments the defeat during the early postwar years of the liberals, who, he feels, offered the possibility of a fundamental restructuring of the southern social order.

With considerable restraint, Bartley incorporates his personal vision of a better South into his story of a changing South. He provides a clear, readable narrative, sprinkled with ironic or wry observations. This subtle blend of personal vision and professional synthesis renders the book an appropriate and worthy addition to a distinguished series. For the non-specialist, it offers an insightful introduction to what happened in the region in the thirty-five tumultuous years after World War II; for specialists, it will be a useful synthesis and resource for years to come.

GAINES M. FOSTER
*Louisiana State University*

CHRISTOPHER SILVER and JOHN V. MOESER. *The Separate City: Black Communities in the Urban South, 1940–1968*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1995. Pp. xii, 220. $29.95.



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In this book, Christopher Silver and John V. Moeser address geographical and chronological gaps in the historical literature. They focus on Atlanta, Memphis, and Richmond in the years preceding (and including) the civil rights era, and their book ambitiously weds themes of urban redevelopment, racial change, and emergent black political power. It is a provocative, pioneering effort that will undoubtedly stimulate further inquiry.

Silver and Moeser pay careful attention to local nuances, and, if they successfully point out the significance of particularistic demographics, histories, and political cultures (such as the Atlanta race riot of 1906, Richmond's historic Jackson Ward ghetto, and Memphis's political machine), it is an overwhelming sense of similarity that emerges from these pages. Southern cities with old, established black populations that remained relatively dispersed and physically proximate to whites well into the twentieth century saw the age of Jim Crow provide a foundation for the appearance of "separate" black communities that fully developed only with an assist from federal urban policies. Silver and Moeser assert early on that the southern pattern of black urban settlement differed fundamentally from that of the northern ghetto, but this comparative dimension is never really developed and is simply dropped in later chapters. Instead, their conclusions concerning black majority cores, increasing racial and class segregation (including that within the black community), and the emergence of confrontational first black mayors who inherit "hollow prizes" and are replaced by more pliant or accommodating successors all seem to point toward convergence.

Still, there is much of great value here. The discussion of social "engineering" for the purposes of segregation in the twentieth century gives a nice twist to a concept usually reserved for the denigration of liberals. That it is ultimately put in the context of public housing, slum clearance, urban renewal, highway construction, and neighborhood planning means that local authorities in the age of Jim Crow could not compete with federal policies in the civil rights era when it came to fostering the separation of the races. The juxtaposition of urban development issues and massive resistance to school desegregation in the 1950s throws new light on each—and their interrelation—as mobilizers of black political activity on the local level. Finally, the catastrophic destabilizing effects of urban renewal on these black communities, even as that program failed to fulfill its promise of closing racial economic and social deficits, serve as an illuminating prelude to calls for black power.

Concluding that the historic black communities in these cities were maturing and expanding rather than eroding, Silver and Moeser qualify some of the arguments of William Julius Wilson. Despite this, however, there is little arguing with the final assessment that "the notion of a separate black city [was] more valid in the early 1900s than it was in the 1960s" and that, under the circumstances that accompanied the transformation, black political "independence" proved a "cruel hoax" (pp. 163, 183).

Arnold R. Hirsch
*University of New Orleans*

Michael F. Logan. *Fighting Sprawl and City Hall: Resistance to Urban Growth in the Southwest*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 223. Cloth $39.95, paper $17.95.

Michael F. Logan provides a timely corrective to the story of southwestern urbanization following World War II. In the past, historians have emphasized the pro-growth attitudes and actions of urban promoters during the 1940s and 1950s, paying little attention to the presence of anti-growth forces. Logan stresses the activities of both boosters and dissenters in the cities of Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Tucson, Arizona. He believes that studying one without the other depicts only half of the story, and he is determined to give dissenters the attention they deserve. He sees more contention than consensus during the period. According to Logan, dissenters should be recognized for the role they played in the 1940s and 1950s in creating the cities as we know them now.

Although historians have not overlooked resistance to growth movements in either city during the 1940s and 1950s, they have underemphasized them. That urban growth was unacceptable and strongly questioned by dissenters during these decades is made clear by Logan. In the face of the unprecedented urban boom in the region following World War II, there was constant protest. Urbanization proceeded, but not without considerable opposition.

In this book, examples abound of urban promotion as well as of resistance to development. Personalities involved receive attention, and booster-government partnerships in the two cities are described. Similarities and variations are pointed out, but the popularity of growth in both cities remained strong. Political resistance is described; annexation and zoning battles were numerous. Ethnic resistance, such as Hispanic opposition to efforts to redevelop barrios, also appeared in each city. Hispanic residents not only protested the invasion of their neighborhoods but at times succeeded in modifying urban renewal plans to accommodate their concerns. Increasing environmental awareness also played a role, especially later in the period when it became identified as the root of slow-growth movements.

Although Logan focuses on the resistance to growth in the cities during the 1940s and 1950s, he does not neglect earlier or later periods, giving a good account of the more easily recognized and acknowledged resistance since the 1960s. As he notes, all of this resistance to growth in the urban Southwest continues today. Opposition became more visible in the 1970s and 1980s, but "rarely with a recognition of the deep roots



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of the controversy" (p. 10). In this excellent book, Logan sets the record straight by tracing those roots.

BRAD LUCKINGHAM
*Arizona State University*

ROGER BILES. *Richard J. Daley: Politics, Race, and the Governing of Chicago*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 292.

Roger Biles's, new book brings fresh insight to Richard J. Daley and his fabled Chicago Democratic machine. Calling Daley "arguably the most influential urban figure on the national scene," Biles places his near-mythic figure firmly into the post–World War II context of "urban renaissance" and "urban crisis" (p. viii). From 1955 until his sudden death in 1976, Daley presided over the legendary "City that Works." But these were also the years in which Chicago became nationally identified more bleakly with police lawlessness and racial segregation and with falling fortunes as well as rising ones, and Biles seeks to explain this dichotomy and Daley's culpability in its making.

The introduction and first chapter provide background, surveying Chicago from 1945 to Daley's first election in 1955 and examining Daley's early political growth. The next chapter explores how political astuteness and a mastery of the financial details of urban government enabled Daley to consolidate personal power in what is technically a strong-council, weak-mayor governing structure; to ally this powerful political machine with the city's businessmen to create the impression of an economically vibrant city; and, not incidentally, to enhance his own standing within the national Democratic party.

The remainder of the book examines the man and his regime to argue that Daley's determination to control the city and to make it an urban showpiece was both his strength and weakness as mayor. Biles shows how Daley's political acumen and power allowed him to take the unpopular route to police reform, appointing an outsider as police superintendent of a department accustomed to insider patronage and to having its "own" in control. Similarly, his reputation with the national party and his control over the machinery of the city government earned Chicago a sizeable share of the new funds funneled into cities by Great Society programs. Yet Daley insisted on personal control over the decision-making on those funds, a move that contradicted the intent of the programs and ran roughshod over community groups demanding a voice in urban development. He eradicated pockets of urban blight by giving real estate interests federal urban renewal funds to build showcase middle-class housing rather than decent, affordable lower-class housing. His regime "cleaned up" the city, but in the process it intensified social pressures and racial resentments in Chicago's growing minority communities. As Biles points out, Daley's response to housing, to schools, and to civil rights issues personalized his relationship to the city and failed to acknowledge changing realities, most especially with regard to race relations. This failure brought more problems to Chicago than it solved, and Daley himself never seemed able to understand why that happened.

Biles focuses on Daley the man and politician to examine the role of race in the mid-twentieth-century city. An alternate approach—using the urban context of race relations to examine the role it played in shaping Chicago and its politics—could have pushed this toward a more complex study of urban politics rather than the urban politician. Also, Biles alludes to the persistent localism that characterizes urban politics within the loose federal system, but he never systematically explores the consequences of this situation for urban political and economic development. Nevertheless, by weaving together urban context and mayoral politics and identifying race relations as the crucial urban issue of Daley's later terms, Biles adds a crucial dimension to understanding Daley the mayor and suggests new directions for studying urban political history.

MAUREEN A. FLANAGAN
*Michigan State University*

KEVIN BOYLE. *The UAW and the Heyday of American Liberalism, 1945–1968*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 338. $35.00.

As the era of post–World War II liberalism recedes ever farther into the past, historians are devoting increasing attention to its accomplishments, limits, and ultimate collapse. Kevin Boyle joins this effort with a detailed study of the national political activity of the United Automobile Workers (UAW), which in its prime commanded extraordinary power and attention. In doing so, he provides a valuable addition to the still small historiography on postwar labor.

Boyle argues that from the time Walter Reuther won the presidency of the UAW in 1946 through the late 1960s, the union consistently pressed forward a social democratic program that called for substantial changes in the economic, political, and social structure of the country. For Reuther, material abundance required a democratization of economic decisionmaking, with the state playing a critical role by promoting national planning, stimulating demand, brokering corporatist arrangements, and providing welfare benefits. When the country moved to the right, Reuther abandoned the rhetoric of class but, Boyle argues, remained loyal to his roots in Debsian socialism.

After helping to set the liberal agenda in the late 1940s, the UAW's lobbying, coalition building, membership indoctrination, and funding of Democratic candidates had only modest impact during the decade that followed. However, in the mid-1960s, the civil rights movement and the massive Democratic victory in 1964 opened up possibilities for federal action along the lines that the UAW promoted. The strongest chapters of Boyle's book deal with this period. As auto union officials roamed the corridors of power, the



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Johnson administration adopted various Reuther proposals as part of its Great Society. In return, Lyndon Johnson demanded loyalty on such controversial matters as the treatment of the Mississippi Freedom Democrats at the 1964 Democratic Convention and the war in Vietnam. This cost UAW leaders their moral standing with many liberals, their ties to the New Left (which they had helped to fund), and the respect of their own children. The social and political chaos of 1968 drained Reuther of his self-confidence and foreclosed the possibilities for liberal advance.

Boyle rightly contends that the case of the UAW belies historians who portray postwar labor as a defender of the status quo. The distinction he draws between his interpretation and that of scholars like Nelson Lichtenstein and Ira Katznelson who in part blame labor itself for narrowing the spectrum of reform politics, remains murky, however. While stressing external constraints, such as the power of southern conservatives in Congress and the Democratic Party, Boyle documents how a demand for internal political conformity, obsessive anti-Communism, and insensitivity to racism crippled the efficacy of Reuther and his social democratic allies.

Boyle tightly focuses on the political arena, only occasionally linking developments there to shop floor issues or collective bargaining. For those connections, readers may find Lichtenstein's recent *The Most Dangerous Man in Detroit: Walter Reuther and the Fate of American Labor* (1995) more satisfying. But for historians primarily interested in postwar politics, Boyle has provided a gold mine.

Joshua B. Freeman
*Columbia University*

Mark Rupert. *Producing Hegemony: The Politics of Mass Production and American Global Power*. (Cambridge Studies in International Relations, number 38.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 261. Cloth $54.95, paper $18.95.

This book has two objectives: to pose a Marxian-Gramscian view of international political economy as an alternative to both neorealism and world systems theory, and to utilize the history of labor relations at Ford Motor Company to demonstrate how production processes in the United States engineered a capitalist "hegemony" in the world after 1945.

Unfortunately, the result is a disappointment. The initial chapters discuss Karl Marx and Antonio Gramsci and note how their theories might be applied to international political economy. Mark Rupert begins, however, with the assumption that readers agree with a Marxian-based class analysis of politics and life. There is no attempt to put the case for the model or to develop the logic. Instead, Rupert simply adopts the posture of preaching to the converted and proceeds. Aside from a few twists from Gramsci, the ideas could come from any Marxist treatise of the early 1970s.

The treatment of American labor history and foreign policy is thereby severely skewed. The framework simply overwhelms the analysis. To cite but one instance, Rupert's conviction that capitalists and "state managers" are symbiotic leads him to characterize President Harry S. Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley Act as "token" (p. 100). His description of Truman's foreign policy is equally deficient. In broadest terms, Rupert argues that bringing centrist labor leaders into the postwar anti-Communist coalition was a product of the projection of American economic and political hegemony, a consequence of which was the exclusion of left-wing options in Western Europe. He allows no room for the possibility that many Western policy makers might have had sincere (and legitimate) worries about Communist totalitarianism.

The most interesting part of the book is chapter six, in which Rupert temporarily shelves the Marxian schemata and its cumbersome jargon and develops a narrative history of Ford Motor Company's labor policies. The metamorphosis from the five-dollars-a-day paternalism of 1914 to the strident anti-unionism of the 1930s is traced with skill and insight. Even here, however, there is an occasional lapse into ideology. For example, Ford's English language and citizenship classes are depicted as conscious attempts to inculcate a bourgeois individualism in the workers and wean them away from class and, puzzlingly for a Marxist, ethnic attachments.

When Rupert returns to theoretical ground, however, the stultifying framework resurfaces. Here, for instance, is a summary of the Nixon years: "Mutual alienation among political communities began to reassert itself as mercantilist policies of national capitalism challenged the hegemony of an internationally oriented neoliberalism in the core" (p. 176). A plea for American workers to assert and to act on a transnational class consciousness concludes the book.

At this moment in intellectual history, Marxism is in need of thoughtful defenders. Books such as this, therefore, may actually do it a disservice, for they reinforce the impression that Marxists are mired in a palpably narrow view of history and that they are unwilling to take the logical critiques of their detractors seriously.

Jerold Waltman
*University of Southern Mississippi*

Michael Curtin. *Redeeming the Wasteland: Television Documentary and Cold War Politics*. (Communications, Media, and Culture.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 316. Cloth $52.00, paper $18.95.

In making reference to "one of the world's largest cemeteries, that limbo-land where old television programs are interred," CBS News executive Burton Benjamin years ago best summed up the lament of the television documentarist. Benjamin is familiar as the producer of Walter Cronkite's long-running history series, "The Twentieth Century." If Benjamin's job was



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to inter documentaries, the job of many broadcast historians has been to exhume and revive them. The tradition originated three decades ago with William Bluem's study of news documentaries seen during the 1950s and 1960s. Having recently reviewed at least a half-dozen written reprises of these programs, I was favorably impressed by MichaeI Curtin's treatment. While ranging widely, his book creatively weaves early 1960s documentaries into the broader tapestry of that period. By recognizing the documentary's main limitation—that it did not have everlasting life but rather a brief "golden age"—Curtin tempers most other works in this area.

Depth distinguishes this book from other documentary histories, which tend to confront camera angles and production variables. Here, only a 1961 telecast on Panama is detailed this manner. Across 166 other documentaries telecast between 1959 and 1964, Curtin witnesses a convergence of "social, economic, political, institutional, and discursive forces" (p. 7) and uses supporting chapters to reveal deep roots. New is the idea that key documentaries were not the personal designs of Edward R. Murrow and other heroes of the genre. For example, Curtin traces a pattern of "middle ground" documentaries, in which CBS and NBC advocate neither aggressive U.S. military posture nor the preparedness of Americans for an all-out war against the Soviets. Curtin's explanation that the networks wanted Cold War stability to pursue their own commercial agendas abroad is illuminating.

Throughout the book, Curtin reiterates that the "documentary enjoyed a privileged status in the eyes of television reformers" (p. 216) and that the networks reeled against a reform impulse. The book's title draws from Federal Communications Commission chairman Newton Minow's 1961 speech characterizing television as a "vast wasteland," in Curtin's account a political maneuver and spur for more documentaries. Producer David Wolper, then trying to sell his documentaries to the networks, found that Minow accomplished for him what high-powered TV agents could not.

Television documentaries had dreadful ratings. Although this point is somewhat confused between the introduction and a closing chapter called "The Missing Audience," Curtin does acknowledge the lack of popular support. Even Curtin cannot break from this familiar pattern of fixing the genre within the mass media—arguably against the will of the masses—and winds up pointing from the classic documentaries to modernday newscasts and the Internet. It would seem a better use of the past would be to find out why we got newscasts and the Internet and not documentaries.

Still, Curtin succeeds by extending the parameters of the documentary, with a view to its rise and fall. Energetically written, his book will interest historians engaged in active studies of the early 1960s as well as those of a mind to reminisce.

CRAIG ALLEN
*Arizona State University*

MARY C. BRENNAN. *Turning Right in the Sixties: The Conservative Capture of the GOP*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. x, 210. $29.95.

The shift of American politics and government to the right during the 1980s was probably the most important change of direction in national politics since the New Deal realignment of the 1930s. Although the full consequences of this development have yet to be worked out, it has already drastically altered the operations of the federal government, recast the natures of the two major political parties, and, perhaps, laid the foundation for a critical ideological turning point in American history.

Seeking origins for the trend toward conservatism, scholars and journalists have focused on the Goldwater movement of the 1960s as a principal source of the tide that was to sweep through the electoral system two decades later. Although Barry Goldwater went down to overwhelming defeat before Lyndon Johnson in the 1964 presidential election, his campaign raised many of the issues and introduced some of the techniques and personnel that were later to characterize Reaganism.

Mary C. Brennan's book provides a useful chronological account of the rise, fall, and potent afterlife of Goldwater's crusade. Although turning up little that is altogether new or surprising, she fills in some of the gaps and offers a clear and informative account of how events fitted together.

Brennan begins with an examination of the roots of the new conservatism that began to take shape in American cultural and political life during the years immediately following World War II. After cursorily reviewing the historic lack of systematic conservative ideology in the United States, she analyzes the "old conservatism" associated with Senator Robert Taft and traces its relationship to new right-wing forces that entered politics in the 1950s. While finding substantial similarities in their common resistance to New Deal economic policies, she identifies the crucial difference between Taft's isolationism and Goldwater's swashbuckling anti-Communist interventionism in foreign policy.

Like other commentators, she places the real emergence of Goldwaterism at the 1960 Republican national convention, where the Arizona senator's name was placed in nomination for president by right-wing activists as a protest against Richard Nixon's apparent capitulation to Nelson Rockefeller on items in the party platform. She accurately portrays the intellectual numbness of the old moderate Republican establishment that prevented it from putting together effective resistance to the conservative publicists and technicians who brought off Goldwater's nomination in 1964. She exaggerates, however, Goldwater's support at the Republican grassroots. In the last national poll of Republicans before the convention, Goldwater trailed William Scranton, his moderate opponent for the nomination, by thirty-four to fifty-five percent.



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Brennan attributes the hugeness of Goldwater's loss to Johnson in part to the tenor of the times but also in part to the ineptness of the Arizonan's general election campaign staff. She throws no new light on Goldwater's strange decision after the convention to demote Clifton White, the wily political strategist who had built the organization that gained him the nomination.

In order to win the Republican presidential nomination in 1968, Nixon found it necessary to come to terms with right-wing conservatism. Brennan shrewdly points out that Watergate, by discrediting Nixon's brand of pragmatic centrism, actually helped conservatives.

The main thesis of Brennan's book is that "if there had been no Barry Goldwater, there could have been no Ronald Reagan" (p. 141). This is probably true. But Goldwater was no social conservative, and he opposed the religious right when it became an important factor in the Republican party in the 1980s. Reaganism was a more complex phenomenon than Goldwaterism, and partly for that reason it will probably be more enduring.

A. James Reichley
*Georgetown University*

Joan Hoff. *Nixon Reconsidered.* Paperback edition. New York: BasicBooks. 1995. Pp. xviii, 475. $16.00.

Joan Hoff's book reveals as much about its author as it does about its subject. As a long-time Nixon antagonist who, as late as 1983, had not even "a single positive personal memory of him" (p. ix), Hoff is continuously astonished by what she finds in the record, a record that she has culled in depth. Examining the Nixon record—domestic, foreign, and Watergate—Hoff is particularly struck by Nixon's domestic achievement, long overlooked by supporters and critics alike. The essence of the "reconsideration" she would have us make is that, contrary to conventional wisdom, Nixon should be remembered more for his domestic accomplishments than for his foreign policy feats or for Watergate.

Nixon, she concludes, was "more liberal than conservative in economic matters, confounding both his friends and enemies, as he also did on other issues of domestic reform, especially civil rights and welfare. As a Republican, he was willing to move beyond the twin boundaries of the New Deal and the Great Society, both set by Democratic presidents" (p. 144). Contrary to long-held opinion it was Nixon, not LBJ, who spent more on social welfare programs. Indeed, in every Nixon budget "spending on human resource programs exceeded spending on defense for the first time since World War II" (p. 136).

She notes that Nixon's reorganization of the federal government was "one of his lasting achievements" (p. 58), but a very ambitious and far-sighted domestic agenda included civil rights reform, desegregation of southern schools, the first truly genuine implementation of affirmative action, progress on women's rights, the Voting Rights Act, environmental reform, self-determination for Native Americans, welfare reform, and revenue sharing, to name but the most salient.

Hoff's discussion of Nixon's domestic agenda is the strength of the book. It is heavily documented with recently released internal memoranda and other hitherto classified materials and is a welcome addition to the accumulating body of knowledge on the 37th president. Her treatment of Nixon's foreign policy and the Watergate crisis, on the other hand, contains nothing new and is little more than a disappointing rehash of the inane liberal-left attack on Nixon that began even before he took office.

Hoff completely misunderstands, and hence undervalues, Nixon's foreign policy and the internal dynamics of the Nixon administration that produced Watergate. Despite the voluminous evidence she presents demonstrating the differences between Nixon and Kissinger, she describes a "Nixinger" foreign policy, persisting in the myth that the two men were close partners.

In fact, the Nixon administration—like virtually every administration— was a coalition government whose principals espoused different strategies, but the rather elementary idea of policy differences reflecting different goals is completely absent.

Through 1970, Nixon, not Kissinger, conducted the major intiatives toward Moscow, the Middle East, China, and Vietnam. What advice Kissinger volunteered on these issues Nixon ignored. It was only during 1971–1972 that Kissinger's portfolio expanded, as the president moved on to deal with issues within the Western alliance, especially those of oil, trade, and the dollar. It was from his strengthened position that Kissinger sought to turn American strategy away from Nixon's containment and toward his "new world order," an argument that centered around detente with Moscow and the end-game in Vietnam but that infused every policy issue they addressed.

Hoff runs through several theories about Watergate before settling for the argument made by two former McGovern staffers—Len Colodny and Robert Gettlin—in *Silent Coup* (1991). She acknowledges that Nixon knew nothing about the break-ins until they occurred and espouses the Colodny-Gettlin thesis that it was John Mitchell's deputy, John Dean, who, attempting to protect his bride-to-be, masterminded the break-ins and the cover-up that followed. In so doing, she gets it wrong, just as Colodny and Gettlin did.

The law, known as the Pettibone rule after an 1893 case, says that only acts occurring while a court, grand jury, or congressional inquiry is under way are crimes: no investigation, no obstruction of justice. Nixon understood the statutes as well as anyone. Therefore, while the grand jury sat through the summer, only *private* money was raised and distributed to the Watergate defendants and their families. It was only after the election, in early December, that money passed directly from the White House to the Watergate Seven, and then it was Bob Haldeman who made the



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decision to "loan" $350,000 from the White House "slush fund" for payment to the burglars. Haldeman believed that Nixon knew nothing of these payments, but the president was responsible nonetheless. It was this money payment that became the obstruction of justice noose around Nixon's political neck. The Democrats were willing foils to a Republican factional struggle.

From that point onward, Henry Kissinger, the unelected aide to the president, assumed the role of American foreign policy shogun. During the period of his "shogunate," Kissinger set the United States on a new strategic course of detente with Moscow in hopes of building a new world order and of worsening relations with China, which required it. He failed because of a complete misunderstanding of the Soviet Union, its leaders, and their aspirations, but that is another story. That failure cannot be laid to Nixon's door, except by those gullible scholars, like Hoff, who fail to understand the evidence and who perpetuate the myths of the winners in the policy arguments over American strategy.

RICHARD C. THORNTON
*George Washington University*

TERRY TERRIFF. *The Nixon Administration and the Making of U.S. Nuclear Strategy*. (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 252. $35.00.

On January 10, 1974, U.S. Defense Secretary James Schlesinger announced a change in nuclear weapons targeting policy. Rejecting "assured destruction" as no longer credible, he told newsmen that in the event of war, the United States would not launch massive strikes against Soviet cities. Instead it would employ limited nuclear targeting options designed to reduce Moscow's incentive to launch a massive attack on the United States or its allies. A week later, President Nixon approved NSDM 242, the new guidance Schlesinger had described.

Terry Terriff demonstrates that although Schlesinger explained NSDM 242 as vital to the defense of Europe, strategic considerations—a desire to "support United States foreign policy on the periphery of the superpower competition and to terminate any nuclear conflict at the lowest level of damage" possible—were more important considerations for those involved in the policy's development (p. 203). As early as 1969, key players in the Nixon administration wanted to develop a credible limited nuclear threat. Henry Kissinger hoped to use it to deter Soviet aggression in areas where the U.S. could not project conventional power such as the Far East, where a Sino-Soviet war seemed to impend. State Department officials believed limited options might strengthen Western Europe's confidence in American guarantees, shaken by the development of Soviet nuclear power. In the event of war with the Soviets, Nixon wanted options short of a full-scale nuclear spasm. And Pentagon planners, fearing full-scale nuclear war if the extended nuclear deterrent failed, looked on limited nuclear options as offering a possible method of terminating a war short of total catastrophe. Common to all was the belief that the limited use of nuclear weapons had to "appear feasible without generating inescapable escalation" (p. 233).

As Terriff makes plain, the consensus in support of NSDM 242 was shaky. Virtually all of those involved believed it would be wiser to expand the West's conventional force capabilities rather than depend on nuclear weapons. Military leaders had little confidence in the practicability of limiting nuclear war. And Kissinger, an early supporter, later concluded that Schlesinger's "Doctrine" threatened detente and the SALT II negotiations. He tried to strangle NSDM 242 at birth. Failing that, he denounced it as a dangerous strategy that would drive the arms race to a point where either Moscow or Washington might be tempted to strike first. Even in the Pentagon, most experts believed that while limited nuclear options offered a somewhat greater chance of survival than did "assured destruction," once the nuclear fire break was breached, it remained unlikely that a conflict could be halted short of a catastrophic spasm. But the skeptics had nothing better to offer, and to them Schlesinger replied: "Just because you reach that pessimistic conclusion . . . does not mean that you must go and bash up the urban industrial base of your opponent, knowing full well that he will do the same thing to you. That is making a certainty of what would otherwise be an uncertainty" (p. 142).

Though there is a certain depressing logic to Schlesinger's argument, as Terriff observes, it was a thin reed on which to rest the future of humankind. This study of the "Schlesinger Doctrine" leads to only one conclusion: these weapons are too dangerous to use. Echoing the thoughts of Bernard Brodie, Terriff remarks in closing "that their only realistic utility is to deter their use by an opponent" (p. 236).

GERARD CLARFIELD
*University of Missouri, Columbia*

JOHN JACOBS. *A Rage for Justice: The Passion and Politics of Phillip Burton*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xxvii, 578. $34.95.

Phillip Burton, the subject of John Jacobs's political biography, devoted nearly three decades of his life to public service, first in the California Assembly and then, beginning in 1964, in the House of Representatives. No lobbyist could seduce him; no PACs provided him with the mother's milk of politics. He was a thoroughly obnoxious, boorish, ill-mannered individual who consumed prodigious quantities of alcohol and continuously chainsmoked cigarettes. He had more than his share of human flaws and frailties. But he was also one of the most effective legislators in the second



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half of the twentieth century. All his efforts were on behalf of labor, the poor, minorities, and the environment. None had a better friend.

Burton achieved his goals through a combination of intimidation and mastery of technical detail. He also knew how to broker deals to achieve most of what he desired. Fortunately, his reform efforts were funded by decades of economic growth before the advent of Ronald Reagan and the skyrocketing national debt during his White House tenure. Burton died in 1983, at the age of fifty-six, with less $1,000 in the bank and few other assets.

At the outset, Burton covered his flank by creating a safe district in San Francisco. His constituents were the working poor: residents of Chinatown, recent immigrants from Mexico and Central America in the Mission District, blacks in Hunters Point, longshoremen, and others whom he brought together in coalitions. He created a power base that freed him from seriously campaigning for reelection while providing him with chits from candidates elsewhere who benefited from his efforts. He was a master of demographic details, covering electoral districts throughout California and elsewhere. Following each census and after some court decisions, Burton played a key role because he knew more than most experts about shaping new districts. He always sought to protect incumbents, but the new districts usually elected Democrats.

As a legislator, poor people, workers, and racial minorities were those Burton sought to assist. By definition, corporate interests that he believed exploited people and the environment were his enemies. In Sacramento and Washington, he played a key role in welfare reform. In Washington, he could claim credit for advancing the minimum wage, providing coal miners with black-lung benefits, and introducing some of the most extensive and complex environmental protection laws. He was successful in bringing the most diverse groups together to work out mutually beneficial details: gays and the police in San Francisco, timber companies and loggers in the Pacific Northwest, and conservative southerners and liberals in the House, among others.

In addition, Burton sparked momentous changes in House procedures. He waged a gigantic fifteen-month struggle to gain the post of majority leader, a stepping-stone to becoming Speaker of the House. By nurturing the growth and functions of the Democratic Study Group and transferring power to make committee assignments from the Ways and Means Committee to a new Steering and Policy Committee, Burton and his liberal colleagues were able to destroy the seniority system. Emboldened by success, Burton further challenged the leadership by seeking to succeed Thomas ("Tip") O'Neill as Majority Leader. He lost by one vote in a lengthy contest that rivaled in intensity the battle earlier in the century to curb the power of the speaker. Rather than sulk over his narrow defeat, Burton devoted his efforts as chairman of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Insular Affairs to expanding and restoring Redwood National Park, along with other preservation matters. He "preserved more national park and wilderness land than all presidents and congresses before him combined" (p. 352). Burton was, in the words of Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, an "absolute political genius" (p. vii).

Jacobs, a seasoned political reporter with long experience in Sacramento and a year with the *Washington Post*, brought more than his experience as a journalist to this assignment. He mined the Burton papers, read widely and deeply, and interviewed hordes of people in California and Washington. The result is a significant political study that is both broadly researched (thirty-eight pages of notes plus a twelve-page bibliography) and written in a clear, concise style so that intricate legislative maneuvering and complex measures are easily understood.

RICHARD LOWITT
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LOUIS A. DECARO, JR.. *On the Side of My People: A Religious Life of Malcolm X*. New York: New York University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 363. $29.95.

The many lives of Malcolm X pose a formidable challenge to biographers, who must link his roles as adolescent assimilationist, young adult ghetto hustler, convict-turned-religious ascetic, acid emissary to white America, disillusioned and dispossessed cult member, pilgrim to Mecca, and free-floating activist bent on a fresh path to black liberation. Among studies that seek a unifying core to Malcolm's diverse incarnations, Peter Goldman's *The Death and Life of Malcolm X* (1973) depicts a black intellectual revolutionary in successive embryonic states; Eugene Victor Wolfenstein's *The Victims of Democracy* (1983) offers a psychoanalytic and Marxist view of Malcolm's quest for meaning and justice; James H. Cone's *Martin and Malcolm and America* (1991) finds a theological link between the freedom struggles of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.; and Bruce Perry's *Malcolm* (1991) debunks his subject's autobiographical claims while presenting Malcolm as trapped by severe personal frailties. Now Louis A. DeCaro, Jr., gives us unexampled coverage of Malcolm's spiritual journeys in order to explain a man who was "as concerned with redemption as with revolution" (p. 2).

This book centers on "Malcolm's two conversions" (p. 2), first to the black separatist Nation of Islam in 1948, while he was in prison for burglary; and then, in 1964, toward the end of his life, to traditional Islam. DeCaro, a Harlem-based evangelical Christian minister, lauds Malcolm's embrace of "orthodox" Islam as crucial to his moral and even political growth while lamenting that "his previous religious commitment to Elijah Muhammad," by limiting his contacts with Islam abroad and with struggles for justice at home, "greatly hindered or misdirected his personal religious and intellectual life" (pp. 209–10).

The book's interpretive paths have already been well



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traversed by Goldman, Cone, and others. Still, DeCaro explores some intriguing byways. Contrary to Malcolm's autobiographical penitence for a decadent and aimless life until he was "saved" by Elijah Muhammad, DeCaro documents Malcolm's black nationalist activism even when he was hustling on the streets of Boston (pp. 57–58). He details, as well, how Malcolm early and lastingly absorbed the spiritual openness of his mother, the Garvey-inflected preaching of his father, and the internationalist approach to race matters of both parents. Although for twelve years Elijah Muhammad channeled Malcolm's ongoing spiritual and racial concerns, he by no means exhausted his protégé's capacity for growth.

DeCaro ably mines Malcolm's correspondence, FBI and police surveillance documents, prison and parole files, and other archives. His personal contacts also confirm accounts in Malcolm's autobiography that Perry had earlier questioned, such as a Klan attack on his childhood home in Omaha, Nebraska (p. 44). Still, DeCaro's claim that "while I cannot boast hundreds of interviews" like rival scholar Perry, "my interview[s] have been more than compensated by their depth and quality" (p. xii) seems to stretch his loaves and fishes a bit far. Scholars will also wish that the book's rich citations were more tightly ordered: notes are located erratically through the text, with a single note often grouping sources for many quotations and claims. Despite these venial sins, which closer editing should purge for a paperback edition, DeCaro effectively conveys Malcolm's evolving spirituality and why it was arguably as central to his life as his far better known activist concerns.

ROBERT WEISBROT
*Colby College*

DAVID A. HOLLINGER. *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*. New York: BasicBooks. 1995. Pp. xii, 210. $22.00.

Half a century after the appearance of the word in Edward Haskell's novel *Lance: A Novel about Multicultural Men* (1941), the term "multicultural" has come into vogue. Today multiculturalism suggests a vision of the United States in the shape of what David A. Hollinger calls an "ethnoracial pentagon" (p. 8) that divides the population into African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Euro-Americans. How is it possible that though old racial biology is intellectually bankrupt, the pentagon eerily resembles race categories of black, brown, red, yellow, and white taken to represent different "cultures" within the United States?

The subtitle of Hollinger's book promises a move "beyond multiculturalism," and he presents the issues that make multiculturalism problematic. In its practical enactment, the pentagon inhibits mixed, double, or multiple affiliations, and what Hollinger calls "Haley's choice"—alluding to Alex Haley's quest in *Roots* for his African but not his Irish ancestry—limits genealogical identifications to only one of five pentagon-certified "races." The pentagon's apparent stability is challenged by the internal heterogeneity of each component, the historical vagaries of assignation, and the growing momentum for mixed-race classification. Affiliations are not just ascribed, but also made (though whites have had more ethnic options than others). If racism is real, but races are not (p. 46), how could a better political and scholarly practice and a realistic sense of national identity be engendered? How wide can the circle of "we" be extended, Hollinger asks, drawing on Edwin Markham's decanonized poem "The Man with the Hoe" (1899).

Hollinger distinguishes the "postethnic perspective," a turn toward a new cosmopolitanism that he advocates, from the pre-ethnic orientation of the time when *The Family of Man* (1955) or the Kinsey reports tended to de-emphasize ethnicity but at times confused the local with the universal in making generalizations about the human species. In showing how this paradigm was discredited as a nationalist equivalent of a universalism that denies diversity, Hollinger also differentiates the old pluralism from multiculturalism (the latter rightly pays more attention to social inequality) and focuses on the "diversification of diversity" in the postmodern period. Hollinger does not propose a "return" to pre-ethnic beliefs in universal oneness. He wants scholarship to be informed both by the historically documented and actually existing cultural, linguistic, and religious heterogeneity, and by the treatment of ethnic identity as a question, not as a given. Thus the postethnic perspective breathes fresh air into the stale ethnoracial pentagon without simply reviving a problematic position of the past. It combines the positive features of new and old paradigms, for it "recognizes the psychological value and political function of bounded groups of affiliation, but it resists a rigidification of the ascribed distinctions between persons that universalists and cosmopolitans have so long sought to diminish" (p. 107).

Hollinger mentions in passing that the immigrants of the 1920s may have been more multicultural than is believed, "measured by foreign-language newspapers and publishing houses" (p. 152). The issue of language may actually suggest continuity from "Anglo-conformity" to the present, which raises the question of whether multiculturalism has largely been an English (and-a-little-Spanish)-only movement that exaggerates cultural differences between the parts of the pentagon while paying little or no attention to the well-documented linguistic diversity in the United States, past and present, from Algonquin to Vietnamese. Since language is the cultural medium in which circles of the "we" are often spun, failing to study sources in so-called "foreign languages" may make scholarly practice if not "pre-ethnic" then at least "pre-multicultural."

Hollinger makes a convincing case, and I hope that his manifesto will be widely adopted. This book is suggestive for scholars and students who take seriously



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the challenges of diversity but do not want to abandon the sense of fluid boundaries, the need to generalize, and the responsibility to decide "where to draw what circles, with whom, and around what" (p. 172).

WERNER SOLLORS
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NOEL IGNATIEV. *How the Irish Became White*. New York: Routledge. 1995. Pp. xii, 233. $25.00.

The provocative title of Noel Ignatiev's book poses many interesting questions about Irish assimilation into American society. It is on this basis that Ignatiev wishes his book to be judged: "If there is any value in what I have done, I believe it lies not so much in the answers I have come up with as in the questions I have posed" (p. 178). The particular aim of his questioning is the "new" labor history. Unlike labor historians who have minimized the importance of race in the hope of finding a "usable" past of worker solidarity, Ignatiev argues that race is central to understanding the American working class. Workers made an alliance with capital in order to share in the benefits "whiteness" conferred on those at the bottom of the economic ladder. The resulting argument is that if the Irish had cast their lot with free African Americans and stood against the slave system, the republic would not have been debased by slavery and workers would have united against the wage system. This Marxist thinking places a moral burden on poor, mostly illiterate (in the antebellum period), immigrant Irish that I think is unfair, as is the assumption that the Irish had it within their power to save American society from racial division.

Ignatiev provides an interesting examination of the way southern Democrats courted the Irish vote to support the slave system. The Irish in Ireland had no tradition of support for slavery. Daniel O'Connell, who led the campaign for Catholic Emancipation in the United Kingdom, denounced slavery frequently and urged Irish Americans to not support American slavery. Southern slave-holding Democrats contributed to American Irish repeal associations, however, which supported O'Connell's quest to repeal the Irish Union with Great Britain. Irish Americans were flattered by the attention, split with O'Connell on the issue of slavery, and gave their support to the Democratic Party. Ignatiev minimizes the importance of Tom Paine and Thomas Jefferson's vision of America as a place of refuge for the oppressed of the world as well as the impact of nativism on the Irish support for the Democratic Party. He states that nativism among abolitionists arose more from Irish support for slavery than an abhorrence of the Irish themselves, but the evidence he supplies for this is very thin. Nativism is older than abolitionism. Anti-Catholicism was part of colonial life: consider the colonists' reaction to the Quebec Act. The Alien and Sedition Acts marked a early reaction against immigrants, particularly from Ireland and France. While the examples of southern Democrats wooing Irish support provide interesting insight into the Irish embrace of the Democratic Party, Ignatiev does not give any reason why the Irish should have supported the Whigs or Republicans instead, considering their elitism, nativism, and moral crusading.

Ignatiev rightly points out that the terms of "race" and "ethnicity" were amorphous in the early nineteenth century. He argues that the Irish could easily have been relegated into a caste with blacks, citing the example of the Walnut Street prison in Philadelphia, in which blacks and Irish were regarded as the same. What he fails to consider, however, is the fact that American society legally established blacks as slaves or, if they were free, non-citizens. The Naturalization Acts of 1790, 1795, and 1801 allowed "free white persons" to be naturalized in an American court. While Irish and blacks were disdained by many Americans, the Irish still fit the category of "free white." Ignatiev claims the Irish had to "earn" being considered white and did so by becoming racists and oppressors. This may be true for social acceptance and economic advancement, but American law already made them "white" upon their arrival.

Another example Ignatiev gives of the Irish embracing solidarity with whites is that when they came to America, the Irish had no sense of unity among themselves. Their unity came as the century progressed when they embraced "whiteness." It is true that Irish nationalism was very weak in the early nineteenth century, but as the century progressed, particularly because of the nationalist writings of the Young Ireland movement and hatred toward the British because of the famine, those Irish who came to America had a stronger sense of their Irishness. It was not white solidarity that necessarily brought the Irish together in America but Irish nationalism and continued discrimination in America.

While one might wish that the Irish had shown greater racial tolerance and bridged the racial divide in America, to expect a people who had been so impoverished and humiliated at the hands of the English and who came, some diseased and starving, from a precapitalist, primitive agricultural society, to have tried to do anything but survive as best they could in a strange and sometimes hostile society is expecting a great deal. I can better imagine tenured faculty tossing away the tenure system and embracing the plight of part-time faculty than I can imagine a starving wretch championing race equality. Despite a few rebels, the Irish were not revolutionaries. They came from a society that was hierarchical and authoritarian. Republicans claimed they could not be good democrats because of their religion, and it is true that their religion made them conservative and respectful of authority. Given the fact that American authority did not want to challenge slavery, it is hard to imagine the Irish questioning it. It might have been more profitable to examine German-American attitudes toward race,



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given their greater economic security and political sophistication.

Ignatiev's book is well written, presents some interesting material, and poses some interesting questions that historians might well consider. I would have liked it better if he did not try to impose an abstract Marxist theory on the Irish and their relationship with American society and African Americans. It simplifies and distorts too much.

EILEEN MCMAHON
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ANDREW J. WILSON. *Irish America and the Ulster Conflict, 1968–1995*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 322. Cloth $29.95, paper $14.95.

In the nineteenth century, millions of Irish men and women left Ireland with a strong sense of exile and established centers of Irish nationalist agitation in all the countries of settlement, particularly the United States. Irish-American agitation was extremely effective in the years before the birth of the Irish Free State in 1922, but it was largely ineffective between 1922 and 1968. The outbreak of the current phase of the conflict in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s reignited virulent Irish-American nationalism, and Andrew J. Wilson tells the story by focusing on the activities since 1968 of a host of Irish-American organizations.

In many ways, Wilson's conclusions parallel those in studies of earlier periods, but his concern for the minutiae of Irish-American organizations leads him to neglect the broader implications of his work. For scholars familiar with earlier studies, however, he confirms at least two findings. First, those who represent a majority of nationalists in Ireland have never led Irish America to the same degree. Irish-American nationalists have their own agendas. Second, with the exception of the period 1916 to 1922, revolutionary nationalism has always been stronger in America than in Ireland, where constitutional nationalism has been the dominant tradition since Daniel O'Connell's time.

What saved the day for constitutional nationalism in America this time, as Wilson demonstrates, was the success that Irish governments and John Hume, the leader of the Northern Ireland Social and Democratic Labour Party (SDLP), had in convincing the most distinguished Irish-American politicians to follow the Irish government's conciliationist agenda in Northern Ireland. After some early flirtations with revolutionary republicanism, Senators Edward Kennedy and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and Congressmen Tip O'Neill and Hugh Carey were induced to reject the IRA and Sinn Féin. By 1980, the tables were so thoroughly turned that when the Fianna Fáil Prime Minister of Ireland, Charles Haughey, showed signs of succumbing to Sinn Féin pressure himself, it was Kennedy and O'Neill who forced him to reconsider.

Revolutionary nationalists, in Ireland and America, see the Northern Ireland problem in terms of British imperialism and the solution in terms of a British withdrawal to facilitate a united Ireland. Irish governments and the SDLP, on the other hand, recognize the existence of two legitimate cultural traditions in Northern Ireland and see the solution in terms of accommodation between the two, with the issue of a united Ireland to be determined by the people of Northern Ireland themselves. With Kennedy *et al.* firmly in the latter camp, the most active supporters of revolutionary nationalism in Congress became two extraordinarily obtuse, non-Irish New York City congressmen with militant Irish-American constituents, Mario Biaggi and Benjamin Gilman.

Drawing on an extensive bibliography and interviews, Wilson identifies these and other developments in Irish America in a workmanlike way. His study is extremely detailed, but it lacks depth in important areas, such as the demography of the IRA/Sinn Féin support network and the scale of arms shipments, because Wilson accepts the judgments of others (such as Jack Holland and Tim Coogan) whose findings are empirically weak. Furthermore, the most interesting part of the story remains to be told; not the byzantine organization of grass-roots Irish America, which Wilson describes effectively, but the story of how John Hume and Garret FitzGerald educated Kennedy, Moynihan, O'Neill, and Carey to the complex realities of modern Ireland and how these men influenced presidents Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, and Bill Clinton to give active, if measured, support for the Anglo-Irish peace process. That story must await the opening of the archives.

ALAN J. WARD
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ALFRED E. ECKES, JR. *Opening America's Market: U.S. Foreign Trade Policy since 1776*. (Business, Society, and the State.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 402. $34.95.

This volume provides a partisan overview of more than 200 years of U.S. trade policies. Alfred E. Eckes, Jr., was chairman of the U.S. International Trade Commission (ITC) in the 1980s and thus brings an insider's (as well as an academic) background to his narrative. As a Reagan appointee, he served in a Washington of free-traders, yet at the ITC he found himself sympathetic to complaints from those who felt injured by trade liberalization. His book—following a chronological approach—reviews major tariffs, reciprocity debates, escape clauses, adjustment assistance, and, more generally, American thinking about international commerce and the administrative foci of related trade decision-making. Eckes deals with imports from garlic to clothespins to shoes.

Documenting the earliest tariffs, Eckes emphasizes that Republicans in the late nineteenth century were staunch advocates of high duties, but that, in 1923, Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes—in a signif-



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icant U.S. policy change—adopted a stance favoring unconditional most-favored-nation treatment. The State Department and the foreign policy community "sought to restrain Congress and to use the executive treaty-making authority to promote stable commercial relations with other nations ... import-competing interests in the United States [were thus sacrificed] for the benefit of U.S. exporters and foreign policy interests" (pp. 98–99). This trend continued, albeit with brief interruptions. Eckes devotes considerable space to refuting textbook accounts of the high Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1930. He provides rich details on the policies of Secretary of State Cordell Hull under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 and traces subsequent U.S. trade policies to 1994, including those in force during the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiating rounds.

Eckes sets forth three "revisionist" conclusions: (1) it is a myth that the United States grew prosperous through free trade; (2) the "infamous" Smoot-Hawley Tariff was "a molehill not a mountain" (p. xviii); and (3) post–World War II trade policies were based on foreign policy objectives and unresponsive to domestic economic interests, either those of producers or workers. The United States won the Cold War but lost critical commercial battles and failed to assist domestic interests hurt by freer trade.

The first conclusion is far from revisionist. Eckes goes over ground familiar to U.S. historians and political scientists; only among contemporary economists and GATT officials—who know no history—does the myth of America's free trade *tradition* prevail. Eckes argues that when the United States was protectionist in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, growth rates were high; yet he stops short of asserting a cause-effect relationship. His second conclusion on the Smoot-Hawley Act of 1930 *is* revisionist and is bound to be controversial. While Eckes agrees that the Great Depression interrupted international trade and that nations introduced new barriers to trade, he insists this occurred after the enactment of the Smoot-Hawley Act "but not necessarily because of it" (p. 132). Eckes concludes, "In retrospect, it is at least arguable that in passing Smoot-Hawley Congress acted prudently" (p. 137). He sees the bogey of Smoot-Hawley as a powerful weapon, used after World War II to discredit isolationist and protectionist sentiments in America. As for his third conclusion, Eckes is convincing that foreign policy considerations dominated trade policy, yet the rest—that the domestic economy was harmed as a result—seems to me less evident.

I liked this book, although I disagree sharply with some of Eckes's conclusions and also noted omissions. For example, the Webb-Pomerene Act is not mentioned; the genesis of the "American selling price" is not explained; nor, more generally, is the role of foreign direct investment in trade policy elaborated. The focus of the book is on imports rather than exports. I found especially good Eckes's historical appraisals on the divergences between U.S. export *and* "import-competing" interests, domestic economic *and* foreign policy goals, and the various decision-makers in Washington. An up-to-date history of U.S. trade policies, written by a historian, has long been sorely needed; Eckes fills the gap.

MIRA WILKINS
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CYNTHIA A. HODY. *The Politics of Trade: American Political Development and Foreign Economic Policy.* (The Nelson A. Rockefeller Series in Social Science and Public Policy.) Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1996. Pp. xii, 210. $45.00.

During the presidential primaries of 1996, interest revived in the tariff issue. Free-traders and economic nationalists battled over trade with an intensity reminiscent of political campaigns of the Gilded Age. In this timely book, Cynthia A. Hody offers a political scientist's perspective on one aspect of that controversy, the process of shaping trade policy.

Hody seeks to explain why it took so long for the United States, the nation that became a dominant economic power in the late nineteenth century, to remove tariff barriers and adopt an open trade policy. She attributes this lag to outdated institutional and political relationships. For trade liberalization and expansion to occur, institutions had to change: "New policies demand new politics" (p. 4). Hody repeatedly emphasizes this point in different situations.

Before 1913, Hody notes, Congress dominated tariff making and the legislature, sensitive to particular interests, successfully resisted general tariff reform. An attempt at downward revision came during Woodrow Wilson's administration, when Democrats controlled both Congress and the executive branch. They enacted the Underwood Tariff, effectively embarking on a program of unilateral tariff liberalization. Hody points out that this approach could not achieve reciprocal access to foreign markets and therefore proved shortlived.

Progressives such as Theodore Roosevelt proposed another method to reduce tariffs, relying on "scientific" experts and an independent Tariff Commission to take decisions out of politics. But this procedure failed to insulate decisionmakers from interest-group pressures and did not reduce duties significantly. During the New Deal years, Hody shows, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, a former member of both the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee, succeeded with a power-sharing approach. This tactic enabled the executive to negotiate down trade barriers over the next generation while insulating decisionmakers from political pressures.

Students of international political economy will find Hody's work insightful. She gives attention to some questions of process and displays a careful reading of relevant secondary literature. But historians and policymakers may have other concerns. Hody has not



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undertaken any significant archival research, nor has she given adequate attention to congressional critics of reciprocal trade agreements. Consequently, some of her interpretations, such as the discussions of Hull's trade-agreements organization (pp. 117–128) and the escape clause (pp. 134–135), rely heavily on accounts of administration insiders such as Hull, Francis Sayre and Harry Hawkins.

Concentrating on the policy-making process, Hody does not address some of the most contentious issues in trade politics. Did executive-led trade liberalization advance the national economic interest, or did it produce one-sided agreements as critics allege? Did executive-branch decisionmakers, insulated from external political pressures, give disproportionate weight to consumer and export interests rather than to the concerns of unskilled workers and import-sensitive industries?

ALFRED E. ECKES
*Ohio University*

DONALD D. JOHNSON. *The United States in the Pacific: Private Interests and Public Policies, 1784–1899*. Assisted by GARY DEAN BEST. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1995. Pp. xviii, 225. $59.95.

American historians focused toward Pacific Oceania and East Asia should find reasons to greet Donald D. Johnson's posthumously published work as a godsend. For Johnson's students, colleagues, family, and friends, its skillful completion by Gary Dean Best fulfills his scholarly legacy. Johnson's overriding intention, throughout more than four decades of classroom teaching, was to demonstrate how private business interests drove American policy within the Pacific region. Relations for the United States with the Hawaiian Islands, which progressively grew more and more Americanized before their one-sided annexation in 1898, were, in truth, foreign relations with Hawaii's Polynesian population, as conducted through their monarchs and British, American, or French advisors by this country's Pacific-bound China traders, merchants, planters, missionaries, whalers, sealers, naval officers, and commerce-minded consuls.

The primary worth of Johnson's account of private interests and public policies at play across the Pacific Rim, 1784–1899, lies in his book's rich factual content for the epoch covered. The book's extensive blbliographical apparatus, its dated character notwithstanding, can still be extremely useful. Johnson's summaries of the early China trade augmented by the Northwest fur trade, the Hawaiian callings of New England's missionaries, and the enterprises of merchants, factors, and plantation developers, together with the hazardous voyages endured by whalers, sealers, and explorers, are well-written accounts, succinct and informative. Except for Oregon, the Washington government scarcely noticed any claims by its nationals to Pacific real estate. Only for the Hawaiian Islands, where American merchants and missionaries were especially influential, was the protection of the Monroe Doctrine invoked extraordinarily, in 1842, by President John Tyler. Official policy, as it was generally proclaimed, was solely to uphold for American citizens their liberty and equality of commercial opportunity.

From the outset of Johnson's investigations, it appeared evident that American businessmen's interests in the Pacific underwrote United States government policies and practices there. Although there was, and is, a good deal about the American Pacific to be learned from this point of view, even without having to employ those deterministic economic analyses he chose largely to overlook, Johnson failed to measure sufficiently the strategic forces released by the trans-Pacific visions of Thomas Hart Benton, William Henry Seward, Matthew Galbraith Perry, and Alfred Thayer Mahan. Only in his final two chapters, which resemble classroom lectures more than coherent essays, do the acquisitions of Alaska, Midway, and Samoa merit honorable mention. When Johnson's overview takes up the Hawaiian and Philippine annexations at the end of nineteenth century, it is too late to realize that commercialism had actually been yielding all along to a seaworthy version of Manifest Destiny, to navalism and dreams of empire.

Unmistakably, the book's secondary sources betray to its detriment the years Johnson spent in the book's preparation.

ARTHUR POWER DUDDEN
*Bryn Mawr College*

IAN MUGRIDGE. *The View from Xanadu: William Randolph Hearst and United States Foreign Policy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 220. Cloth $44.95, paper $17.95.

Ian Mugridge sets out to rescue one of America's most controversial publishers from those "mythmakers" who either glorified or pilloried Hearst in memoirs and biographies written since his death in 1951. Whether they admired or reviled him, Mugridge observes, because these mythmakers were preoccupied with the excesses of Hearst's life, he was portrayed as a representational figure—an oversized cardboard cutout—of the redeemer or the devil who gave America its best or worst journalism in the twentieth century.

Mugridge's book sets out to find some middle ground in this terrain of extremes. The result is a thoughtful, thoroughly researched, and well-documented study of Hearst's editorial positions across six decades of American history. In Mugridge's telling, Hearst is a pragmatist and a realist with clear-eyed vision of America's role in the world. This Hearst is a social thinker whose treatises are reminiscent of Henry Luce and the "American Century."

Hearst's march across the landscape of twentieth-century journalism is a familiar story, one that began in 1887 when his father gave him control of the San Fransisco *Examiner*. Eleven years later, Hearst's vehement crusade to involve America in the Spanish-



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American War left a yellow stain on his brand of journalism. Later, he just as boisterously opposed American involvement in two world wars. Communism, which he viewed as a menace that could poison American life, became the focus of another crusade. Hearst had equally strident opinions on the League of Nations, the Panama Canal, the Depression, the World Court, military preparedness, immigration policies, and the Marshall Plan.

Using mass communications theory to support his conclusion, Mugridge argues that the influence of the Hearst press, like that of the mass media, was limited to forming opinions where none had existed (p. 151). But to argue, as Mugridge does, that Hearst had little influence on policy decisions made by the ten American presidents whose policies received his scrutiny seems rather contrived. Although policy decisions are shaped by a confluence of forces rather than by straightforward responses to specific events, as Mugridge contends, Hearst's editorial caterwauling demanded its due.

With one in five Americans counted as readers of Hearst newspapers during his heyday, Hearst maintained a vast influence on mass opinion, one that presidents and policy makers dared to disregard only at considerable risk. Whether they admired or loathed him, for those ten presidents (eight of whom loathed him) Hearst was like an elephant perched atop the dining room table at dinner time—a large and overpowering presence that could not be ignored. Mugridge's claim that "even when a major fight by the Hearst papers was successful, their real influence over the course of events was minimal" (p. 150), fails to take into account the real possibility that the anticipation of Hearst criticism might well have shaped whether and how important policy proposals were introduced in the first place. Occasionally, Mugridge comes just a bit too close to sounding like an apologist for Hearst. He insists, for example, that Hearst really was not pro-German—as was widely charged—before America entered World War I. Hearst, says Mugridge, was guilty instead "of tactical errors, unfortunate associations and a stubborn determination to stick to his guns however the fighting went" (p. 114). Mugridge also claims that Hearst's goal of protecting the "safety and welfare of the United States" (p. 142) really did not qualify him as an isolationist. He was, instead, an advocate of "self-devoted non-involvement." As a patriot and guardian of democracy, according to Mugridge, Hearst believed that if America was to thrive, it had to involve itself politically, commercially, and financially in the world but remain morally aloof from the issues that divided other nations. Clearly, some of these interpretations seem to be semantic hairsplitting.

In his attempt to rescue Hearst from the mythmakers and endow him with essential human qualities, perhaps Mugridge reaches too far in downsizing this American giant.

JOYCE HOFFMANN
*Old Dominion University*

DAVID S. FOGLESONG. *America's Secret War against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917–1920.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. x, 386. $45.00.

David S. Foglesong has done his homework. Writing about Woodrow Wilson's anti-Bolshevik campaign, his bibliography includes more than ninety private manuscript collections and scores of governmental records including Russian-language sources from the recently opened Moscow archives. His research confirms much of what we already know about the origins of the Allied military intervention into the Russian Civil War. However, Foglesong adds significantly to our knowledge of less well-known activity, including the economic and propaganda efforts that American officials tried to keep secret from the Bolsheviks (and which have remained invisible to later generations of historians).

Foglesong's approach is fairly conventional. This is standard diplomatic/political history; it could as easily have been written twenty-five years ago were the Soviet archives available. Foglesong admits intellectual debts to revisionist historians like William Appleman Williams and Lloyd Gardner. Fortunately, he is too good a historian to be trapped by orthodoxy. The result is impressive indeed.

Foglesong argues that Wilsonian policy toward the Bolsheviks was at war with itself. Wilson's public professions of friendship toward the Russians were often linked with his condemnation of secret diplomacy. In his Fourteen Points address, the president championed "open covenants of peace" and offered the Russians a "sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing."

According to Foglesong, however, the reality was hugely different: no open covenants of any kind and no welcome to the Bolsheviks, whom the president viewed as obstructing the emergence of a genuinely democratic Russia. Foglesong focuses on Wilson's Presbyterianism and liberalism to explain his policy, as well as on more practical motives: Wilson's desire to keep Russia as a wartime ally and, equally, to prevent the disintegration of Russia. Foglesong makes a good case that Wilson's ignorance of Russian developments, no less than his willingness to value ideology over the principles of self-determination, helped to explain the course of U.S. policy during that period.

Foglesong is much less sympathetic to Wilson's professions of liberalism than Wilson's defenders like Thomas Knock. But Foglesong is not unsympathetic to the president. It is inconsistency, not malevolence, that defines the Wilson who approved the secret war, a war, Foglesong repeatedly reminds us, fought more to roll back Bolshevism than to return Russia to the Eastern Front or to rescue Czech prisoners of war. Foglesong's Wilson is as hesitant as he is well-meaning. The president did not possess his secretary of state's single-minded hostility toward the revolutionaries. But hostile he was, and the result was a war that, as in Mexico,



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Wilson never quite believed was a war. Fogleson's Wilson is not just self-righteous; he is self-deluded.

Two final points deserve emphasis. While many historians, including George F. Kennan and Christopher Lasch, have written about these same events, Foglesong has done two things others have not. He has expanded his perspective from the military intervention to the whole panoply of opposition to the Revolution. This includes the work of the fascinating Boris Bakhmeteff, the anti-Boshevik Russian ambassador to Washington who remained in office until 1922; the activity of Herbert Hoover, who turned food into a political weapon by extending aid only to the anti-Bolshevik forces; and the Dulles brothers, whose clandestine activity eventually led to the creation of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Secondly, no historian, not even Kennan, has made this extremely complex story more clear than Foglesong. That in itself is enough to make me overlook his unexciting writing style. This is solid academic history.

GARY B. OSTROWER
*Alfred University*

FREDRICK B. PIKE. *FDR's Good Neighbor Policy: Sixty Years of Generally Gentle Chaos*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1995. Pp. xxvi, 394. $34.95.

This book is apparently going to be the last monograph in Fredrick B. Pike's distinguished career. I have read his books for over three decades, and I am constantly amazed by two distinct patterns in his work: first, he is brilliant and incisive with many of his themes; and second, his arguments are not always logically brought to a conclusion. The latter can be extremely frustrating, but if you want to stretch your mind and follow Pike's oftentimes provoking ideas, his aggravating tendencies must be overlooked.

This book is written for scholars who have read deeply on the subject. Seven broad topics are examined: the impact of the Great Depression on the development of inter-American relations; the inducements that smoothed the reception of new policy initiatives; the ambivalence of moods within Hispanic and United States cultures; Franklin Roosevelt's particular style and its perception in Latin America; the beginnings of the Good Neighbor policy in Cuba and Mexico and the momentum toward the European war; the dominant theme of security in the Good Neighbor policy; and, finally, the end of that era and the return to many of those programs as the next century approaches. Due to the breadth of this study, many of these issues are not examined exhaustively but are brought out to illustrate trends within Pike's focus on Good Neighbor diplomacy.

Pike looks at the Good Neighbor policy through his eyes as well as those of the leaders of that complicated era, especially Franklin Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, Sumner Welles, and Josephus Daniels. The president, according to Pike, was a trickster in the best sense of the word, able to combine high mindedness with hard bargaining. He was also paternalistic and populistic, with which many Latin Americans could identify. His secretary of state was a free trader. Although the White House often ignored his ideas, Hull almost single-handedly forced the administration to accept his reciprocal trade agreements program, which laid the basis for international commerce that remains today. Welles worked within the boundaries established by his two superiors and additionally stamped his own ideas on inter-American diplomacy. While Pike paints broad strokes for these men, he never fully develops their characters, and that lack of completion leaves lingering unanswered questions about these men and their importance.

Just as invigorating and frustrating are Pike's major themes. The Americas, as an entity, suffered throughout the Great Depression, and this economic collapse produced a revolution that allowed for the growth of the Good Neighbor policy. Western hemispheric interrelatedness was reinforced by the movies, music, and literature. Cultural relativism, for the first time, seriously challenged ethnocentrism. Roosevelt preached the agrarian myth and concurrently supported urbanization. Pike emphasizes the movement toward capitalistic privatization in the Americas and how the Roosevelt administration encouraged this momentum. Lastly, Pike discusses corporatism which forced cooperation between labor and business in the Americas. These are but a few of the stimulating thoughts that Pike challenges his audience to explore. I hope others will expand on them in greater depth.

Pike compares the emergence of the Good Neighbor policy to baseball's organization. Roosevelt started developing his concept of inter-American solidarity as a part of the farm system to influence the big leagues in Europe and Asia. As economic and political alliances form today in the Common Market and East Asia, the United States is gradually turning toward a Latin America seen as a part of the big leagues. The United States, therefore, is returning to many of the old Good Neighbor concepts, but inter-American cooperation is moving into major league competitiveness.

I find much to admire in Pike's work. Occasionally I am irritated, and sometimes I disagree with his viewpoint, but I have always respected and admired his unique style. I hope that this is not the end of his scholarly production and that he continues writing.

IRWIN F. GELLMAN
*Corona Del Mar, California*

ROBERT W. MERRY. *Taking on the World: Joseph and Stewart Alsop—Guardians of the American Century*. New York: Viking. 1996. Pp. xxv, 644. $34.95.

This is really two books in one. It is a standard "life and times" treatment of Joseph and Stewart Alsop, two Washington journalists who, whatever their relative obscurity now, wielded an influence in the decades



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after World War II that no print journalist today can match. Perhaps more interesting, it is also an account of the decline in the last half of the twentieth century of an Anglo-Saxon elite that, almost as a matter of birthright, had long occupied a place at the center of power in Washington, particularly in the conduct of foreign affairs. On both counts, Robert W. Merry tells the story extremely well.

Certainly the Alsop brothers were themselves to the manor born. Theodore Roosevelt was a great-uncle, and Eleanor Roosevelt was their mother's first cousin. They each attended Groton, from where Joe went on to Harvard and Stewart to Yale. That background helped get them started in journalism and over the years proved useful in providing access to sources in Washington. Just as important, it imbued them with a value system—Anglophilia, a commitment to America's global mission, a moderate liberalism in domestic matters, a stress on fair play—that became central to the journalism they practiced.

The Alsop influence stemmed mainly from a widely syndicated column they collaborated on entitled "Matter of Fact." Their chumminess with people in power (a chumminess that almost certainly would not be acceptable by today's standards of journalistic propriety) made the column an outlet for top-notch reporting as well as commentary. But whether breaking news or commenting on the news, their mission was always to trumpet America's global role and to urge an activist stance against Communist expansion, and whatever else might be said about them, they did not lack fortitude in pursuing that mission. When they went on the offensive against Senator Joseph McCarthy, for example, they did so knowing that McCarthy probably had information that Joe was a homosexual, which in that era, if made public, would have meant professional ruin.

In 1957, after almost twelve years of collaboration, they split up, largely because of personality differences between them. Joe kept the column, while Stewart moved on to write on a regular basis for the *Saturday Evening Post* and later to replace Walter Lippmann as back-page columnist for *Newsweek*. But for both of them, and particularly for Joe, the influence continued.

And then came Vietnam. Although both men initially supported America's military role in that country, Stewart saw sooner than Joe that the war was becoming a quagmire. Joe kept the faith in ultimate victory, called for ever-greater escalation of the military effort, became increasingly shrill and, in the process, increasingly marginalized as a Washington voice. The country had changed around him, and he could not adjust. Stewart's death from leukemia in May 1974 further dispirited him. At the end of that year, he folded his column.

As Merry convincingly argues, the Alsop brothers' decline from eminence mirrored the decline of the Anglo-Saxon elite they represented. Over the decades, a series of blows had undermined the authority of the old elite. The Depression, which caused people to lose faith in the system and those who ran it, was one such blow. So was McCarthyism, which after all represented in part a populist revolt against the WASP establishment. The Suez debacle, bringing humiliation and second-class status to Great Britain, shook the intellectual foundations of everything the elite had been reared to believe in. But Vietnam mattered most of all. In a book written just before he died, Stewart pointed out that "Vietnam completed the process of undermining the self-confidence of the WASP establishment" (p. 543), and of course without self-confidence there can be no elite.

This is, in short, an interesting and entertaining and even important book. Merry has done an exhaustive job of research and uses his material effectively. He is particularly good at weaving in telling anecdotes to make his points. Some of the best of those anecdotes have to do with Joe's snobbishness. The stories on that subject are by themselves, as the saying goes, worth the price of admission.

GEORGE JUERGENS
*Indiana University*

COLE C. KINGSEED. *Eisenhower and the Suez Crisis of 1956.* (Political Traditions in Foreign Policy Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 166. $22.50.

This brief examination of Dwight D. Eisenhower's management of U.S. policy making during the Suez Crisis makes several notable contributions to the literature on both the president and the international crisis. Cole C. Kingseed persuasively demonstrates that Eisenhower, drawing on his military experience, "met the Suez crisis with a clearly established leadership role, capable subordinates, a definite policy framework, and an efficient system for responding to foreign policy problems" (p. 25). He shows that the president himself made crucial decisions after consulting a handful of close aides, only then using the National Security Council "as a sounding board" (p. 106). He also credits Eisenhower with "careful cultivation of congressional support," which formed "a vital component of his strategy management" (p. 64). In such arguments, Kingseed confirms the now widely accepted Eisenhower revisionism. The president "remained clearly at the helm of the ship of state and did not delegate major foreign policy decisions to the secretary of state" (p. 110), as once had been widely presumed.

Although Kingseed is occasionally critical of the president, he clearly admires Eisenhower as a skillful manager, a principled leader, and a man of moral courage who made policy decisions without regard to his reelection prospects. October 29, 1956, the day that hostilities began in Egypt, proved to be "one of the supreme moments of his presidency" (p. 90); during the American-Soviet showdown in early November, he finds a "calm and relaxed . . . crisis manager" applying "rational leadership to a chaotic situation" (p. 117). In



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short, Kingseed credits Eisenhower with "a splendid performance" (p. 148).

To his credit, Kingseed bases his assessment on the holdings of the Eisenhower Library, interviews with former officials, and previously untapped Navy records. On the other hand, he apparently did not consult the vast documentation declassified since the completion of his dissertation on this topic in 1983, most noticeably State Department records including the pertinent *Foreign Relations of the United States* volumes published in the early 1990s. Kingseed also fails to incorporate the contributions of numerous monographs and articles on the Suez crisis that have appeared in the last decade (although he lists some of these works in the bibliography).

Consulting such records and publications might have enabled Kingseed better to analyze Eisenhower's broad policy objectives in the Middle East. As it stands, he overlooks the Alpha peace plan, the Anderson mission, and the Omega initiative, and he only superficially analyzes the Baghdad Pact and Aswan Dam aid offer, all of which created the background and context of Eisenhower's policy during the Suez Crisis. Moreover, he attributes Eisenhower's failure to reach longterm objectives to his "misconception of the Soviet threat to the Middle East, and his failure to comprehend the realities of Arab nationalism and pan-Arabism" (p. 144). Thus Kingseed repeats, but does not confirm, traditional criticisms of the president that are not fully verified by the newly available evidence. Finally, the tight chronological focus on the tactics of crisis management might leave some readers hungry for more analysis of the reasons behind the decisions Eisenhower made.

PETER L. HAHN
*Ohio State University*

ROBERT S. ROSS. *Negotiating Cooperation: The United States and China, 1969–1989*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 349. $39.50.

For nearly twenty years, virtually all scholarly analyses of Chinese-American rapprochement have utilized as their foundation Henry Kissinger's account of his own and President Richard Nixon's diplomacy. In his elegant history of these events, (*The White House Years* [1979]), Kissinger took understandable credit for facilitating a fundamental change in America's China diplomacy and gave short shrift to critics. The "well-meaning but wooly efforts" by Americans interested in "Chinese friendship," he wrote dismissively, had hindered, not helped rapprochement (p. 685). These and others who claimed that Washington's support for Taiwan would impede Sino-American ties, Kissinger added, were blinded to the fact that "Chinese leaders stressed . . . that Taiwan was a subordinate problem" and that Beijing cared only about security from a growing Soviet threat (p. 1092).

It has been difficult for scholars to assess the accuracy of Kissinger's so-called geopolitical interpretation, because both he and Nixon have blocked nearly all efforts to gain access to the diplomatic records of their activities. One of the several virtues of Robert S. Ross's penetrating analysis is his enterprise in ferreting out evidence that challenges, if not refutes, Kissinger's self-congratulatory interpretation. Utilizing a broad array of Chinese and American printed sources, interviews, and other data, Ross argues persuasively that Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and their successors never, as Nixon and Kissinger asserted, agreed to "shelve" or ignore the question of Taiwan's status or U.S. support for the "renegade" province. In fact, periodic tensions, disagreements, and disappointments between the United States and China have revolved largely around the unresolved status of Taiwan. Despite the palliative language of the Shanghai Communiqué of February 1972, China never accepted the American government's stand on Taiwan. Ross maintains that the foundational document in the new Sino-American relationship, the Shanghai Communiqué, was only agreed to by Mao and Zhou because Nixon promised, in fact, to break relations with the Taiwan regime during his second presidential term (p. 53).

During the Ford, Carter, and Reagan administrations, Taiwan remained a sore point between Washington and Beijing. Because Taiwan was a relatively minor factor in the overall balance of American security policy, few American policy makers took the time to recognize how central a question the existence of a rival regime remained to the leaders of the People's Republic of China. The Soviet threat to China and Chinese desires for Western and Japanese strategic and economic cooperation often muted Beijing's concern but never dissipated it.

In a subtle, articulate, and clearly argued fashion, Ross explains why, over time, the two sides sometimes compromised and often clashed. It is a marvelous narrative history of a critical period in Sino-American relations as well as a nuanced account of how changing political balances within each country affected their bilateral relations.

MICHAEL SCHALLER
*University of Arizona*

JOHN R. NORDELL, JR. *The Undetected Enemy: French and American Miscalculations at Dien Bien Phu, 1953*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 217. $39.50.

This study deals with the French military campaign at Dien Bien Phu. Using recently published documents on Indochina, John R. Nordell, Jr. provides a nearly complete analysis of French operational miscalculations that one would be hard pressed to find elsewhere.

Nordell argues that the French miscalculated the impact of their initial victory at Dien Bien Phu and the scope of the Communist counterattack. Similarly, he argues that the United States was largely misinformed about the event. The purpose of the attack, Nordell argues, was to provide assistance to the Thai tribesmen



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at Lau Chau, whose cooperation was deemed indispensable for French victory. By capturing Dien Bien Phu, the French intended to defend northern Laos and its royal capital, Luang Probang, situated close to the French lines to the southwest.

Masterminded by General Henri Navarre, Operation Castor was hailed as an astounding success. As Nordell's careful analysis demonstrates, however, subsequent events were less spectacular. Vietnam's General Vo Nguyen Giap, who believed that the French were about to scatter their forces in an attempt to defend the northwest against his 316th Division, increased the number of his troops in an attempt to force the French to withdraw from the Red River delta. As the evidence presented by Nordell shows, Navarre did not realize at that time that the Vietnamese had moved entire divisions to the northwest. Nordell raises a point often ignored by historians: the lack of coordination among the commanders in the field was partially a result of personality conflicts. General Rene Cogny's view of the war was inherently different from Navarre's. Cogny regarded Dien Bien Phu as an additional mooring base for French reconnaissance and offensive operations in north-central Laos.

Navarre's insistence on holding Dien Bien Phu despite the growing Communist threat to the northwest and upper Laos demonstrated the rigidity of French strategy. The French seem to have been overconfident regarding the effectiveness and the accuracy of their artillery and the inability of the Vietnamese to deploy artillery in the area's rugged terrain. Similarly, they underestimated the size of the Vietnamese forces. Navarre remained convinced that south-central Vietnam—not northern Laos—would be the major theater of operations, and that he—not Giap—was in control of the events. Thus, for example, he rejected Cogny's proposal for an offensive from the Red River delta, arguing that it constituted a violation of his own plan.

Navarre, who intended to turn Dien Bien Phu into a major base of operation, had to admit that his goal was not achieved and blamed the failure on Cogny's strategy. Similarly, the U.S. State Department officials who reported the event failed to provide a proper assessment of the situation. Thus, the State Department remained in the dark regarding the timing and the location of the French military operation and did not make the necessary effort to understand French objectives. The United States accepted the French interpretations of events from reports sent by its diplomats in the region prior to the operation.

Nordell's book is an important contribution to the literature on this subject. It is well written; however, excessive quoting and numerous acronyms interrupt the smooth flow of the text. Although Nordell made good use of archival material, he relied solely on Western sources, American as well as French but not Vietnamese. The book's title might delude the reader into thinking that the United States was actually involved in planning the operation. The introduction is too brief and does not provide the necessary background. This omission limits the book's audience. Only scholars and students already well versed in the subject will find it useful.

JACOB ABADI
*United States Air Force Academy*

RICHARD A. HUNT. *Pacification: The American Struggle for Vietnam's Hearts and Minds*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1995. Pp. xv, 352. $34.95.

Historians of the Vietnam war—and the legion of now-retired military and foreign service officers who served there—have waited a long time for this book. It was worth it.

The Center of Military History assigned Richard A. Hunt the project of writing an official history of "the other war" (known as pacification) more than ten years ago and then had his many drafts reviewed by experts who had actually designed and participated in the process. I joined one such team in the mid-1980s. It consisted of an Army general and a deputy ambassador. We all shared the judgment that Hunt needed to delve more deeply into the record, to talk to more retired officers, to gain a perspective from the Vietnamese side, and to distill lessons that would be both accurate and relevant to contemporary problems. I think that our review group would be collectively pleased. Hunt has, indeed, written a book that adds to the literature and explains why American officials thought they would be successful at nation building in Vietnam as well as why they thought that, without it, they could neither win the war nor withdraw from it without precipitating the collapse of the Saigon government.

Most readers will recall the phrase "winning the hearts and minds." Pacification was the method devised to do so. Most will also recall Senator J. William Fulbright's critique of the U.S. escalation of the war and denunciation of American policies as a result of "the arrogance of power." Pacification was a direct product of that arrogance: the premise was that American advice and money, when rendered at the district and village levels in Vietnam in sufficient quantities, would both defeat the Viet Cong (by depriving them of local support and refuge) and create a political community with a sense of loyalty to a non-Communist central government. As Hunt shows—and like most U.S. policy in Vietnam—the concept was flawed from the start, and yet policy makers could see no alternative to trying it anyway. The way they dealt with such an anomalous situation was to create a bureaucratic process that maximized the chances for success. The steps taken, the rationales given, and the evidence of failure at almost every turn are all clearly documented in this study, which uses a myriad of archival materials, oral interviews, and other primary sources to make its case.

The conclusion does not surprise. "Reducing a complicated and difficult process, the transformation of South Vietnam into a viable nation, to a collection



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of bureaucratic programs had an insidious effect. It may have kept the Americans from recognizing the intractable nature of South Vietnam's political, social, and military problems. Statistics, programs, and other management tools created a way to make sense of pacification and to manage the overall effort, but they provided an inaccurate gauge" (p. 279). The continuing tragedy of the Vietnam war is that books like this one will be read primarily by those who already understand what went wrong.

ALLAN E. GOODMAN
*Georgetown University*

LLOYD C. GARDNER. *Pay Any Price: Lyndon Johnson and the Wars for Vietnam*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 1995. Pp. xv, 610. $35.00.

Among the several accounts of Lyndon Johnson as a beleaguered wartime president, Lloyd C. Gardner's is remarkable for its rich analysis of the domestic and international context that shaped U.S. policy in Vietnam and of an advisory process that substituted wishful thinking and dubious historical analogies for realistic assessment. Although sympathetic to Johnson's dilemmas, Gardner ultimately attributes failure to his determined pursuit of a New Deal–inspired liberal vision that linked modernization in Southeast Asia with Great Society reforms at home.

Uncertain of the loyalty of officials inherited from the slain John F. Kennedy, Johnson may have been ill-served by some of them, ironically, because they were determined to prove their value. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy, in particular, were "perhaps too loyal to the presidency, and were rarely able to offer advice without trying to anticipate Johnson's desires" (p. 93). Johnson doubted whether bombing would intimidate North Vietnam or stabilize the deteriorating situation in South Vietnam, but he nonetheless embraced Operation Rolling Thunder in the spring of 1965. When, a few months later, he agonized over the Pentagon's request to dispatch a large-scale ground force, the decisive advice came from Secretary of State Dean Rusk, whom Johnson especially trusted as a fellow southerner of modest origins. Casting the Vietnam challenge in apocalyptic terms, Rusk told Johnson that the Communists were moving toward world revolution and that only he could "save Christian civilization" (p. 238). As escalation produced indecisive results and periodic bombing halts failed to bring North Vietnam to the bargaining table, Johnson indulged in self-pity, complaining how his predecessors had trapped him in Vietnam, and became contemptuous of his critics, denouncing the press, the antiwar movement, and liberals for prolonging the war. Intolerant of internal doubters, Johnson rewarded McNamara's growing apostasy by shuffling him off to the presidency of the World Bank. Until Tet, his advisers mostly played on Johnson's disposition, offering reassurances as they cast his tribulations in Lincolnesque terms. Walt W. Rostow, who became National Security Adviser in 1965, had a "whole stack of silver linings in his office. He would pluck one to fit the crisis of the moment" (p. 300).

The Tet Offensive forced an overdue reassessment. Secretary of Defense-designate Clark Clifford seized on Johnson's incredulity when the Joint Chiefs of Staff sought a significant troop increase and led the internal struggle for an unconditional cessation of bombing as the first step toward a negotiated settlement. The "Wise Men," a coterie of former officials on whom Johnson had occasionally called for counsel, were again summoned to the White House. Led by former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, they reversed their earlier hawkish advice and called for extricating the country from a hopeless war. Rostow, who predictably called for carrying the war more forcefully against North Vietnam, was at last outmaneuvered. Rusk, who privately questioned sending more troops, maintained his public stridency; having "mastered the non-sequitur" (p. 444), he warned that although the Communist world was now in disarray, U.S. withdrawal would lead to a major war. Johnson, recognizing that the wars both at home and overseas were lost, announced the virtual cessation of bombing at the same time that he withdrew from the presidential race. A lame-duck administration in the midst of a presidential campaign in which withdrawal from Vietnam was a central issue could make scant progress toward the negotiated settlement that Johnson had belatedly endorsed.

Based on thorough research in a wide range of primary sources, this book is an especially important and insightful contribution to the literature on the American war in Vietnam.

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ADAM GARFINKLE. *Telltale Hearts: The Origins and Impact of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement*. New York: St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. xiii, 370. $24.95.

According to Adam Garfinkle, "wishful thinking and the dynamics of ego protection" (p. xii) have led most students of the Vietnam antiwar movement to ignore the fact that it not only failed to stop the war but actually helped to prolong it. Don't trust any historian over fifty who was a participant-observer in the movement is the message of his lively, well-written, but not always convincing book.

Garfinkle dismisses the findings of Charles DeBenedetti and Charles Chatfield, Nancy Zaroulis and Gerald Sullivan, Tom Wells, Thomas Powers, and Todd Gitlin, among others. He considers my *Johnson, Nixon, and the Doves* (1988) to be based on "ultimately flimsy conjecture" (p. 12).

Garfinkle has done his homework in the secondary literature to explain the origins, impact, and legacy of the antiwar movement in particular and the New Left in general. The story of sectarian infighting, the counter-culture, demonstrations, official responses,



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and the Vietnam syndrome has been told before, however. Moreover, one wonders how Garfinkle can so easily trash the work of other scholars apparently without having worked himself at the Lyndon Johnson Library or the Richard Nixon collection—or any archive for that matter. For example, he claims, without much evidence, that the antiwar movement was somewhat effective before 1965 and to some degree after 1969 and thus underplays its impact on Johnson's March 1968 decisions and, especially, on Nixon's failure to punish North Vietnam when it did not change its negotiating position by November 1, 1969.

One of the problems is Garfinkle's concentration on easy targets—the silly hippies and the revolutionary left minority, especially the SDS—at the expense of the liberal and left-liberal majority within the movement.

When he moves to the legacy of the movement, he is on somewhat surer ground, although he finds a much greater influence for tenured radicals in American universities than is merited and blames too many of our current disorders on the 1960s. He has an interesting chapter on the relationship between those who opposed the Gulf War and those who opposed the wars in Southeast Asia, often the same folks now grown up or perhaps they have not grown up, given the way they allegedly continue to romanticize the 1960s. This may be the product of the "proliferation of near-hysterical midlife crises" (p. 47) that they are suffering, an undocumented assertion that reflects the author's frequent snideness.

Garfinkle does not blame the movement or even the media for losing the war. Instead, he points the finger at the Johnson and Nixon administrations for never producing a winning strategy. Garfinkle believes the war could have been won even after 1968. Unfortunately, the few vague comments about an enclave approach and the underestimated South Vietnamese regime are not enough to buttress this controversial assertion.

Somewhat tongue in cheek, Garfinkle does credit the antiwar movement with helping to end the Cold War by making it easier for Nixon to be elected in 1968 and 1972, ultimately paving the way for Ronald Reagan and the new Republican majority. Had doves worked to elect Hubert Humphrey in 1968, Garfinkle maintains, the Vietnam war would have ended rather quickly.

Few others aside from neo-conservatives will embrace this spirited revisionist assault against the antiwar movement and its allegedly pernicious legacy.

MELVIN SMALL
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ERIC THOMAS CHESTER. *Covert Network: Progressives, the International Rescue Committee, and the CIA*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1995. Pp. ix, 265. Cloth $55.00, paper $24.95.

The International Rescue Committee (IRC) was the product of a fusion, in 1942, between the International Relief Association (founded in 1933) and the Emergency Rescue Committee (1940). The prime purpose of these earlier organizations had been to rescue people from the clutches of the Nazis. American Communists or former Communists, notably Jay Lovestone, had been prominent in the effort. Their left-wing credentials gave them the advantage of having a network of contacts among the European socialists who provided the backbone to the ill-fated attempts to resist the rise and triumph of Hitler. Once the IRC had been set up, these United States socialists, or former socialists as they had mainly become, proved to be useful to the American war effort. They rubbed shoulders not only with people, like Norman Thomas, who were still socialists but also with a whole variety of individuals who, for their own reasons, took an interest in refugees: William J. Donovan and William Casey of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), Reinhold Niebuhr, and Eleanor Roosevelt. As time passed, the functions of the IRC diversified to encompass not just humanitarian goals but also the recruitment of talent from formerly autocratic regions of Europe, the organization of Cold War propaganda and covert operations, and the pursuit of anticommunism worldwide through such pseudo-governmental agencies as the Friends of Vietnam.

Eric Thomas Chester's approach to all this may be characterized as old New Left: it reflects the 1960s thinking associated with Students for Democratic Action (of which, indeed, he is a former member). He excoriates the IRC veterans for their "naïveté" (p. 210) in believing that they could implement their left-wing ideals by supping with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). This approach has several weaknesses: it is provincial, taking no heed of the United Nations effort in caring for refugees and ignoring Kim Salomon's book about it, *Refugees in the Cold War* (1991); it fails to distinguish between "progressives," "socialist militants" (p. 207), and "liberals" (p. 209); and it fails to explore *why* any of these ill-defined entities should have acted as they did. Finally, in his belief that the OSS was formed and all-powerful *before* Pearl Harbor (p. 207), Chester is mistaken.

Nevertheless, Chester has been diligent in his archival research, and he throws light on the working of what the title of his book aptly describes as a "covert network" linking organizations active in the anti-Communist crusade. Bodies like the Ford Foundation, Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study, the Psychological Strategy Board, the CIA, and the European Cooperation Administration (set up to administer the Marshall Plan) were linked to each other and to the IRC by a web of individuals such as Richard Bissell, who served on several of the committees, and by the overriding goal of stopping Communist expansion. Through both its text and its useful organizational and biographical glossaries, this book will help historians



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to navigate, if not to understand, one of the more Byzantine passages in American history.

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EVAN THOMAS. *The Very Best Men: Four Who Dared; The Early Years of the CIA*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1995. Pp. 427. $27.50.

Adopting a group-biography approach similar to the one he used in *The Wise Men* (1986, with Walter Isaacson), journalist Evan Thomas seeks to illuminate the early activist years of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) by examining the careers of Frank Wisner, Desmond Fitzgerald, Tracy Barnes, and Richard Bissell. One cannot quarrel with his choices: the four men were at the heart of the Clandestine Service, with only Barnes failing to rise to the top of the CIA's action arm. While it could be argued that Thomas neglects the analytical side of the intelligence agency, there is no question that covert operations dominated the CIA in its formative years, especially during the administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

As Thomas points out, the four men came from similar backgrounds and shared similar values. Bissell and Barnes were products of Groton and Yale, while Fitzgerald attended St. Mark's and Harvard. Wisner, an admirer of Theodore Roosevelt and Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*, received his undergraduate and law degrees from the University of Virginia. Shaped by World War II, they were drawn to the romantic activism of the CIA during the postwar years, seeing themselves as defenders of freedom in the great battle against the communist menace.

Wisner, Fitzgerald, Barnes, and Bissell initiated and directed schemes to overthrow unfriendly governments, developed a highly successful spy plane (at least until the Soviets shot down a U-2), and plotted to assassinate foreign leaders. Some projects were disasters (Albania, Burma, Indonesia); others were at least perceived as successful (Iran, Guatemala). The assassination attempts, which may or may not have been sanctioned by the president, all misfired. "It wasn't for lack of trying," Bissell noted, "it was just technical failures" (p. 233).

The Bay of Pigs fiasco proved the beginning of the end of the golden age of CIA covert operations. As Thomas notes: "It marked a deep loss in the confidence, in the certainty and optimism, that had infused the Georgetown crowd" (p. 266). Bissell resigned in the aftermath of the failed attempt to topple the Cuban government and Barnes was discredited. Wisner, who suffered from severe emotional problems, committed suicide in 1965. Fitzgerald died of a heart attack two years later.

Thomas's book succeeds admirably as social history, detailing the web of friendships, atmosphere, and milieu in which the senior officials of the Clandestine Service directed the battle against communism during the early years of the Cold War. Otherwise, the book covers familiar ground when dealing with the activities of the CIA. Although Thomas received unprecedented access to the histories of the Clandestine Service, material long denied to scholars, he concludes that these in-house volumes "reveal no great secret victories or hidden defeats" (p. 13). This may well be true. More needs to be known, however, about the nature of these studies before a definitive judgment can be rendered. Also, scholars will want to examine the records on which they are based before accepting their conclusions. I hope that the publication of this book will mark the beginning of a policy by the CIA to make hitherto classified material available not only to journalists but also to historians.

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RUSSELL D. BUHITE. *Lives at Risk: Hostages and Victims in American Foreign Policy*. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1995. Pp. xx, 268. Cloth $45.00, paper $16.95.

Given the frequency with which Americans have been taken hostage abroad of late, Russell D. Buhite's latest book is most timely. Beginning with the Barbary corsairs' seizure of American sailors in the eighteenth century and concluding with the Iranian captivity of American embassy personnel in 1980, Buhite offers an interpretive survey of a dozen or so major hostage incidents. The book does not merely recount the salient events. Rather, it proposes an interpretation of the changing American response to the capture of its citizens by brigands or terrorists demanding ransom or political concessions.

According to Buhite, the American reaction to the taking of hostages abroad during the nineteenth century was characterized by a "tough, physically aggressive approach" (pp. xv-xvi) that gave way to a more restrained one during the twentieth century. Buhite suggests that the American response in the last century was conditioned by several major factors. Among these was a vigorous nationalism that endorsed the use of armed force as an appropriate way to handle the situation. This was especially true, he contends, when the captors were nonwhites, who were automatically subject to harsh treatment because they were deemed inferior. He also believes that a number of other practical factors encouraged a swift and violent American reaction to hostage incidents. In such situations, for example, American naval officers were usually the only representatives of military power on the spot and could mete out summary justice without consultation with or interference from higher authorities. Finally, in the absence of the press, a military operation could be mounted without being held up to critical public scrutiny.

The American response to such incidents began to change during the early years of the twentieth century. Buhite argues that the rapid growth of the press and other mass media subjected policy makers to closer



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scrutiny than ever before and that public opinion consequently played a constraining role. Presidents and other decision makers could be second guessed by the press and by their political enemies. Appeals for caution by families and friends of victims made it politically difficult to risk lives in a hazardous military action. Accordingly, officials adopted a more conciliatory approach that emphasized negotiations with the captors.

During the twentieth century, Buhite argues, American policy makers became increasingly aware of the potential cost of the violent approach that had been common in the nineteenth century. Accordingly, they carefully weighed the extent to which the national interest was engaged and generally concluded that the cost of an aggressive response was too high. During the Cold War, Soviet support for some of the culprits or the states that backed them made the use of American force dangerous or counterproductive. Furthermore, in recent years, it has often been impossible to determine precisely who was responsible for seizing the American captives or even where they were. All of these factors tended to restrain the exercise of force in modern hostage situations.

Buhite's book contains an appendix that lists roughly one hundred significant hostage incidents in American history. It also has an extensive bibliography of relevant materials. In a field dominated by memoirs, writings in political science, and occasional historical monographs dealing with specific episodes, Buhite's book is the only comprehensive historical survey of its subject. He establishes an interpretive framework of which other scholars in the field should be aware.

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## CANADA

ELIZABETH JANE ERRINGTON. *Wives and Mothers, Schoolmistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790–1840*. Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 375. Cloth $55.00, paper $22.95.

Elizabeth Jane Errington's book on working women in Upper Canada from 1790 to 1840 is a solid achievement, though not a ground-breaking work. It is the first attempt at a book-length general history of the earliest period of Ontario women's history, and it pulls together the work of other scholars as well as Errington's own research. She defines women's labor in the broadest sense as both reproductive and productive work in the private and public spheres. The situations of genteel settlers in the wilderness and the elite of the growing colonial towns are examined and contrasted with the lives of servants, "she-merchants," and schoolmistresses.

Errington divides her discussion into four sections. Part one discusses the lives of wives and mothers and reproduction, with chapters on marriage and motherhood. This, she argues, provided the basic context and conditions of work for all women in early Upper Canada and was considered the most important social role that a woman could fulfill. In part two, Errington extends the discussion to the running of rural pioneer households, drawing on the diaries and letters of gentlewomen settlers in the bush. The role of lower-class women in the more egalitarian role of "help" in this setting is contrasted with the more formal role of "domestic servant" in the "big houses" of the mistresses of the colonial elite. Part three examines the artificial world of the upper classes, with its elaborate social rituals, complicated households, and extreme class consciousness. Both the work of society hostesses and charitably inspired "lady bountifuls" are considered here. Part four, on women's waged work in the public sphere, is where Errington concentrates the results of her research in colonial newspapers. She documents that although a few women became independent entrepreneurs, most still functioned within the context of a domestic framework, working side by side with their husbands and sometimes running the business as widows. Those women who aspired to genteel status were more likely to be engaged in the activities most closely associated with women's acceptable domestic roles, such as teaching and taking in boarders. In general, Errington argues that although women's paid work in the public sphere challenged the prevailing "cult of true womanhood," it also had the effect of reinforcing it. Most women's work was a natural extension of their prescribed roles, or else it catered to women's needs, such as fashion-related millinery businesses and domestic service.

Recent historical work on women has tended to stress the diversity of women's experiences, but Errington's emphasis is on the commonalities of women's work. She concludes that the control of patriarchy was a "basic reality" for all women in Upper Canada, which was "strengthened by their common experiences as wives and mothers" (p. 234). "It should not be surprising," she concludes, "that the emotional, physical and economic bonds that linked all colonial women together were strong and enduring" (p. 235). Although Errington readily acknowledges that the "specific impact that race, ethnicity, religious belief and affiliation had on women's work and their own expectations" has "received only cursory attention" (p. xvii) in her book, she does not tell us the reasons for this. As she observes, the history of Upper Canadian women is still in the early stages of being written, and much work remains to be done.

I have some points of disagreement with Errington's interpretation of evidence, such as when she asserts on the basis of one source that "it appears that mothers were as likely as fathers to be the offender" in cases of the abuse of children (p. 75). Nonetheless, within the boundaries of the study as she has set them, this is a well-written and highly readable synthesis of both new and published sources on women's history in early



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Upper Canada. As such, it is likely to become a popular and well-used textbook in survey courses of Canadian and North American history.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

BARRY CHEVANNES. *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology.* (Utopianism and Communitarianism.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 298. Cloth $34.95, paper $17.95.

Barry Chevannes faces the problem of all those who wish to do histories of groups that keep no written records, as is the case of the Jamaican Rastafari movement. But that could not have been Chevannes's most difficult challenge: getting the Rastafari faithful to open up to a stranger has to have been harder. He has succeeded admirably, securing in-depth interviews with thirty practitioners, all of whom joined the movement before 1940. Chevannes is aware of the dangers involved and of the pitfalls of oral history, especially when the totality of the subjects belong to the network of two of the main respondents. He compensates and controls for this by placing his ethnographic data within a well-designed and independently researched and corroborated framework of urban and demographic history. The result is a commendable, though somewhat densely written, social history of the movement; in fact, it is the best in print.

Chevannes begins by citing this play on words by the Rastafari poet, Joe Ruglass: "Jamaica is an islan'/but is not I islan." It is a fortunate choice, for the couplet contains two fundamental tenets of Rastafari ideology that Chevannes explores in depth. First, there is the rejection of Jamaica, seen as part of "Babylon," the despised white, Western world. Secondly, there is the emphasis on words, on the intrinsic value of oral expression in the form of a subdialect of English. Both tenets in fact express the pivotal characteristic of Rastafari ideology: rejection of everything conventional in Jamaican and Western society, from the state and its institutions to language and lifestyle. The latter includes diet (no dairy products), hair style (the matted dreadlocks), and the ceremonial and recreational use of drugs (ganja). It is arguably this lifestyle, artistically portrayed by giants of reggae music such as Bob Marley and Peter Tosh, much more than any theological or cosmological beliefs, which has promoted Rastafarianism into such an international phenomenon. Indeed, so strong is the presence of these stylistic symbols that one necessarily asks whether Rastafarianism is anything more than another one of the many forms of cultural rebellion or alienation evident in the Third World? This carefully researched study makes a plausible case that it is.

Chevannes traces Rastafarianism through three distinct but historically interrelated phenomena analyzed in a clear chronological order. First is the deeply religious nature of the Jamaican peasantry with its intrinsic faith in biblical citations. The Revivalist Zion Church with its multiple syncretisms of West African origin provided many of the early religious ideas. Second is migration, both internal and external. It was external migration and return that thrust Marcus Garvey into the role of prophet and charismatic leader of the largest back-to-Africa movement of all times. Garvey gave the Rastafarians a definitive, Africa-centered perspective and program. Even more important was the internal migration of Jamaican peasants who, faced with the collapse of their rural economies, sought haven in the urban slums of Kingston. Not surprisingly, they sought explanations and rationalizations for their desperate circumstances in the Bible, now interpreted by preachers who themselves were recent returnees from the United States, Cuba, or Panama. Their fervent anticolonialism and anti-white sentiments colored every biblical interpretation.

The third, and from a symbolic point of view most important influence, was the 1930 crowning of Haile Selassie I as "King of Kings, Lord of Lords" of Ethiopia. This was Jah Rastafari, who, to the faithful in Jamaica, accustomed to looking toward Africa and "Abyssinia" for deliverance, was a living God. Pictures of a black Christ brought back from America reinforced the idea. The fact that Selassie had stood up to the white fascists further strengthened his credentials. As Chevannes puts it, "God was none other than the little black man ruling over Ethiopia. What is more, God had always been black" (p.146).

Uprooted and destitute masses of all colors and creeds have often turned to utopianism in the form of messianic or chiliastic movements. Chevannes has contributed to the general literature by recording the history of one of the most important ones to emerge in the Caribbean.

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FERNANDO PICÓ. *Contra la corriente: Seis microbiografías de los tiempos de España.* Río Piedras, Puerto Rico: Ediciones Huracán. 1995. Pp. 189.

In another timely shift in approach to the rich archival documentation he uncovers continually, Fernando Picó offers six "microbiographies" (life stories of ordinary people) to illustrate the advantages of embracing certain aspects of postmodernism in the writing of history. A brief introduction traces the impact on Puerto Rican historiography of a number of intellectual currents (Marxism, structuralism, dependency theory, quantitative studies, social history) and situates Picó's own work comfortably within the European camp, namely the *Annales* school and its offshoots. The "new historians"—that group of scholars that from the early 1970s has made use of theoretical and methodological tools available in Puerto Rico and abroad to give meaning to the Puerto Rican past



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beyond the study of institutions and events, among which Picó stands out as a revered founding member—now face the challenge of postmodernism. In order to affirm that historical texts are more than literature, Picó asserts, the academic community should engage in sound research and writing rather than in theoretical debates. His unearthing of data on "historically unimportant" figures (an African-descent family from slavery to freedom, an alleged separatist landowner, a Jesuit priest, a powerful local strongman, an anti-imperialist journalist, a popular outlaw) in notarial records, parish registers, police reports, and court hearings is Picó's response to his own summons.

All six microbiographies are narratives about the lives of the persons under scrutiny, woven together through vital statistics, records on the acquisition of property, descriptions of political activity, tales of occupational undertakings, and the like. Picó offers provocative suggestions, as is his style, regarding the potential uses of the information he provides, but he is careful to present his "examination of private life and civil society" as a "necessary complement to the history of public institutions" (p. 27). He leaves it up to the reader, quite purposefully, to speculate on "how our society represented its alternatives to itself and was able to approve and disapprove [of] the social repercussions of individual actions" (p. 189). The nineteenth-century social actors whose lives Picó examines struggled to shape their circumstances in different ways. Although it is impossible for us—historians and readers of history—to determine what meaning these men (women play as insignificant a role in Picó's recounting of the past as women's history does in his compendium of historiographical forces) gave their lives, it is imperative to note that there was not a single path to follow even in the nineteenth century (pp. 188–89).

The two most interesting accounts in the book, in my opinion, are the histories of two slave families in Utuado and the microbiography of don Cayetano Estrella. Picó uses the first slave family (which he partially traces for three generations) to suggest that freedmen and freedwomen could have taken advantage of a wide array of economic opportunities in the Puerto Rican highlands to advance their social position and improve their material circumstances. The second slave family is illustrative of the difficulty of maintaining an inherited piece of land intact during the transition to commercial agriculture. Both family histories force historians and *utuadeños* alike to question the insignificance of slave work in the Puerto Rican highlands and the racial purity that is claimed as a result of this alleged absence.

The story of the leader of the Estrellada, a supposedly separatist movement in Camuy on the eve of abolition, brings forth Picó's best. He begins with a synopsis of conflicting assessments of the historical importance of the event, digs up assorted details surrounding the controversial figure of Cayetano Estrella, describes the municipality of Camuy at mid-century, and returns to the Estrellada through the eyes of several contemporaries. He concludes with an eloquent paragraph on the role of fear in the political trajectory of Puerto Rico, especially in recent history. Picó's frontal encounter with the workings of economic and political power, both past and present, makes of the inclusion of this episode the much-sought-after validation of the task of the historian of the 1990s.

The publication of this book confirms the position of Puerto Rico's, and especially Picó's, scholarly production at the vanguard of Caribbean historiography. It also signals the need for more thorough, more consistent, more responsible, and more committed efforts on the part of all historians.

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STEVE J. STERN. *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 478. $29.95.

The "secret history" as Steve J. Stern argues, lies not so much in presenting unfamiliar arguments that "may have a certain ring of familiarity to students of gender" but in the way that "the entire package of gender stories and political stories, analysis, and theorization fit together and yield implications" (p. x). Stern explores how patriarchal gender ideals and values may have been experienced in daily life among the Mexican poor in the eighteenth century. His central focus is on late colonial Morelos (1760–1821) but also includes comparative regional studies on Oaxaca and Mexico City. Stern also considers how his findings may have a paradigmatic value for the historical study of gender and politics in other societies, including Western societies.

Stern examines local community life and the daily interactions between women and men from multiple perspectives and their social alliances and connections across familial, extrafamilial, and supralocal levels. He explores the roots of conflict over gender rights and claims and tackles difficult issues of male peasant violence, masculinity and power. He creatively analyzes the social weapons and strategies used by women in their struggles with men, which included what he terms the "pluralization of patriarchs," cultivation of female networks of allies and protectors, threat of supernatural retribution, appeal to higher authorities, and threats of scandal. Stern argues that the conflicts (which included lots of domestic violence) over gender rights and obligations produced "contested patriarchal pacts" that revealed tensions between "a contingent or conditional model of gender right and power and a more absolute or innate framework. Women generally contested not patriarchal first principles as such but their operational meaning in the practical workings of everyday life" (p. 299).

Stern develops this finding to argue that subaltern women and men developed their own ideas about



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gender relations and legitimate gender authority. In so doing he argues that the idea of a single code of honor/shame that reflected gender values and social relations in colonial Mexican society should be replaced by one that incorporates plural, alternative, and competing gender codes. Stern also explores the ways in which gendered social relations of power between and among the sexes may have created a basis for understandings of authority and power in general. He suggests that a familial metaphor (good fathers versus irresponsible parasites) served as a powerful language of cohesion and legitimacy in popular political culture. A second implication of this argument for the author is that peasant political culture was marked by a deep contradiction between a political vision that incorporated both hierarchical (privilege, subordination, and obedience to authority) and egalitarian (service, reciprocity, and a conditional basis of authority) impulses. Finally, Stern argues that comparative regional analysis allows him to apply his central findings on gender and power at a supraregional level while identifying and accommodating regional idiosyncrasies across Mexican regions.

This is a theoretically sophisticated and empirically rich study of gender and popular political culture in colonial Mexico. Regrettably, it is not an easy book to read. The text is repetitious and sprinkled with unnecessary and ultimately unhelpful digressions, a problem compounded by the author's dense, often mind-numbing prose (as in "in vertical social contexts the contrapuntal interplays of masculinity and power at best yielded a standoff; a preservation of dignity and self-esteem within a structure of power that assigned subaltern men positions of powerlessness and degradation" [p. 172]). Readers will no doubt find room to debate the author's interpretation and presentation of evidence (there is a fair amount of upstreaming and speculation). The assumption of historians working within a framework of a single code of honor/shame is overstated, and the argument that subordinate women challenged patriarchy is hardly a "secret." His discussion of Mexico City and its patriarchal "crisis," while suggestive, outstrips the evidence presented. There are hints as to the relevance of both the church and Catholicism, but the discussion is underdeveloped and strained, leaving the reader to wonder whether local religion had any influence on popular conceptions of authority and legitimacy among both men and women. Such misgivings notwithstanding, this is a provocative exercise in exploring what James Scott terms the infra-politics of colonial peasant communities through its gendered dimensions. It illuminates in a variety of ways the complex relationship between colonialism and patriarchalism.

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ANA MARÍA ALONSO. *Thread of Blood: Colonialism, Revolution, and Gender on Mexico's Northern Frontier.* (Hegemony and Experience: Critical Studies in Anthropology and History.) Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 303. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

How could murder, seemingly an act of particular solitude, lead to the fraternity of revolution? What if you were white, male, and lured to eighteenth-century Chihuahua, primed to trade Apache scalps for land? What if the Apaches' military cunning proves you inept, so that their defeat is contingent on your appropriation of their skills? What if your persistent insecurities led you to devise an ideology equating Apache defeat with honor? All of this—the frontier laden with Indian bodies, values tangled and askew, sexuality rent with confusion—occurred, and for nothing. For what if, down a long historical path, Porfirio Díaz's government deemed your efforts, your body itself redundant? There might be nothing for it but to ally with a revolutionary fighting force.

Had Ana María Alonso restricted herself to reconstructing this ethnohistory, her book would have been an important achievement. Indeed, while the presence of machismo in Mexico continues to be felt in virtually every aspect of life, its equally widespread denial long hampered the kind of probing intellectual work that leads to first-rate scholarship. While one could hope for a study of its reproduction, consequences, transformation over time, and its connection to constraints that hamper creativity, until recently these hopes have been largely in vain.

But Alonso does more: she invites us to observe the dance of war, honor, ethnic and gender fury in the Chihuahua village of Namiquipa. Central to this work is her insightful grasp of the complex series of equations and oppositions involved in developing a specific version of masculinity. These mathematical propositions turn on themselves in suggestive and disturbing ways. For example, if you were white, how were you to demonstrate your manhood? Through murder and copulation, or, as Alonso puts it, "fighting and fucking" (p. 100). Yet white male anxiety seemingly filled a bottomless pool: How many scalps, how many women were simultaneously to be celebrated and silenced? How much glory would suffice to still men's qualms? Turning to the language of the body, Chihuahuan whites devised images of Indians barbarous while alive but desirable once dead. To murder an Indian man was to castrate him, to feminize him. Dead, the Indian was equated with both women and the land. Tame, receptive, he—now she—awaited fertilization at the hands of virile (that is, white) men. We are led to suspect that white men's sexuality was one part sadism, one part necrophilia.

This is edgy stuff, and the edge is compelling and tragic. It is also deeply hopeful, for Alonso skillfully demonstrates that this was but one construction of masculinity. Yet her promise to show how male Chihuahuan subjectivities were constructed remains a tease. We learn much of the ideology that made



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Apaches and women into outsiders and that at times equated Indians with women. Still, our learning remains aloof from the men's emotional lives. A handful of writers have viewed human empathy as an obstacle to murder. One wonders, then, how these Chihuahua men learned to quell their fellow feeling? What happened to their subjectivity when they murdered? When they publicly silenced women as tough as the Namiquipa women seemingly were? Didn't these men feel it? Why don't we? Still, this concern should not overshadow Alonso's important accomplishment.

MARJORIE BECKER
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MARJORIE BECKER. *Setting the Virgin on Fire: Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán Peasants, and the Redemption of the Mexican Revolution*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 188. Cloth $45.00, paper $17.00.

Post-revisionist writing on the Mexican Revolution is taking a subaltern turn. The contribution of the subordinated to dominant political formations, it seems, has rarely been recognized, much less acknowledged. Conventional political history, apparently, misunderstands and disdains peasants when it does not simply reproduce the myths and misrepresentations of official history. Marjorie Becker, on the other hand, promises to deliver us from cultural callousness and analytical blindness; she offers "a new conceptual framework" (p. xiv) and believes her book presents a story that "has not been told" (p. 1).

Aspects of this story have in fact been told before, although perhaps not in such a vivid way. It concerns what in Mexico is called the institutionalization of the Revolution in a regional setting: the formation of a (semi)popular, (semi)responsive, and (extraordinarily) stable post-revolutionary state. Official history invented a unified popular Revolution and accepted the politicians' mystification of state reformation: the Revolution made government. Revisionist history, at least as oversimplified by its critics, presented a slick post-revolutionary state that manipulated, decomissioned, and incorporated peasants and workers and their organizations. Political elites and their institutions made history, while peasants and other subalterns reacted to it. Becker's cultural history argues that the revolutionary political elites did not understand religious peasants and were unable to turn them into anticlerical *agraristas*. In this she is obviously correct, and her efforts to penetrate and portray *campesino* cultures are very interesting and innovative. By reading the scant documentation against the grain and interviewing surviving participants or their children, Becker reconstructs Michoacán's campesino cultures as multidimensional, focused on land and religion, yes, but also on politics, ideas, gender roles, and much more. She laces her history with metaphor and even interrupts the "linear narrative formula" (p. 95 n.73) here and there to experiment with form. This is not another dull history monograph with every trace of personal style excised. The artistry of this book, however, cannot disguise its wildly overblown but undernourished claim that President Lázaro Cárdenas moderated the Revolution and modified the post-revolutionary state following the advice of Michoacán's *campesinos*: "Schooling the revolutionaries in their cultures, [Michoacán's *campesinos*] attained greater participation in the national political arena. At the same time, they enabled Lázaro Cárdenas to bind them—and peasants all over Mexico—more securely to the post revolutionary government" (p. 9).

Revisionist historians since the 1970s have recognized and written about this new, post-revolutionary process of mass politics. Scholars such as Romana Falcón, Heather Fowler-Salamini, Raymond Buve, Dudley Ankerson, and Carlos Martínez Assad, to name a few, have long portrayed it as a complicated interaction, not simply a top-down manipulation of peasants and workers by so-called revolutionary *políticos*. This story has been told before in a regional setting, it has been told more thoroughly, and it has been documented. Becker argues that *campesinos*' letters to Cárdenas requesting the reopening of churches were ignored at first. When the president was under conservative pressure, however, he turned ("perhaps," Becker adds) to the letters. "As he read them, the Indians' lessons began to sink in. There could be another way to forge a government" (p. 135), "a more effective way to reconstruct the post revolutionary government" (p. 155). Becker continues that "possessing the letters," "culling through the letters" (p. 158), Cárdenas knew when to listen and *campesinos* relinquished part of their knowledge. Becker concludes, "If there has been subtlety in this form of government, it is largely due to the Michoacán peasantry and their redemption of the Mexican revolution" (p. 162).

The story is a pleasing and moral tale of subaltern influence. But one crucial element is missing: proof (or even significant evidence) that these particular peasants really influenced Cárdenas and, through him, the course of Mexican state policy. Yes, these letters are addressed to the president and found in his archive. They were from his fellow Michoacanos, they adopted a revolutionary idiom, and they made political sense. His archive, however, is filled with many thousands of letters from every state, and we simply do not know which ones (if any) he read. Yes, Cárdenas did modify his course, but causes cannot be deduced from results. There are other possible explanations that Becker oversimplifies or ignores. There is no evidence presented or alluded to that demonstrates that Cárdenas read these particular letters or was influenced by them in any way. As an exercise in literary imagination and sensibility, Becker's book is admirable. But its central thesis remains unproven. Michoacán's *campesinos* did not save the Revolution from ideological rigidity, and neither did Cárdenas. In the 1920s and 1930s, politicians, intellectuals, journalists, historians, and other



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*voceros* of the Revolution accomplished much of this by retroactively and symbolically harmonizing the hostile factional revolutionary traditions that arose in the 1910s into the big tent of the revolutionary tradition.

THOMAS BENJAMIN
*Central Michigan University*

ROBERT M. CARMACK. *Rebels of Highland Guatemala: The Quiché-Mayas of Momostenango*. (Civilization of the American Indian series, number 215.) Norman: University of Oklahomam Press. 1995. Pp. xxxiv, 525. $39.95.

This book is Robert M. Carmack's long awaited ethnohistory of Momostenango, a Quiché-Maya *municipio* in the western highlands of Guatemala on which Carmack has conducted ethnographic, archival, and archaeological research since 1966. Carmack covers economic and political changes in Momostenango as they took place in four periods (prehispanic, colonial, early Republican, and modern), which he treats as roughly equivalent in importance. Coverage of each period is broken into four chapters: an introductory chapter that situates the period in terms of national developments, then three chapters on Momostenango proper that treat material conditions, the authority structure, and political conflict. A short introduction to the book situates Momostenango in Guatemala and positions Carmack with respect to his "guiding theoretical orientation," which seems to be largely Weberian. Some attention is paid to economy and demography, but the vast bulk of the ethnohistory is devoted to describing political relations: Quiché-Maya and Spanish/Ladino forms of patriarchal, patrimonial, and bureaucratic authority systems in Momostenango. Carmack also treats several Momostenango rebellions brought on by contradictions among these authority systems.

Three brief appendixes include a translation of a Momostenango *título*, Nijaib II, a discussion of Indian labor obligations (half of which were devoted to military service) during the early Republican period, and a summary of demographic trends. Extensive footnotes reference virtually all the important historical and ethnographic literature on western Guatemala, together with Carmack's many other writings on Momostenango and Guatemala, and the book has a wonderfully detailed index.

While thorough and filled with hundreds of interesting observations, the book is somewhat disappointing in that it adds little to our previous understanding of the Quiché-Mayas (much of which is based on Carmack's earlier work). In fact, Carmack manages to depict an especially fascinating indigenous community as rather flat and dreary. Momostenango is a poor indigenous *municipio* in the western highlands, yet one whose inhabitants have managed to wrest a living from its extremely limited resource base with little export of plantation labor. Though heavily commercialized and cosmopolitan, Momostecos maintain a greater allegiance to traditional Maya religion than virtually any other *municipio* in the highlands. There is an astounding number of priest-shamans (*chuchkajaw*) in Momostenango, strong retention of traditional clan-lineage property arrangements (and of extended households), a relatively high rate of polygynous marriage, and what appears to be a strong sense of loyalty to place and ancestors. None of these relatively unique features of Momostenango is explicated in any way.

In addition, Momostecos are depicted as "rebellious," but oddly so: as Carmack sees it, Momostecos mainly want to replace the Ladino/Spanish form of patriarchal caudillistic militarism with an indigenous form of patriarchal caudillistic militarism! It is certainly welcome to read a non-romanticized depiction of Maya culture, but I have some problems with this interpretation. In my view, the Weberian analytical constructs Carmack uses (patriarchal, patrimonial, bureaucratic) are simply too blunt to compare the Spanish colony or the Ladino nation-state to Momostenango community patterns. Logically, one needs to differentiate between imperial, national, and community levels of sociocultural integration.

Part of the problem is that Carmack takes Momostenango to be a sample of "traditional" Quiché-Maya culture, which he then compares to Spanish colonial and Ladino post-colonial culture. Momostenango, however, is a distinct community and today, while it is fully Maya, it is also fully modern and not necessarily more "traditional" than any other Quiché-Maya community. It is especially important to make this distinction in the present era because a major Maya cultural revival is taking place in which some Maya leaders are attempting to purify current Maya culture by replacing "modern" features with "traditional" ones. It would have been helpful had Carmack made the point that modern Maya today are "authentically" Maya, whether they are computer hackers or sacrificers of chickens in putatively traditional ceremonies, just as "modern" Japanese are authentically Japanese whether they are computer designers or practitioners of ostensibly traditional martial arts. Despite these complaints, this book is an extremely important addition to the literature on the Maya. It does not compare one Quiché-Maya community with others or explicate why Momostenango is so different from many other Quiché-Maya (linguistic) communities. But it does provide a greater wealth of local and historical detail than we have on any other Maya community in Guatemala, and this information is now available for others who are more concerned with comparative analyses.

CAROL A. SMITH
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KAREN VIEIRA POWERS. *Andean Journeys: Migration, Ethnogenesis, and the State in Colonial Quito*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 236. $39.95.



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Karen Vieira Powers's well-written and impeccably organized book focuses on migration as a colonial survival strategy. In the course of collecting and reviewing the historical data from archives in Spain and Ecuador, she explains the unusual patterns of Quito's demographic history and provides a clearer understanding of how different North Andean ethnic groups struggled to save their lives, their communities, and their cultural identities under Spanish colonial rule. Throughout, her carefully crafted prose and nuanced arguments show the continuing agency of mostly unchronicled peoples in forming the larger colonial regime to about 1700.

Powers divides the book into five major chapters. In the first, she presents demographic analysis to show that while most native American populations were declining rapidly, the population of Quito experienced growth. This increase, however, was "more apparent than real" (p. 19). It can be explained by studying population movement. Powers carries this analysis forward in chapter two, showing that, in contrast to the sixteenth-century movements that kept the native population in the Indian sphere, seventeenth-century migration increasingly directed the population into the Spanish sphere. The following chapter discusses the formation of the colonial state and its endeavors to gain control over Andean peoples. In chapter four, she shows the relationship between migration and the survival of the *cacicazgo* or native community. Successful Andean chiefs used the creation of private work forces and land rental strategies to maintain or strengthen communal viability. In the last substantive chapter, Powers shows how native labor and land passed progressively into Spanish hands and led to the rise of the "intruder *cacique*" and the reconstitution of Andean society.

Thus, the study of migration is used to make significant contributions to the study of North Andean demographic trends, community ethnogenesis, and the role of the *cacique* or chief. It joins a growing list of fine works on colonial Ecuador by John Leddy Phelan, Frank Salomon, Christiana Borchart de Moreno, and Segundo E. Moreno Yañez, among others. Powers's combination of theory and empirical detail also makes this one of the most important books to come out of the Sanchez-Albornoz school. It is the product of years of work in archives and libraries, penetrating thought, and critical analysis, and it will long stand as a tribute to Powers's mentor's leadership and her own pursuit of excellence.

SUSAN E. RAMÍREZ
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KENNETH J. ANDRIEN. *The Kingdom of Quito, 1690–1830: The State and Regional Development*. (Cambridge Latin American Series, number 80.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 255. $59.95.

Exceptionally well documented and thoroughly researched, this monograph is a solid statement on the presence of polynuclear economies in colonial Latin America. Anteceded by the pioneering work of Eric Van Young on colonial Mexico (*Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* [1981]), Kenneth J. Andrien's work on colonial Ecuador reaches conclusions that reinforce some economic historians' views on the autochthonous dynamism of the colonial economies in Latin America. Andrien forcefully argues that the royal government's fiscal and political policies constrained economic activities in colonial Ecuador to the point of channeling human and natural resources toward imperial political and economic goals. Imperial policy combined with endogenous factors, such as the rugged intermontane valleys, to create a triad of markets and royal treasury centers based in Quito, Cuenca, and Guayaquil. Each one of these centers responded to economic stimuli generated in New Granada (for Quito), Mexico City (for Guayaquil), and Upper Peru (for Cuenca).

Andean Amerindians followed economic prosperity from one flourishing economic and ecological habitat to the next. Thus, some Amerindians abandoned the north central sierra zone, where the textile industry was experiencing low return to investment in the early eighteenth century, because the Spanish crown opened colonial textile markets to cheaper and higher quality European cloth. They migrated to the coastal or south sierra, where they found export economies of scale that provided them with the needed income to meet their tribute responsibilities and still provide subsistence.

Responding to the income-multiplier effects that originated in the export-led economies of the Ecuadorian coast (cacao cultivation for export in Guayaquil in the late eighteenth century) and in the colonial core areas (silver mining activities in Upper Peru), European entrepreneurs residing in the Kingdom of Quito shifted productive functions (land, labor, and capital) from subsistence endeavors to the production of foodstuffs and textiles, establishing a final demand linkage with Lima and Guayaquil. Lima, the trading center of Upper Peru, harbored the trading houses that exerted some control over the economic activities in the Kingdom of Quito. In Guayaquil, Mexican trading houses controlled the marketing end of the cacao trade, cultivation having been left to local European entrepreneurs. All these export activities—cacao on the coast, silver mining in Upper Peru, wool in the north central sierra, and cotton and wool in the southern sierra—generated forward, backward, final demand, and fiscal linkages with the domestic economy.

Andrien's punctilious, exhaustive analysis of the royal treasury accounts reveal how the Bourbon government fostered the regionalization of markets and fiscal decentralization in the Kingdom of Quito. Although it could be said that there was an autochthonous economic dynamism in colonial Ecuador, this was arrested by the Spanish crown's fiscal and political policies. Thus, "by the late colonial period, state intervention in the economy had become steadily more



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direct, consistent, and damaging to economic development. Commercial regulations, royal monopolies, and regressive taxes impeded manufacturing, agriculture, and commerce" (p. 221). After independence, the republican government did nothing to generate an environment suitable for economic development. Amerindians, the largest portion of the population and the sector that could have promoted the creation of internal markets, were not part of its economic equation. Andrien's comparison of Bourbon and republican government policies leads him to conclude that "the state promoted policies that created a discriminatory, arbitrary, and irrational economic environment for promoting sustained, autonomous development. In the end, Spanish colonialism exacted far too high a price, promoting patterns of dependent development that endured well beyond the independence of Ecuador in 1830" (p. 222).

This monograph contributes to the current historiographical debate on dependency theory and the world capitalist system models. Although his study constitutes an indictment of both, Andrien acknowledges the contributions these models have made toward explaining the genesis of economically developing nations. I highly recommend this thorough study.

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OSCAR CORNBLIT. *Power and Violence in the Colonial City: Oruro from the Mining Renaissance to the Rebellion of Tupac Amaru (1740–1782)*. Translated by ELIZABETH LADD GLICK. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 76.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 230. $59.95.

This is an interesting, important, but uneven book. Primarily a political history (with economic and social factors woven in), it centers on Oruro, an important mining center in Upper Peru (present-day Bolivia) the economy of which, in spite of a brief upswing in 1761, fell into decline by 1779. Against a backdrop of general economic decay, Oscar Cornblit looks at two key events in eighteenth-century Oruro: the conflict in the Cabildo (1740) and the Indian rebellion (1781). Although the first event damaged the cohesion of the elite, the second event physically and socially destroyed the city.

Although Cornblit briefly discusses the Indian population of the region, the study stresses the actions and reactions of the Spanish elite. Especially important were the divisions into creole (American-born) and peninsular factions, as well as personal loyalties. The degree to which internal politics created personal animosities and local agendas, and the way these politics molded the vision of competing factions is an important theme throughout the book.

By far the most interesting sections of the book are the later chapters, where Cornblit reconstructs in fascinating detail the widely disseminated Tupac Amaru uprising of 1780–1781 and the local Oruro uprising of January-February 1781. In addition to outlining the events leading up to the most important Indian rebellion in colonial Latin America, Cornblit presents an interesting discussion of the role of the *corregidor* in colonial governance of Hispanic towns. Although other Spanish populations were startled by the sudden transformation of the Andean peoples from complacent tribute payers to fierce rebels, he believes that one faction of the Oruro elite attempted to regain power by allying themselves with the invading native peoples. In essence, Cornblit sees the widespread destruction of the Oruro uprising as a creole gambit gone wrong.

Cornblit is a proponent of narrative history, and he narrates well. He justifies his methodology by arguing that "the narrative style ... is less dependent on underlying preconceptions [and] permits various interpretations to be imposed upon it, thus allowing readers to make their own choices" (p. ix). But even narrative history needs some conclusions. Furthermore, this narration might have been better served by a greater degree of social analysis. For example, the step-by-step story of the factionalism that sundered the Cabildo in the 1740s might be more comprehensible if Cornblit had provided some information on the social and business links of the major characters (kinship, both real and fictive, and partnerships). Although Cornblit hopes to connect the Cabildo fight to the later rebellion, because he jumps over the forty years intervening between the two events the tie becomes somewhat tenuous. Furthermore, the text, translated from the Spanish, is at times a bit choppy; at other times, it suffers from infelicitous word choice.

In spite of these shortcomings, Cornblit's study is important because it revises our vision of politics in colonial Latin America in several important ways. By giving new importance to politics and political actors themselves, he stresses the role of the local elite and the colonial governors in everyday and not-so-everyday occurrences. Cornblit also shows that these politics could be deeply divisive in local society, weakening that society and affecting its ability to respond to emergencies in a logical or coherent fashion. The unraveling of power in the face of violence helps us further understand the dramatic shifts that marked the Bourbon century of reform in Spanish America.

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LEANDRO H. GUTIÉRREZ and LUIS ALBERTO ROMERO. *Sectores populares, cultura y política: Buenos Aires en la entreguerra*. (Colección Historia y Cultura.) Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana. 1995. Pp. 212.

This book brings together papers previously published in Latin America that are the products of research begun a decade ago, when the question of democracy was a recurrent theme among Argentine intellectuals.



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The electoral triumph of *Alfonsinismo* further reinforced these concerns and provided a propitious framework for the critical rethinking of some aspects of the popular support for Peronism, the loser in the 1983 elections. In that context, Leandro H. Gutiérrez and Luis Alberto Romero have revised the widely accepted interpretation that saw in the *Peronista* experience the result of state deployment of a propagandistic apparatus resulting in the modeling of a particular political and cultural identity that made the masses "available."

Gutiérrez and Romero were interested in the cultural tradition upon which the *Peronista* message of the early 1940s made an impact. This led them to explore the moment of the formation of popular sectors. They did not focus on the period 1880–1910, however, when the dominant characteristics of this sector were its great ethnic diversity, high levels of residentlal concentration, marginalization from the political-electoral process, a culture shaped by the world of work, and a contestatory identity strongly influenced by anarchism. Instead, they focused on the 1920s and 1930s, when the working-class and contestatory identity of the previous period became diffused as a result of unrestricted male suffrage, the Argentinization of the children of immigrants, a successful process of schooling strongly supported by the state, and residential dispersion into urban peripheries on the part of legions of homeowners.

This book is primarily concerned with culture and its reproduction in the neighborhoods, particularly with the role played by local intermediaries, the content of the channeled messages, and the resources used. In this context, according to Gutiérrez and Romero, a popular, conformist, and reformist identity was forged in which work was no longer a decisive element, the reigning political and social norms were accepted, and hopes of radically changing society were abandoned. There was a strong belief in the role of the state in directing social change, in individual improvement, and in social justice and collaboration among different social groups. According to the authors, it was this identity—which at moments became fused with that of the middle classes themselves—and the new context defined by industrialization and a reborn *obrerismo* that facilitated the reception of the novel political message articulated by Perón.

These provocative interpretations have fueled much work and generated an ongoing debate. Some have argued that the use of the category "popular sectors" has the effect of replacing social class as a concept and tends to suggest an almost conflict-free society. Others maintain that the old world of work was still prevalent over the world of the barrio. Still others have noted that the effort to trace continuities with *Peronismo* do not take sufficiently into account the precedents of 1890–1910. Finally, there are those who note the relevance of Catholicism—a theme only mentioned in one of the articles—along with lay progressivism in the making of the new reformist culture.

These reservations only highlight the relevance of this volume to Argentine historiography. The book serves as a tribute to the role of the recently deceased Gutiérrez. Although not the most prolific of writers, his comments and ideas have been an important source of inspiration for many historians of his own generation, as well as for a younger generation of historians who have cultivated an interest in urban problems from a social-historical perspective.

DIEGO ARMUS
*Kean College*

ROBERT A. POTASH. *The Army and Politics in Argentina, 1962–1973: From Frondizi's Fall to the Peronist Restoration*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 547. $55.00.

This weighty volume concludes Robert A. Potash's monumental study of the army in twentieth-century Argentina. The two previous volumes covered 1928–1945 and 1945–1962. Both have been translated and widely read in Argentina, where the author is an acknowledged authority on the subject. His notable success in analyzing this complex topic again puts the lie to those skeptics, both North American and Latin American, who once argued that North American scholars were incapable of "understanding" Latin America.

The years covered by this volume stretch from the deposing of President Arturo Frondizi in 1962 to the re-election of former President Juan Perón in 1973. This period saw a tortured process by which ambitious military officers tried every stratagem to prevent the return of Perón or the *Peronistas*. It was a losing battle, as the wily Perón manipulated his followers from the comfort of his luxurious estate outside Madrid. Meanwhile, an inept Radical Party leadership was failing to fill the vacuum of civilian political leadership.

The years covered in this volume include the dictatorship launched by General Juan Onganía in 1966. This repressive regime shocked many civilians at the time, although it proved to be only a pale hint of the repressive nightmare into which the military dragged Argentinian society after the coup of 1976.

By concentrating almost exclusively on military politics in the narrow sense—primarily political relations among military officers and between officers and leading civilians, Potash necessarily devotes less attention to the larger socio-economic context. The military qovernments, for example, normally subscribed to the "liberal" economic policies of such finance ministers as Adalberto Krieger Vasena, with all that implied for Argentina's industry and working-class wages.

Potash sticks very close to his sources, and this makes for a dense narrative. Much of the text might be labeled "conversations among generals." On the other hand, he has given us essential building blocks for future attempts at an integrated history of these years.

One may ask how the military came to play such a prominent role in twentieth-century Argentina. The



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answer has to do with the deadlock that existed in civilian politics once the polarization produced by Peronism had made political compromise impossible. The military used their veto against the *Peronistas* to promote their own interests, which often included gaining advantage in inter-service rivalries and enjoying the material benefits of high office. What must impress any reader is the extent to which military officers persisted in believing that they could dictate the terms of change in a complex and dynamic society. And they attempted it through the application of ideological formulae that remained unintelligible to most Argentines.

It is a mark of Potash's success as a researcher that he has been able to gain access to personal archives, especially in a country where such collections are closely held. His major coup was his use of the personal papers of General Alejandro Lanusse, president from 1971 to 1973 and the key figure in arranging the return of Perón to power.

The ultimate question is why the military should have allowed their longtime nemesis to return. One answer is that the generals had simply run out of ideas about how to govern. A more cynical answer is that, given a growing guerrilla threat, they wanted to let the *Peronistas* take the blame for the necessary repression.

Potash has spent more than forty years following the political moves of Argentina's military officers. Students of modern Latin American history are in his debt for the meticulously documented story he has given us.

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# Film Reviews

THE GREAT WAR AND THE SHAPING OF THE 20TH CENTURY. Episode 1: "Explosion," 2: "Stalemate," 3: "Total War," 4: "Slaughter," 5: "Mutiny," 6: "Collapse," 7: "Hatred and Hunger," 8: "War without End." Produced by Blaine Baggett, Carl Byker, David Mrazek, Lyn Goldfarb, and Jay Winter, for KCET, Los Angeles/BBC, London, in association with the Imperial War Museum; directed by Carl Byker, Lyn Goldfarb, Margaret Koval; written by Jay Winter and Blaine Baggett with Carl Byker, Lyn Goldfarb, and Joseph Angier; chief historian, Jay Winter. 1996; color and black & white; 8 hours. Distributor: PBS Home Video.

Eight hours on World War I are hard for viewers to cope with, and no doubt were hard (as well as expensive) to create. (In a brief article on the making of the film, Jay Winter mentions it cost 5 million dollars, *History Workshop Journal* 42 [Autumn 1996].) The result is a very powerful film that at the same time is unsatisfactory in a number of ways. Its defects may well be in large part the fault of the medium, or at least the constraints that those who work in film feel they must operate under. It is said that one picture is worth a thousand words, but having now watched this film twice I am not so sure. Or, to put it another way, pictures without satisfactory explanations do not work as well as they should. The relentless images are stimulating and interesting, and there are many "talking heads," including, most prominently, Winter himself, as well as other highly respected experts, such as Sir Michael Howard, Paul Fussell, Trevor Wilson, David Kennedy, Robert Wohl, and three bright young English scholars, Niall Ferguson, Sarah O'Brien-Twohig, and Orlando Figes. But the role of these experts is mostly to move along the innumerable short stories that make up the film, with little consideration for what each might mean in any broader sense. (For instance, Trevor Wilson in his magisterial book *The Myriad Faces of War: Britain and the Great War 1914–1918* [1986] argues that the war was necessary and Germany had to be defeated, a position contrary to the thrust of this film.) As the cliché that one imparts to students has it: the point is not only to tell the story but to say what it might mean. Except in a sweeping sense, to be discussed later, these stories and the images they invoke seem frequently devoid of meaning and significance beyond themselves. Perhaps that is the point.

And there is not really a satisfactory narrative. Would the viewer who does not know something about the war beforehand really understand what is going on, other than meaningless death and destruction? Apparently, the received wisdom is that the viewer cannot be expected to follow a story line for more than five or ten minutes in a documentary film that is attempting to deal with an event as multifaceted as the first world war. The solution here is to divide the story into many short takes. But, with some exceptions, the only connecting link is chronology, as we are led inexorably through the four horrible years of the war and beyond.

Another documentary convention that is highly regarded but that I found both effective and also disconcerting is the use of magnificent still photographs, with close-ups of various parts of them, and powerful film clips of the time, interspersed with color film made now, most notably, of recreated, slightly fake rooms allegedly occupied by unseen narrators. One example is the room in Paris of the British reporter Philip Gibbs, with curtains blowing and a period typewriter shown as we hear his words spoken by one of the stable of splendid actors, mostly English, who perform in this film.

The decision was also made to have the non-English figures speak English but with the appropriate accent, which at times sounds rather comic. It would have been better to have dispensed with the accents, as appeared to be done, quite effectively, in the case of Rosa Luxemburg and George Grosz. The film is narrated rather unusually and innovatively by a woman, Sabine Jens, but unfortunately the tone is always the same: portentous and gloomy, reinforced by the music by Mason Daring, with a repeated theme that tells us that more death is on its way.

*The Great War* begins with the death of poet/soldier Wilfred Owen days before the war ended. Owen and compatriot Siegfried Sassoon provide something of a frame to the eight hours, as the last sequence (and the title of the last story) is given to a reading of Sassoon's poem "Aftermath." The first short story, "Young Willy," concentrates on Kaiser Wilhelm, more or less arguing that the war was caused by the psychological effect on him of his withered arm, even though there is



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a disclaimer that it was a "symbolic" cause, as no one person could have brought about the war. The second, "Approaching Storm," is one of the few times that there is some historical explanation: that the war came about for psychological reasons on a larger scale, as has been suggested by George Dangerfield in *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (1935) and James Joll in *The Origins of the First World War* (1984): i.e., there was violence in the air, from the women's suffrage movement in Britain (discussed on-screen by Diane Atkinson) and the workers' movement in France. For Germany, painters are used to make the points: Ludwig Meidner, Otto Dix, and George Grosz. For Britain, it is largely poets, and the major cultural expression mentioned for France is Abel Gance's film *J'accuse*.

Most of the segments tend to concentrate on individuals, either rulers such as Nicholas and Alexandra or ordinary or not-so-ordinary lesser figures about whom material has survived. Various countries are looked at: for Russia, the activity and the fate of the tsar and tsarina is a major theme, although there is much footage about the revolution and a fair amount about Maria Botchkareva, who led a women's battalion. In the seventh episode, picking up on the Russian theme, there is one of the few instances in the film in which the twentieth century is "shaped," as the title promised: the origins of the Cold War are found in the Allied intervention in Russia against the Bolsheviks. In a sense, the American stories also deal with the shaping of the century. They concentrate on two individuals, Woodrow Wilson and an obscure captain in France, Harry Truman, the man who later would authorize the dropping of the atom bomb.

Endless battles appear to dominate the film: the mud, the trenches, the death of nine million on the Western Front and elsewhere. (Winter quite rightly won his battle with the BBC that the episode that has the most fighting should be called "Slaughter" rather than "Sacrifice.") These events are personalized through the concentration, for instance, on an Irish soldier, John Lucy, on the mutiny of the French troops told via a French soldier, Louis Barthas. Some time is spent on the home front, such as on the female munitions workers in Britain, "The Girls with Yellow Hands," and the degree to which their lives, too, were at risk.

I found the framework of the presentation awkwardly divided. Did the war or the Holocaust shape the twentieth century? A companion volume to the film, *The Great War and the Shaping of the 20th Century* (New York, Penguin Studio, 1996, 432 pp., $40.00), duplicates parts of the film and introduces different but similar material. There we are told that coproducer Blaine Baggett was inspired by his reading of Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975). In many ways, the film is heavily influenced by that classic work, which argues that World War I introduced modernism and shaped how we think about the world. During his participation in the film, Fussell calls the famous Christmas Truce of 1914 "the last twitch of the nineteenth century." On the other hand, Jay Winter's recent book, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (1995), argues to the contrary, that the war was memorialized in pre-1914 ways, that it was not until the Holocaust that we entered a truly different era. Some of the material from Winter's book is used in the film: spiritualism as a way for parents to be in touch with slain soldiers, Gance's *J'accuse*, and artist Käthe Kollwitz's creation of statues of herself and her husband in the cemetery in Belgium where their son is buried. The acknowledgements in the companion volume state: "One of us [Winter] studies what contemporaries of the time called the Great War because it is as close to the great horror of the twentieth century—the Holocaust—as he can bear to stand" (p. 6). That point of view is also present in the film. For instance, there are two short stories that deal with Turkey: heroically in the defeat of the British, Australians, and New Zealanders by the Turks led by Ataturk at Gallipoli, and critically in an account of the Turkish genocide of the Armenians, seen, quite legitimately, as a precursor of the Holocaust. At the end of the film, we have the rise of Hitler, the concentration camps, the bombing of cities—now, both military and civilians are subject to the horrors of war.

What role does film, either fiction or nonfiction, play as a work of history? As discussion on various e-mail networks testifies, a major legitimate claim is that, even with defects, it can stimulate the interest of students and the general public in historical events. No doubt this work, effective and affecting to a degree, was and will be seen by numbers far greater than the readers of the vast literature on World War I. It may well lead many of its viewers to a new or renewed interest in the war. One could only wish that it had been told in a clearer, more coherently interpreted story.

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EVITA. Produced by Robert Stigwood, Alan Parker, and Andrew G. Vajna; directed by Alan Parker; screenplay by Alan Parker and Oliver Stone; music by Andrew Lloyd Webber. 1996; color; 118 minutes. Distributor: CINERGI/Hollywood Pictures.

In mondo Argentino, Santa Evita is Madonna. Sometimes, as Madonna tears across the screen, she plays Eva Perón without much range. But often she plays herself, as for example in a scene where Evita tries on expensive designer clothing: "The people need to adore me / So Christian Dior me," she chants in a self-indulgent reference to her earlier incarnation as the material girl. As much as anything else, *Evita* is about Madonna's very public pursuit of this role and her spiritual identification with Evita. Because of this, the film had become public history long before its release; many Argentines were incensed that Eva



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Perón's memory would be conjured up as vulgar pop culture and a vehicle that might light a fire under Madonna's Hollywood career. Many more will be incensed once they see the movie. In what was, perhaps not coincidentally, a popular British perception of Argentines during the period of military rule—when this musical was originally written—the film wrongly portrays Argentine supporters of Evita as emotional and entranced. Like automatons, they blindly cheer Eva's rise and cry uncontrollably when she dies. The Madonna/Evita transmutation sidesteps Eva Perón as political leader and co-creator of Argentina's most lasting social movement.

Even so, director Alan Parker brings two key historical themes to the screen. First, an important part of what made Evita a political success was her journey from a small town to the capital city. Like thousands of Argentine women between 1890 and 1940, the young Eva Duarte moved to Buenos Aires to escape grinding poverty and confining social hierarchies of race and class. What such women found in Buenos Aires was often harsher still. Most were underemployed or found work in low-paying jobs. There was no upward mobility, no union membership, and no political representation for the vast majority. Sexual exploitation was common in a city that gained international fame in the years just before Evita's birth as a center for international "white slavery." The film depicts all of this discerningly; in the musical numbers that speak to Eva's struggles as a young woman, Madonna is at her best.

By achieving wealth, political power, and syndical authority, Evita beat the system, but she did not overturn it. As "First Lady," Eva continued to resent moneyed elites. Not only did she never forget her social origins, she buttressed her political career by publicly and repeatedly insisting that she would never forget. Eva Perón understood that many of her working-class supporters celebrated her political victories because she was one of them. Over and over, the film correctly highlights Eva's personal and political need to evoke her class roots. Parker shows the very public connection between her most important political act—the founding of the Fundación Eva Perón, which provided social services to the Argentine poor—and her ostracism from Buenos Aires high society.

The film also captures the bipolar cultural and historical character of the debate over this larger-than-life figure. Was Evita, as Madonna asserts, driven to improve the lot of working Argentines? Or was she a protofascist demagogue who enriched herself at the expense of the poor? The latter question is posed in the film by the cynical Ché, an Argentine everyman (toned down from the Cuban revolutionary Ché Guevara character in the stage version of the musical). Played poignantly as a chorus by Antonio Banderas, Ché derides her because "she did nothing for years." That these questions remain unanswered in the film represents ongoing Argentine controversy over the historical Eva. But, by framing the musical around so stark a choice, the film renders frivolous the impact of Peronism on Argentina, Evita's accomplishments, and the popular basis for her political rise.

The film glosses over or ignores four vital aspects of Evita's career. First, Parker brushes past images of Peronism's fascistic underpinnings. Juan Perón is introduced to viewers as a "would-be dictator," and the film ties his rise to the image of jack-booted soldiers repeatedly deposing military leaders to a 1970s hard-rock beat. But viewers will not get a sense of the Peronist corporatist agenda that transformed Argentine government, social structures, and labor relations. Second, without attention to the corporatist foundations of Peronism, the strength of Evita's work in gaining suffrage for Argentine women, union organizing, and political leadership is lost. What the film posits about the Fundación Eva Perón, for example, is true: Evita did use it as a personal political vehicle, throwing money from moving trains to adoring followers, dispensing personal largess, and siphoning off funds for her own use. But it was also a pioneering social-services agency that, under Evita's direction, broke ground for the postwar Argentine social-welfare state. Third, contrary to the film character, Juan Perón was no political lightweight under Evita's sway. Eva's leadership is indisputable, but Juan Perón masterminded and controlled Peronism during the marriage and for more than twenty years after Evita's death. Finally, although many Argentines felt the passion for or against Evita that the film shows, Argentines backed her in the first instance for her political project and through her brief career for all the reasons an informed electorate will support an effective leader: she represented their interests enthusiastically and promised more of the same.

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WARRIOR MARKS. Written and produced by Pratibha Parmar and Alice Walker; directed by Pratibha Parmar. 1993; color; 54 minutes. Distributor: Women Make Movies, 462 Broadway, Suite 500E, New York, NY 10013.

This film, produced by the Pulitzer Prize–winning, best-selling author Alice Walker in collaboration with filmmaker Pratibha Parmar, confronts the sensitive subject of female genital mutilation (FGM), also sometimes euphemistically referred to as female circumcision. The subject matter is critically important, and the potential impact of the film on efforts to eradicate such harmful traditional practices makes it vital to examine the way the film frames FGM.

Walker and Parmar have compiled an impressive array of interviews from African women living in Mali and Senegal and from Nigerian and Ghanaian women living in Europe. Included are Walker's interviews with Awa Thiam, a Senegalese activist with the Commission for the Abolition of Sexual Mutilation, Efua Dorkenoo, a Ghanaian who lives in England and is the



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director of FORWARD International (Foundation for Women's Health, Research and Development, an organization that seeks to eliminate destructive traditional practices), and a stunning interview with a weeping Aminata Diop, a woman who had fled Mali and the certain prospect of mutilation. Walker also interviews Mary, a woman whose child was about to be circumcised, aggressively questions circumcisors, who were for some reason nameless, and provides an opportunity for some young Senegalese girls to explain why they have chosen, with their parents' support, to eschew the tradition.

In one scene, young girls are seated together in a circle in the middle of which a chicken is beheaded and left to die. The implication is that these girls, who are apparently about to undergo the procedure, are nearly as helpless as the chicken. Although the viewer is spared the sight of an actual circumcision, at intervals throughout the film an apparently African-American woman named Richelle, costumed in a manner certainly foreign to African women, performs a dance representative of the horrors of the tradition. A superfluous interview with Tracy Chapman, the American singer, in which she reiterates how awful these customs are as she and Walker sit on the steps of the slave house at Gorée Island, Senegal, is also included.

Early in the film, Walker recounts the tragic childhood incident in which she was blinded in one eye when her brother shot her with a BB gun. As an adult, she came to recognize that injury as a patriarchal wound, and she further argues that this visual mutilation has enabled her to more clearly "see" the subject of genital mutilation. Walker uses her story as a device to become "part of the subject and not just an observer." Although this is certainly a dreadful story, the analogy between her own regrettable injury and female circumcision is tenuous at best. Her logic suggests that little boys who shoot and blind their sisters are participating in a traditional custom sanctioned by this society in much the same fashion as female circumcision is in other societies. This analogy is indicative of Walker's disregard for the pervasiveness and significance of culture as the context for traditional practices.

Although I am sympathetic to, and fully in accord with, Walker's heartfelt commitment to the eradication of FGM, ultimately *Warrior Marks* is problematic and thus must be used with care, especially in the classroom. Compelled by outrage and a sense of urgency, Walker challenges us to demonstrate our love of African children by accepting responsibility for their welfare through the rejection of FGM. Africans, but more specifically African women, are thus accused by implication of not loving their children and assailed as sadistic child abusers. Such accusations fail to account for the central role that circumcision may play in establishing one's identity as a member of a group, in religious beliefs or, as a rite of passage. It also fails to recognize that, for many, circumcision is actually evidence of their love and concern for the welfare of their daughters, while not to circumcise could be construed as abusive because it labels the child as an outcast. Aminata Diop wept in this film because, as a result of her rejection of FGM, she had become an outcast from her family, her village, and her ethnic group. This film has fostered resentment and defensiveness in many African women who have been searching for ways to challenge these practices without becoming outcasts. Thus, despite her laudable intentions, Walker's stance may actually impede efforts to build the critical alliances that can effectively challenge FGM.

By divorcing FGM from its cultural context and affixing the label of torture, Walker's attempt to "stand with mutilated women and not beyond them" is less than successful. Her lack of specificity deflects attention from the rich heritage of Africa's many cultures and societies and has led to the erroneous impression that all African women have been or will be subjected to FGM, when in actuality the practice affects perhaps 50 percent or less. Such an oversight does not encourage the viewer to speculate about why some societies do not practice FGM and what impact that might have on those who do.

On its own, *Warrior Marks* is inadequate for the task of providing comprehensive treatment of FGM and thus must be used with careful attention to its deficiencies. The film lacks critical information concerning the diversity of interrelated issues confronting women in African societies, including (but not limited to) education, health, employment, religion, and politics. Without this background, the complexities of African women's lives is obscured. Viewers should also be apprised of the deeply entrenched role that FGM plays in those societies in which it is practiced and informed about the variety of FGM practices and their differential impact on health. Effective challenges to FGM traditions will emerge from a foundation of sophisticated analyses of the nuances of culture. It is incumbent upon the professor who chooses to show *Warrior Marks* to compensate for its inadequacies.

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# Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

## GENERAL

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# Communications

*A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."*

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

After acknowledging my book, *Uniting Germany: Actions and Reactions* (*AHR* 101 [June 1996]: 870–71) as "comprehensive, and well-balanced," my "main theses . . . clearly stated and perfectly reasonable," and that its "sixteen compact chapters present the concrete political story . . . in a clear and convincing manner," Diethelm Prowe proceeds to criticize it in a begrudging tone. He finds fault with it because it did not do what four other books, discussed by him, concentrated on when dealing with German reunification. Having used much of his review space for this, he somewhat surprisingly concludes that my book "is accurate, clear, complete, and readable."

Well, what can I say? Should I not count my blessings and be satisfied with his praise? I think not. The *AHR* used to give in its cover letter to its reviewers the standard advice not to criticize a book for not being another book. This was wise advice. In particular on topics as vast and important as German reunification, which has generated an enormous literature, one has to make choices on approaches and what to cover within available space. A reviewer should recognize this, and he would serve his readers better by discussing and analyzing the contents and arguments of the book under review rather than by using his limited space to present his views on other authors' discourses. Instead of giving the readers of the *AHR* a fair sense of the book he was asked to review, Prowe discusses four other authors' dealings with some aspect of the topic. Yet he is not writing a comparative review in the sense of comparing what each book did or did not cover, and his space would hardly even have allowed it.

His specific criticisms make me wonder how carefully he read the book. For example, chapters 12, 13, and 14 deal almost exclusively with social transformations and economic forces (in a manner praised by other critics), which he complains are neglected. As to his complaint of lacking attention to cultural atmosphere or the nature of the East German opposition, I thought at the time of writing my book that they had received more than their due share of attention in the literature on German unification in relation to other aspects of that watershed in not just German but European history and in international relations. With my book, I wanted to place German reunification in a wider international context and not just treat it as a matter of German history. This approach necessitated allocations of space differing from authors interested more in German history alone or in the role of intellectuals and culture or diplomacy and individuals in the State Department in this epochal transformation.

PEKKA KALEVI HÄMÄLÄINEN
*University of Wisconsin, Madison*

DIETHELM PROWE REPLIES:

As is clear from Pekka Hämäläinen's letter, my review was hardly a negative one, nor do I wish to "pan" the book now. On the contrary, the review aimed to be as fair as possible about a sparse, rather pedestrian, but certainly "accurate, clear, complete, and readable" summary, based mainly on press reports and the main memoir literature, despite the far-ranging bibliography on German history and politics in the appendix. The review outlined for the reader the book's main arguments and issues and documented the weaknesses, belying Hämäläinen's unfortunate insinuation about my reading of his work. Given the rich array of books published on German reunification, I felt obliged to let colleagues know, however, that this book makes no contribution to our knowledge of the events and provides no new insights or original perspectives. One can certainly recommend it as basic reading or especially as a resource because, as the review pointed out, its clear organization into brief chapters makes it easy



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to find specific information. For bright students, I would much prefer using a book that challenges and engages them, however, like Konrad Jarausch's *The Rush to German Unity* and others cited in the review.

DIETHELM PROWE
*Carleton College*

TO THE EDITOR:

While Joseph W. Bendersky's highly negative review of *Hitler as Philosophe* disappointed me, I cannot find it in my heart either to belittle the reviewer or condemn the *AHR* for choosing him (*AHR* 101 [December 1996]: 1570–71). My Hitler book was an attempt to apply ideas developed in an earlier study to a field in which I never claimed to be a specialist. I was warned (and fully expected) that *Hitler as Philosophe* would probably be dismissed by "experts" in modern German history. Given the realities of the history profession, it took real courage for Praeger to publish the book at all.

But, as I openly admitted in the introduction, *Hitler as Philosophe* is less an examination of Hitler's ideas than an attempt to show how they fit into the larger pattern of West European intellectual history. As such, the book is part of my ongoing attempt to redefine our understanding of modern Western thought and how that thought has helped create many of the dilemmas we find ourselves faced with today. While Bendersky is fully qualified to condemn me as an interloper in the field of German history, his own comments suggest that he is perhaps less familiar with the larger context of the history of ideas within which I have sought to place Hitler.

For example, there is now an extensive literature in women's studies exploring the more somber aspects of the Enlightenment, especially the way in which all too many philosophes joined the call for *social equality* with a new emphasis on *biological inequality*. In this context, Rousseau's juxtaposition of male citizenship and female domesticity may help us understand how Hitler could simultaneously call for greater social mobility among male members of the *Volk* while demanding the exclusion of "inferior" sexes and races from the political realm.

Moreover, it seemed to me that many other aspects of Hitler's thought were reworkings of eighteenth-century concepts, although the characterization of Hitler as a "Physiocrat" or a "Lamarckian" may at first seem bizarre. My assessment of the Führer as a "classical thinker" thus stems from his obsessive distinction between the productive and the unproductive, a distinction already consigned to the dustbin of history by mainstream economists when Hitler revived it as a "warrant for genocide." Again, my portrayal of Hitler as a post-Christian but pre-Darwinian politician depends on recognizing that the kind of Social "Darwinism" he embraced had long been subverted by Darwin's actual work, an argument well understood by scientists like paleontologist Stephen J. Gould.

Finally, my discussion of Hitler's "secular theodicy" was not an attempt to engage in some kind of neo-Foucauldean showmanship but an earnest effort to understand how modern ideologies like Hitlerism deal with the problem of evil—often with lethal results. I simply argued that Hitler—like Marx before him—secularized the Christian concept of a creative God and a parasitic devil. In the case of Hitlerism, the result of this secularization was the stigmatization of the Jew as a secular substitute for the demonic parasite. Ironically, the relativism of the postmodern position threatens secular theodocies by proclaiming them merely one more form of wishful thinking. Darwinism thus relativizes the role of host and parasite, just as modern economic theory effaces the distinction between productive and unproductive activity.

Unfortunately, Bendersky seems to equate my critique of the Enlightenment with an endorsement of some kind of nihilistic postmodernism. He might be surprised to learn that I reject most postmodern "readings" of texts as self-contradictory and ultimately valueless. *Hitler as Philosophe* is about real ideas with real meanings that helped justify the extermination of real people. While Bendersky should be applauded for at least considering my ideas before rejecting them, his review raises the serious question of whether a generalist working across disciplinary lines can get a serious hearing before the increasingly specialized guild of historians. Recognizing this problem, the *AHR* has designated a section for general works within which my book might have been more profitably reviewed. Meanwhile, I am impressed that, despite Bendersky's attempt to dismiss my ideas, he spent so much of the review engaged with them.

LAWRENCE BIRKEN
*Ball State University*

Joseph W. Bendersky does not wish to respond.

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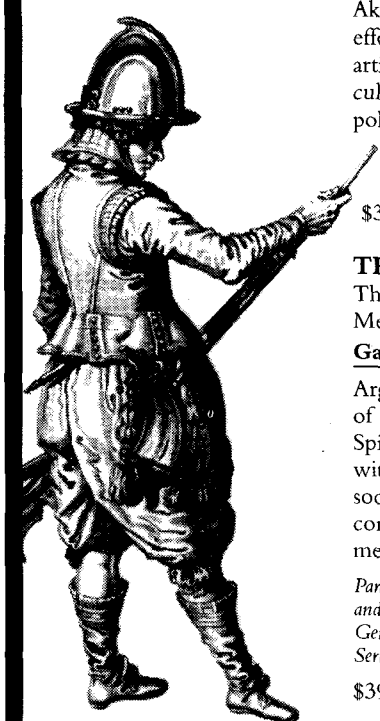
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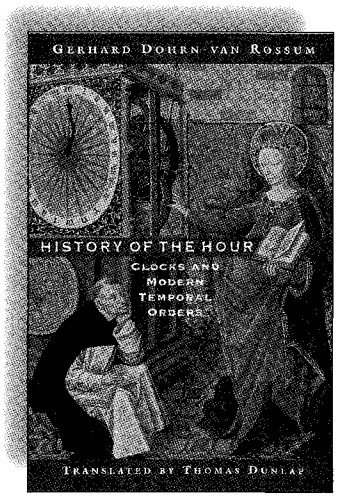
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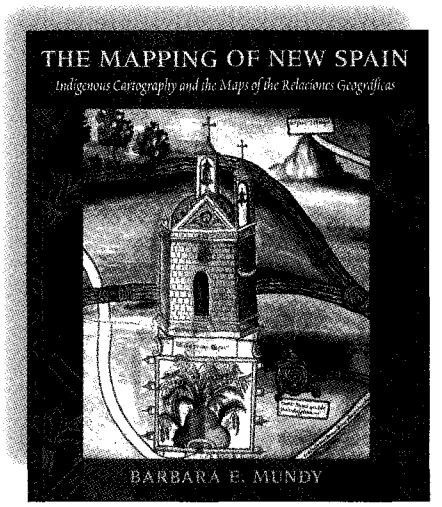

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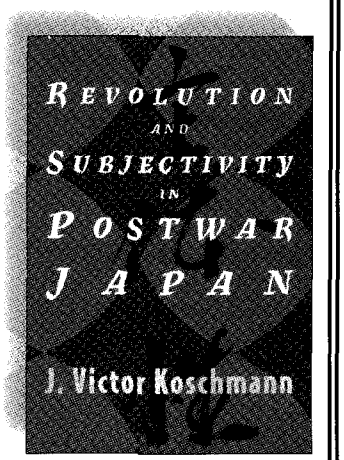
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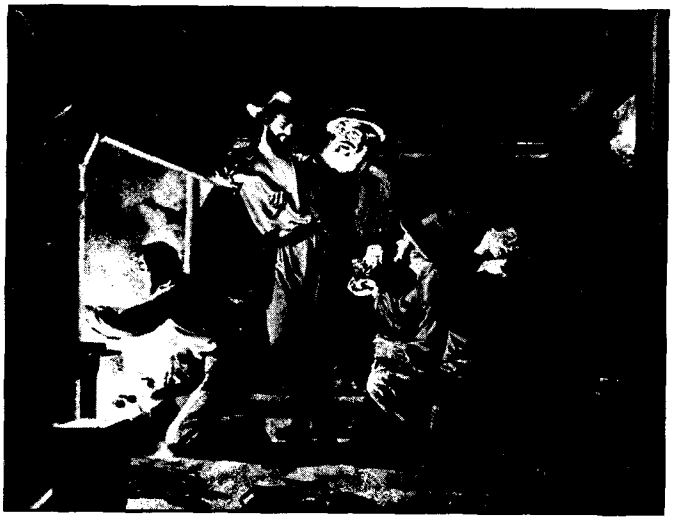
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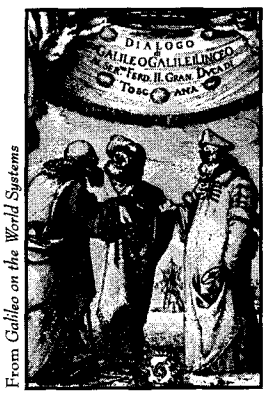
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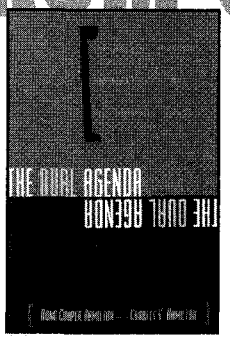
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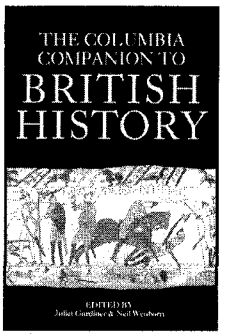
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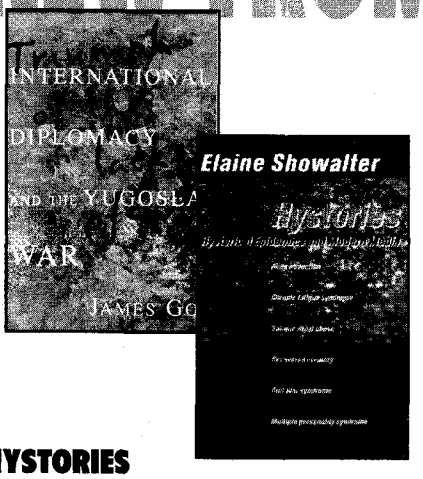
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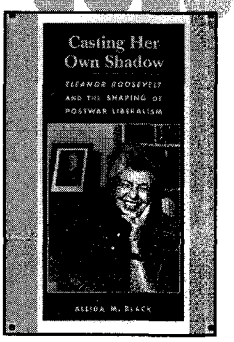
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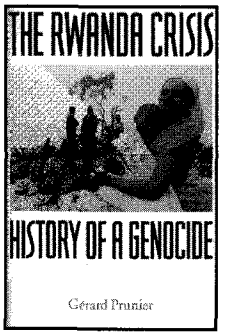
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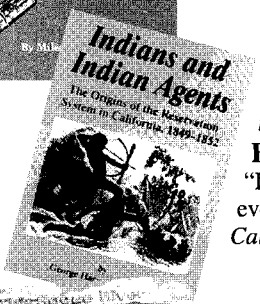


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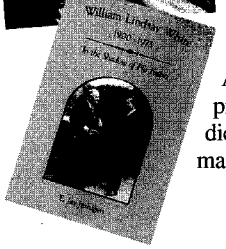

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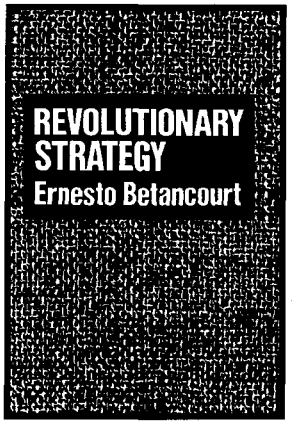
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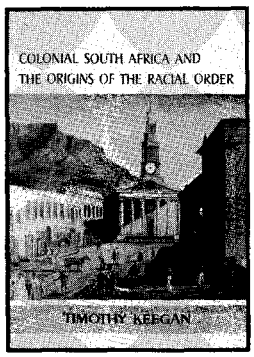
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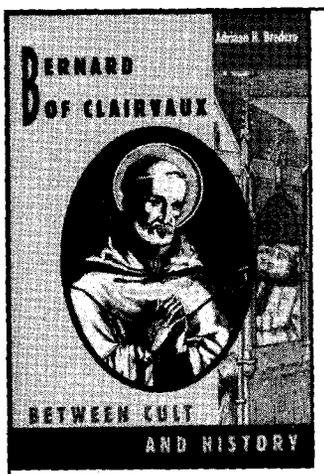
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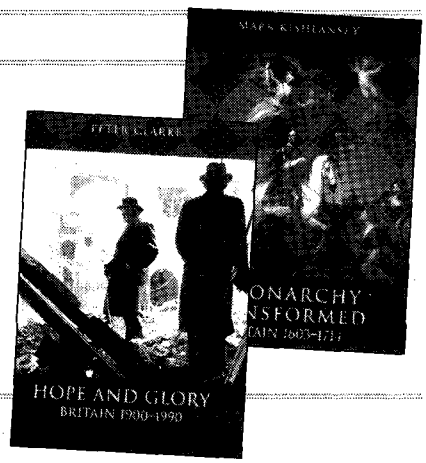
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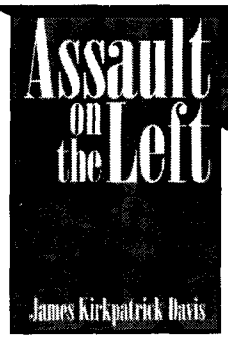
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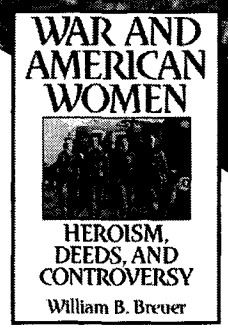
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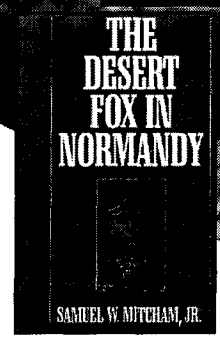

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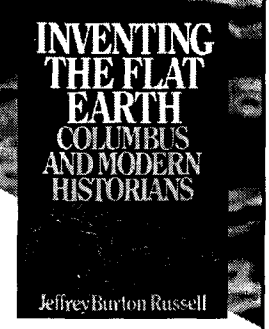
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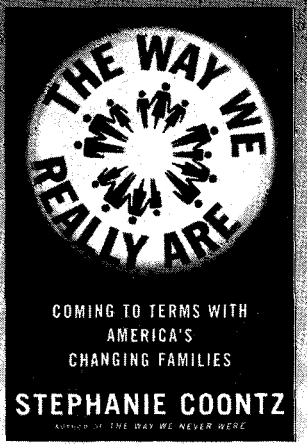
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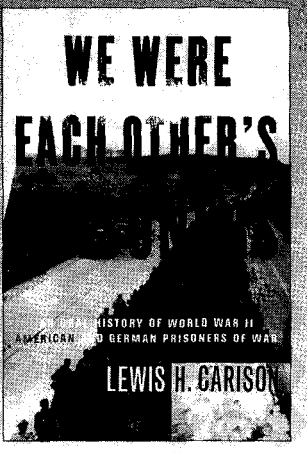
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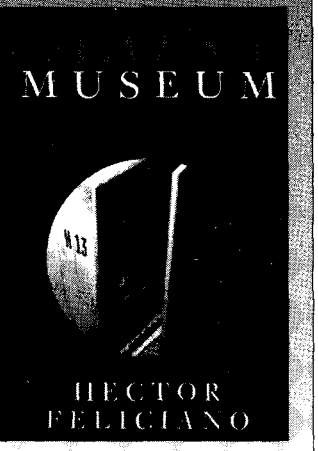
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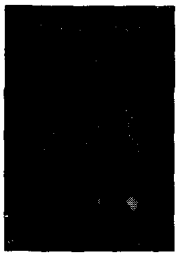
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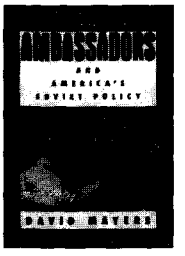
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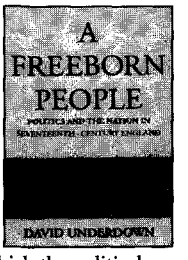
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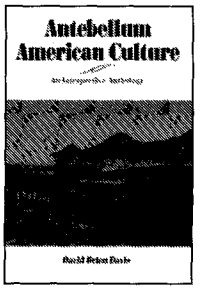
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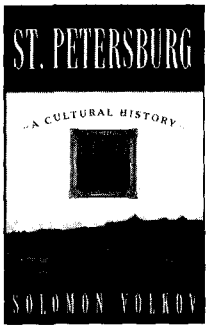
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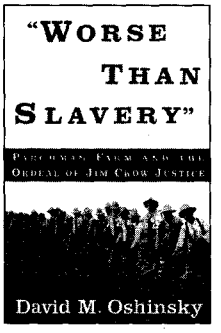
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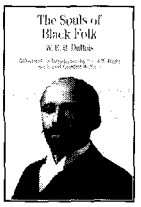
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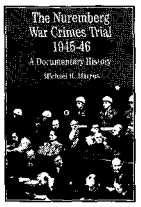
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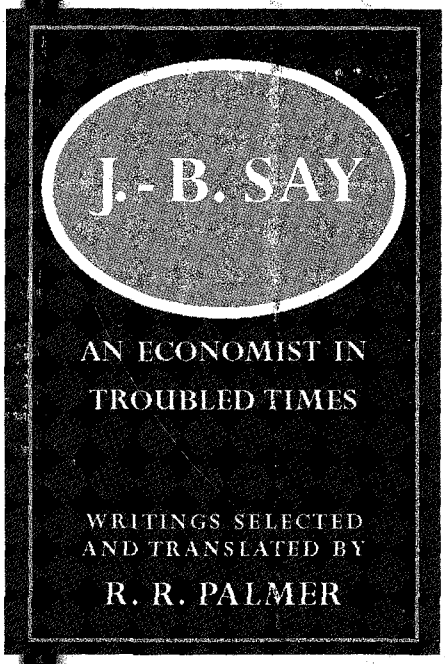
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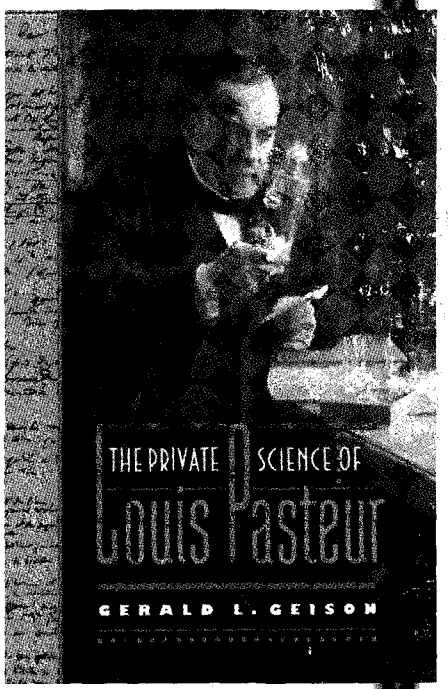
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